

**CALLED FROM OBSCURITY:
THE LIFE AND TIMES OF A TRUE SON OF TIBET
GERGAN DORJE THARCHIN**

Volume Three



H. Louis Fader

Excerpts from Dalai Lama XIV's Foreword to
Called from Obscurity:

Tharchin Babu-la was a man of many [commendable] qualities and in his long life was an inspiration and example to many other Tibetans. My predecessor, the Thirteenth Dalai Lama, counted him as a friend and it was my privilege to regard him in the same way too.

I met Tharchin Babu-la a few times. What I admired in him was his independence of mind and his quiet integrity. Here was a man who had decided that, even though most of the people around him were Buddhist, the Christian faith was best for him. As a result he put a great deal of effort into revising the Tibetan edition of the Bible.

Another of Tharchin Babu-la's qualities that I greatly appreciated was his unshakable loyalty to Tibet and the Tibetan people. He was farsighted enough to understand right from the beginning the tragedy that was befalling Tibet and launched his own fierce campaign to protect our freedom through the pages of [his] *Tibet Mirror* newspaper. I take encouragement too from his later philosophical view that nothing lasts forever, no tyranny is eternal and eventually Chinese rule in Tibet will come to an end.

After 1959 and the establishment of the Tibetan community in exile, Tharchin Babu-la became something of a model and inspiration to a new generation of Tibetans who wished to reconcile aspects of the modern world with a Tibetan outlook, particularly in the realm of secular literature.

[The Babu] made an important contribution to Tibetan affairs and in his long life observed most of the significant events of the twentieth century in our part of the world... I welcome the publication of this exhaustive account of his life and achievements, which no doubt will enthral readers eager to know more about Tibet.

**CALLED FROM OBSCURITY:
The Life and Times of Gergan Dorje Tharchin
III**

**CALLED FROM OBSCURITY:
The Life and Times of Gergan Dorje Tharchin
In Three Volumes**

Volume

- I. Chapters 1 – 11
- II. Chapters 12 – 20
- III. Chapters 21 – 30



GERGAN THARCHIN (1890 - 1976)
Spring 1958

One of the Tharchin family's favorite photographs of the now famous Indo-Tibetan Babu, taken of him in the Tharchin compund's main house sitting room, Kalimpong.

CALLED FROM OBSCURITY:

The Life and Times of a True Son of Tibet,
God's Humble Servant from Poo

GERGAN DORJE THARCHIN

With Particular Attention Given
to His Good Friend
and Illustrious Co-Laborer in the Gospel
SADHU SUNDAR SINGH
of India

III

By

H. LOUIS FADER
Washington DC USA

With a Foreword by
His Holiness
DALAI LAMA XIV
of Tibet

And

An Introduction by the Late
DAWA NORBU
Jawaharlal Nehru University
New Delhi

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To
The Tibet
That Will Yet Arise:
Unshackled
At Last
in
Body
Soul
and
Spirit

A True Son of Tibet

WHEN ASKED by a Western anthropologist on fieldwork assignment among Tibetan refugees in India during the 1970s, “What do you mean when you say, ‘I am a Tibetan’?,” an eleventh-grade English class student in one of India’s Tibetan schools gave as his answer to this probing English composition exercise the following revealing response:

In my opinion, to be a Tibetan means firstly one should be a Tibetan by birth, or his parents should be Tibetans. One should know what are his/her duties towards one’s motherland. He should love his country. He should know the precious culture and traditions of his nation and should respect them. He should make some changes in the field of culture and tradition which suit the modern way of living. One of the most important things is that we should know our Tibetan language and literature. It is really shameful and unbecoming to a Tibetan if one doesn’t know his language perfectly, being a citizen of Tibet. We should try to unite ourselves to make our nation strong. Even if our country is not independent these days, we should preserve our religion, culture and traditions and should respect them at any cost. We should never forget that we are Tibetans and we will get our country back from the clutches of the Red Chinese, since Tibet belongs to Tibetans.*

Given this set of self-defined credentials, this Tibetan youth, had he thought to say it, would have had no hesitation in adding to his statement as did another student in his own response, the singular declaration: “I am a true son of Tibet.”

Let it be said here that in all respects save one—that of religion—Gergan Tharchin’s long and eventful life, when measured against the above criteria, proved to be a deep reflection of what in the best definition of the term constitutes a Tibetan. Though born in Indo-Tibet and early converted to the Christian faith from his family religion of Buddhism, he was nonetheless a Tibetan through and through, as the pages of this biography will abundantly demonstrate. Babu Tharchin loved the Land of Snows, became an enthusiastic student of her language, culture and traditions, sought at all times the highest and best for her people, and stood—in the hour of greatest peril to her freedom and independence—as one of Tibet’s strongest advocates in his near-legendary journalistic defense against the machinations of the frightful Invader from the East: the aggrandizing hordes of the so-called People’s Liberation Army of Communist China. And for these and other noteworthy contributions to the welfare of Tibet this humble-born Tibetan from Northwest India eventually came to be respected, loved and admired by all and sundry among his fellow ethnic countrymen—whether ruler or ruled, rich or poor, educated or ignorant, Buddhist or non-Buddhist. He was even a friend of the two most recent ruling Pontiffs of the Tibetan Buddhist Church: the Great Thirteenth and the currently reigning Fourteenth Dalai Lama. As one of his younger Tibetan admirers was wont to say about Rev. Tharchin, his Christian affirmation never

* Quoted from anthropologist Margaret Nowak’s remarkable study, *Tibetan Refugees: Youth and the New Generation of Meaning* (New Brunswick NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1984), 87-8.

seemed “to get in the way [of his] relations with all sections of the Tibetan Community,” who “held him in such high esteem.”* His was a life lived for all, but especially for those whom he counted his blood brethren from the Roof of the World.

In short, then, it can be asserted without fear of contradiction whatsoever that Gergan Dorje Tsering Tharchin was indeed A TRUE SON OF TIBET!

Important Note to Readers of Volume III

For the benefit of those readers who may lack Volume I of the present narrative, the Publishers felt it would be helpful to repeat here the Foreword by His Holiness Dalai Lama XIV and the Introduction by Professor Dawa Norbu. These appear immediately on the next four pages.

However, because of the already lengthy content of the current volume, it was decided *not* to repeat here the following seven elements, which the reader, if he or she so wishes, may consult within the opening pages of the present biography’s initial volume:

Note of Appreciation by Tharchin Babu’s Son

Author’s Preface

The Tharchin Unpublished “Memoirs”—Further Clarification

Recognition of Particularly Useful Published and Unpublished Source Materials

American Library Collections Consulted

Special Thanks (to certain individuals and/or institutions for unusual kindnesses and services rendered)

Abbreviations Used in Documenting Various GT-Related Materials Housed in the Archiv der Brüder-Unität at Herrnhut, Germany (no longer relevant to the content of the remaining Text of the present work)

Please note further that as this third and final volume of the Tharchin biography goes to press the present author must report with deep sorrow and sadness the untimely death in October 2008 of Gergan Tharchin’s grandson, David, at age 43. He will surely be missed not only by the Tharchin family but also by the author, who had been the recipient of David’s friendship and faithful assistance in countless ways in furthering the publication of his grandfather’s remarkable life story. It is most unfortunate that he did not live to see it completely published.

And finally, the author would like to recognize, and offer special thanks to, Mr. Ashish K. C. (Khatri Chhetri) of Kathmandu. He it is who, at the last moment, was called upon to replace the author’s former computer document-master, Mr. Deepesh Shrestha, who reluctantly had to withdraw from that responsibility for personal reasons beyond his control. Ashish K. C., age 18, has most skillfully and brilliantly carried out for this concluding volume all the necessary computer desk-top book publishing tasks which his predecessor had accomplished for the earlier volumes, as were described in detail in the Special Thanks section of Volume I. The author is most grateful to both these talented individuals for a job well done.

* Dawa Norbu, “G. Tharchin: Pioneer and Patriot,” *Tibetan Review* (December 1975):20. The late Dr. Norbu (d. 2007) was the editor-in-chief of the *Review* in 1975, was later Professor of International Studies at Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi, India, and was the author of the highly-acclaimed semi-autobiographical work, *Red Star over Tibet*, first published in 1974.†

† Where full publication details are not given in the footnotes, these will be found in the Bibliography at the end of the present volume.



THE DALAI LAMA

FOREWORD

Tharchin Babu la was a man of many qualities and in his long life was an inspiration and example to many other Tibetans. My predecessor, the Thirteenth Dalai Lama, counted him as a friend and it was my privilege to regard him in the same way too.

I met Tharchin Babu la a few times. What I admired in him was his independence of mind and his quiet integrity. Here was a man who had decided that, even though most of the people around him were Buddhist, the Christian faith was best for him. As a result he put a great deal of effort into revising the Tibetan edition of the Bible. Perhaps it was these literary endeavours that led to his other major achievement, the launch, in 1925, of one of the first newspapers to be published in Tibetan, the *Tibet Mirror*. Among the readers of the fifty copies of the early editions that he sent to Lhasa, was my predecessor the Thirteenth Dalai Lama. He was sufficiently impressed to write personally to express his appreciation of the news of the world outside Tibet contained in its pages. He went on to encourage Tharchin la to continue his efforts, because it would greatly improve his understanding of world events. Not only was the *Tibet Mirror* almost the only source of news in Tibet, but, in a country whose entire literature was mostly devoted to religious affairs, its publication represented the beginnings of secular writing in Tibetan. This was a major and significant development in our relatively conservative society.

In due course, with my own recognition as Dalai lama, I inherited my predecessor's subscription and I remember that my childish enthusiasm for the puzzle page soon matured into fascination for its description of events in the fast changing world beyond our borders.

Another of Tharchin Babu la's qualities that I greatly appreciated was his unshakeable loyalty to Tibet and the Tibetan people. He was farsighted enough to understand right from the beginning the tragedy that was befalling

Tibet and launched his own fierce campaign to protect our freedom through the pages of the *Tibet Mirror*. I take encouragement too from his later philosophical view that nothing lasts forever, no tyranny is eternal and eventually Chinese rule in Tibet will come to an end.

After 1959 and the establishment of the Tibetan community in exile, Tharchin Babu la became something of a model and inspiration to a new generation of Tibetans who wished to Reconcile aspects of the modern world with a Tibetan outlook, particularly in the realm of secular literature. He made an important contribution to Tibetan affairs and in his long life observed most of the significant events of the twentieth century in our part of world. Therefore, I welcome the publication of this exhaustive account of his life and achievements, which no doubt will enthral readers eager to know more about Tibet.

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to be 'Tharchin Babu la', written in a cursive style.

December 15, 2001

Introduction

The Rev. G. Tharchin was a pioneer in several fields: the first Tibetan journalist in the entire Tibetan-speaking world, a towering *modern* man of letters in a field traditionally dominated by lamas, a lone modernizer in a tradition-bound society, and above all the most articulate spokesman for Tibet's freedom. It is no exaggeration to say that if the ruling classes in Lhasa and New Delhi had heeded what Tharchin Babu was saying, Tibet's modern fate might have been different.

In the long course of his multi-faceted career, Gyegyen (or Gergan) Tharchin was to explode several Tibetological myths. Tibetan literature has been so much associated with Buddhism that it is almost impossible for the general public to conceive of any secular Tibetan literature independent of that religion. He exploded that myth. As a modern man of letters, he was interested primarily in non-Buddhist, yet Tibetan, areas of inquiry: secular literature, especially journalism, grammar and poetry—to which he immensely contributed; and history and politics, which since 1925 he propagated with skill in his pioneering newspaper, the *Tibet Mirror*. He remained right up to 1950 the sole Tibetan window to the outside world for the isolationist Tibetans.

At a time when Lhasa remained a forbidden city to most foreigners, Tharchin Babu managed to make four or five trips to the Tibetan capital. As a result of these and other shorter visits of his to Tibet and no less through his numerous publications in Tibetan, he became a close friend of the Thirteenth Dalai Lama. The Lama greatly appreciated the publications of the Tibet Mirror Press and showered extraordinary favors on this Tibetan pioneer from the cis-Himalayas.

Tharchin Babu exploded another Tibetan myth: that in order to be a man of Tibetan letters and a fighter for Tibet's freedom, one had to be a Buddhist. He was neither a lama nor even a lay Buddhist. He remained a profoundly sophisticated Christian throughout his life, despite his love for Tibetan literature and culture. He was perhaps the most eminent Christian in the Tibetan-speaking world. He was one of the revisers of the Tibetan translation of the Bible—especially the New Testament section—and the immediate pastoral successor to the founder of the Kalimpong Tibetan Church.

How he reconciled the diverse sources of his complex personality—a practicing Christian yet a lover of Tibetan language and literature, an Indian national by birth yet a relentless fighter for Tibet's freedom, etc.—into a harmonious integration might appear a modern mystery. But to those of us who knew him intimately this was not so difficult to fathom. Seeing was comprehending; seeing was believing.

I recall rather vividly my first visit to Tharchin Babu in the mid-1960s when I was a young student at Dr. Graham's Homes, Kalimpong. He was already quite advanced in age, being assisted by his son S. G. Tharchin. The Babu at once welcomed me with open arms before I could even properly introduce myself. He said he was glad that a new generation of educated young Tibetans was in the making. "This," he added idiomatically, "is a good effect of the bad event"—the latter an allusion to the Chinese takeover of Tibet.

Tea and Tibetan cookies were quickly served. What I remember most about this act of hospitality was the extempore grace which he improvised for the occasion. He offered it up in modern literary Tibetan, of which he was a master, but with a deep sense of conviction, sincerity and straightforwardness that comes through an activist approach to religion. Tharchin Babu had truly integrated into the Tibetan cultural fabric into which he was born those Christian values he had adopted. There was neither any sign of identity crisis nor confusion of values. He was at peace, and shared peace and wisdom with whomever he came in close contact.

In his drawing-room there hung a huge portrait of the Thirteenth Dalai Lama. Tharchin Babu told me with a smile while pointing towards the picture, "He was a great friend of mine. I, of course, considered him the King of Tibet, but not a Lama [to be revered or worshiped]. I am Christian, you know."

The Babu was an institution in and of himself during his lifetime. In his adopted home town of Kalimpong he was to the Tibetan or Bhutia community what Paras Mani Pradhan was to the Nepalese.* However, in this age of information explosion, even Gergan Tharchin's remarkable achievement faces the danger of popular forgetfulness. We—all the Tibetan-speaking peoples in the Himalayas and Inner Asia—are deeply grateful to H. Louis Fader. Mr. Fader has resurrected the saga and legend of Tharchin Babu for our own generation and posterity. Here was a great Christian soul in his charming native Tibetan costume who felt his calling was to educate the larger community to which he belonged into the ways of modernity. Otherwise, he concluded, his beloved tribe would vanish from the fast-changing modern world.

There have been attempts in the past to set down Gergan Tharchin's biography by Indian and Tibetan writers but they never really got around to completing his long life-history. Now, though, I am glad to say that this important task has gracefully fallen into the able and careful hands of Mr. Fader. The author had free access to the entire Tharchin family records and the pertinent Christian missionary documents on Tibet that had scarcely been researched before. He has also spared no pains to engage in extensive research on Tibetan history, culture and politics, within whose broad context he has empathetically placed the life and times of Tharchin Babu. The result is not only a highly *researched* biography as manifested by the fact that roughly one-fourth of the three volumes consists of learned footnotes and copious documentation; it is also a significant contribution to Tibetan Church History, woven around the spirit and activity of a great Tibetan Christian. Truly, Fader's work is a labor of love and piety.

The author is an American writer, but the model of his prose is not Hemingway as is the usual case today in the United States. His literary style belongs to an universal tradition of pious literature that is rare in our materialistic and secular world. Thus he begins each chapter with an appropriate quotation from the Christian Bible. It is also interesting to note that Mr. Fader's initial interest had been centered around the life of a famous Christian convert from Sikhism. Sadhu Sundar Singh of India, which opened the door to the author to the world of Tharchin Babu.

Such a style not only suits the sacred subject matter of the present work; it is also highly appropriate in revealing the Tibetan character that fascinates the author. After all, literate Tibetans used to express themselves with care, dignity and seriousness—and with a ceremonial slowness. Although Tharchin Babu may be considered one of the pioneers of modern Tibetan language, he was certainly no exception to this *genre*; for example, many of the Babu's letters, quoted in the present work, amply illustrate this. Hence Fader's convoluted style beautifully reflects the slow-moving times in traditional Tibet. In so doing, it lends an Asian authenticity to the fascinating and inspiring life story of Gergan Tharchin.

As a Tibetan, I personally thank the present author for resurrecting the life and times of this eminent Tibetan Christian. As a fellow writer, I congratulate Mr. Fader for his wonderful book.

Jawaharlal Nehru University
New Delhi
December 1999

DAWA NORBU, Ph.D. (UC, Berkeley)
Professor of International Studies

* Indeed, like the Babu, Dr. P. M. Pradhan had been a printer and publisher in Kalimpong, too, having founded the well-known Mani Press that is still flourishing today. Dr. Pradhan was also a prominent literary figure in Kalimpong and the rest of the Darjeeling hill area, having authored a number of school textbooks in Nepali as well as several volumes of fiction. Unlike the Christian Babu, however, Dr. Pradhan remained a staunch Hindu throughout his life.—*The Present Author*

Abbreviations Used in Documenting Gergan Tharchin's Unpublished "Memoirs"

As pointed out and discussed at some length in the introductory pages of Volume I, Tharchin Babu had had set down in narrative form by his amanuensis what to the latter he had narrated of his life story. For a variety of reasons this two-part typeset/typewritten biography was never published. Some ten years later, however, it was made available to the present author in preparing his own greatly expanded biographical treatment of the Babu's life, one important facet of which was to draw considerably upon this unique unpublished resource in creating the present narrative. Accordingly, most of what is found in the earlier unpublished document—nearly all of which first required substantial editing, refining and rechecking by the present writer—has been incorporated into the present larger work in either direct quote or paraphrastic form, the latter being the case in the overwhelming majority of instances. But as stated in Volume I's introductory pages, the author has been most careful throughout this multi-volume work to give proper credit whenever use has been made of this material that had been prepared as a biography some twenty-five or so years ago now by Rev. Tharchin's faithful aide.

The reader should therefore be reminded of the following abbreviations which have been employed in the Footnotes and End-Notes for documenting the use that has been made of this unpublished document in the present Text. The first of these two abbreviations listed below has reference to the initial sixteen-chapter *typeset* portion of the Tharchin "memoirs," little, if any, of which appears in this final volume of the present narrative; while the second has reference to the concluding twelve-chapter *typewritten* segment:

- | | |
|-----------|---|
| GTUM TsMs | Gergan Tharchin's Unpublished "Memoirs"—Typeset Manuscript (covering continuous typeset pagination of pp. 1-176 and cited in the Footnotes and End-Notes documentation only by typeset page(s) and not by chapter as well; e.g., GTUM TsMs, 22-3) |
| GTUM TwMs | Gergan Tharchin's Unpublished "Memoirs"—Typewritten Manuscript (covering Chs. 17-28, typewritten, separately paged within each chapter, and cited in the Footnotes and End-Notes by both chapter and page(s); e.g., GTUM TwMs, Ch. 2, p. 4) |

Abbreviation Used in Documenting Gergan Tharchin's "Brief Biography of the Editor of the Tibetan Newspaper..."

As also indicated in Volume I's introductory pages, the Babu had attempted to write and publish a life story of himself sometime between 1946 and 1955, but it was quite brief, incomplete, and never got beyond the typewritten stage. Yet it has proved quite helpful in supplying data on his early years. The following abbreviation has been employed in the Footnotes and End-Notes for documenting the use that has been made of this additional unpublished material in the present Text:

- | | |
|---------|--|
| BB TwMs | "Brief Biography of the Editor of the Tibetan Newspaper <i>Yul-chhog-So-soi Sangyur Melong</i> Printed and Published at Kalimpong, District Darjeeling"—Typewritten Manuscript (composed in the third person by Gergan Tharchin and consisting of five long pages) |
|---------|--|

*Abbreviation Used in Documenting the
Collected Papers of Gergan Tharchin, Kalimpong*

As stated earlier in Volume I, the present author is greatly indebted to the S. G. Tharchin family for granting unlimited access to all the private papers of Gergan Dorje Tharchin, which are identified whenever referenced in the present work by the abbreviation, ThPaK.

*Abbreviation Used in Documenting Materials Quoted
That Are Part of the Moravian Church House Archives, London*

As stated earlier in Volume I, when material from these Archives is quoted, such will be referred to by the abbreviation, MCHA. Whatever the particular documents consulted and used from these Archives, they were either photostated or transcribed for the author and kindly sent him by John Bray of Tokyo and London.

*Abbreviation Used in Documenting Materials Quoted or
Referenced That Are Part of the Papers of Sir Charles A. Bell*

An extensive collection of the papers of Sir Charles are housed in the Oriental and India Office Collection at the British Library, London, and cataloged as Ref: Mss. Eur. F. 80. Whenever in the present volume any material from these papers is quoted or referenced, such will be identified by the shortened designation: Bell Papers.

Furthermore, it should be clearly understood that whatever the particular documents consulted and used from these papers, they were photostated for the present author and kindly sent him by John Bray of Tokyo and London.

*Abbreviations Used in Documenting Materials Quoted or Referenced That
Are Part of the British and Foreign Bible Society Archives, London*

Two sets of Minutes of this Society's Archives have proved invaluable for the present volume: (a) Editorial Subcommittee Minutes (the published summary), and (b) Translations and Library Subcommittee Minutes. Whenever in the present volume any material from these Minutes is quoted or referenced, such will be identified by the shortened designation of either: ESC Minutes BFBS or TLSC Minutes BFBS, respectively.

Moreover, it should once again be clearly understood that whatever the particular documents consulted and used from either set of Minutes, they were photostated for the present author and kindly sent him by John Bray of Tokyo and London.

Abbreviation Used for Special Tharchin-to-Kimura Letters File

Photocopies of certain letters which Gergan Tharchin wrote to Hisao Kimura (aka: Dawa Sangpo, Dawa Zangpo) were kindly made and sent unsolicited to Tharchin's son Sherab Gyamtsho from the late Professor Kimura's wife through the assistance of a mutual friend of the Kimura and Tharchin families. They were received by Speed Post at the Tharchin compound on 1 March 2002. These letters cover the period 1955-67.

Whenever quoted or referenced in the present volume they are sourced by the shortened designation: Th-to-K Ltrs File.

Romanization of Tibetan Words

This issue has more often than not presented a knotty problem for writers on Tibetan themes. The opinion and practice put forward on this matter by three well-known scholar-writers on Tibet have thus proved helpful to the present author. In one of his many valuable works Giuseppe Tucci observed that the spelling generally adopted in his book “differs widely from the strict transliterations of Tibetan orthography which are used when writing for specialists familiar with the written language. These more scientific forms give the uninitiated layman no guidance to pronunciation.” Scott Berry explained in one of his books that he had tried to employ “the most conventional spellings” he could find “for common words, place names, and personal names, but often there seems to be little agreement about what is ‘correct’.” As but one example of many he could have cited, Berry pointed out in *A Stranger in Tibet* that the word for the Tibetan ceremonial greeting scarf is “commonly romanized as variously as [khadar,] kata, [khata,] khatag, or khatagh.” What the author has therefore generally done in the present work is to adopt the simple practice which Alexandra David-Neel, in her book *My Journey to Lhasa*, enunciated with regard to the romanization of Tibetan terms and names. There she wrote: “I have merely given them phonetically, without trying to follow the Tibetan spelling, which is very misleading for those who are not acquainted with that language and [therefore not] capable of reading it in its own peculiar characters.” As an instance which she cited of the problem that would otherwise confront the general reader, Madame David-Neel added that “the word pronounced *naljor* is written *rnal byor*, the name of *dolma* is written *sgrolma*, and so on.” Indeed, the practice she followed in her volume was little different from that which Tucci opted to pursue for his own work, *Tibet: Land of Snows*, where he concluded his statement of explanation to his readers by saying that they would find “that most Tibetan names and terms used” in his work were “spelt phonetically, utilizing an approximation to the spoken values of standard Central Tibetan.” This, then, is what the present author has attempted to do wherever possible throughout the three-volume work on the life and times of Gergan Dorje Tharchin.

Finally, a word needs to be appended here in deference to a worthwhile observation which the British writer Patrick French made in his brilliant biography of Sir Francis Younghusband (1994): “Words and phrases which now sound offensive (“coolie” and “Native State” for example) have been retained in my writing, since I felt it would be inaccurate to substitute later alternatives.” As much as possible, and for the same reason, this very practice has been adopted throughout the present narrative.

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C H A P T E R 21

Fourth Major Visit to Tibet and Lhasa: Lending Scholastic Assistance to Sir Basil Gould and Rendering Compassionate Help to the “Bad Mongolian Lama”

My son, be admonished: of making many books there is no end; and much study is a weariness of the flesh. Let us hear the conclusion of the whole matter: Fear God, and keep his commandments; for this is the whole duty of man.

Ecclesiastes 12:12-13

IN THE YEAR 1940 Gergan Tharchin made a fourth and last major visit to Tibet. At this time Basil (later Sir Basil) John Gould was the Political Officer at Gangtok in Sikkim, with Hugh Edward Richardson serving as the British Trade Agent at Gyantse as well as the one in charge of the British Mission at Lhasa. Before proceeding further in the narrative a few words should be said about these two important British gentlemen whose official careers, at least during their latter years of service, intersected significantly with the life and work of the central character of this biography.

Born in England the son of a lawyer, and initially educated at Winchester, Sir Basil Gould (1883-1956; CIE 1921, CMG 1929, Knighted 1944) had originally joined the Indian Civil Service (ICS) in 1907 after graduation from New College, Oxford, and was posted to the Punjab. He next joined the Indian Political Department two years later and was posted to Central Asia. And following this he served in the Foreign Department as an Under Secretary to the Government of India between 1910 and 1912. Answering a call to become the British Trade Agent (BTA) at Gyantse, Gould went there in May 1912 after completing his duties associated with the famed Delhi Durbar at which Gergan Tharchin had been an attendee (see again Volume I, Chapter 4 for all the details). It was during his time at Gyantse that he was chosen to escort the four Tibetan boys to England in 1913 for education (see below for more on this event). In late 1913 he was appointed to act for some twelve months as Political Officer at Gangtok in place of Charles Bell who was attending the critical Simla Conference on Tibet and China as one of the chief advisers to Sir Henry McMahon, the British plenipotentiary at the Conference. Late in the year 1914, with the outbreak of the Great War, Gould began a series of postings to positions of responsibility in India (not least of which was that of Private Secretary to the Viceroy) and Central Asia (Persia, Afghanistan and Baluchistan) which lasted for quite a few years beyond the cessation of hostilities. It should also be noted that by early 1935 he had been dispatched to Quetta where he nearly lost his life “while succouring the infirm and injured in the great earthquake” of that year (Tobin).

Alex McKay, an authority on the British frontier cadre involved with Tibet, has provided a short profile of Gould the man. Writes McKay, he

was a tall, imposing figure, and not one to suffer fools gladly. He was a man of restless energy, prone to adopting an idea with great enthusiasm and just as suddenly dropping it to take up another cause. At one point he devoted his attention to promoting the widespread planting of *kikuya* grass. Then he wanted sunrooms in all the Agencies and *dak* bungalows. Yet in the sphere of politics and diplomacy, Gould's actions, until he became ill [in 1944-45], were logical, methodical and entirely focused.

Gould was conscious of his status and deliberately maintained the aloof aura of imperial power and self-control so easily parodied. When, for example, he visited Gyantse, he insisted on being received at the precise distance of several miles as dictated by Tibetan etiquette. If he reached the designated spot before his reception party, Gould would sit and wait until the escort arrived to conduct him to the Agency.

Charles Bell was his mentor; he closely followed Bell's policy recommendations and general approach to Tibetan affairs.

Returning in December 1935 to the Eastern Himalayan region for the first time since September 1914, Gould became the Political Officer for Sikkim, Bhutan and Tibet following the untimely death that year of his predecessor, F. W. Williamson, who had died at Lhasa. In this position "he took the opportunity of acquiring proficiency in the language of the Tibetans and of learning their habits." (Tobin) During his tenure in this sensitive post (Gould not quitting Sikkim till June 1945) the new Officer paid several visits to Lhasa,* capped by the one now under discussion that occurred in 1940 on the occasion of the Installation of the new Fourteenth Dalai Lama. It was a ceremony, noted former Political Officer F. M. Bailey, "at which no European had ever been invited to attend before." And according to Gould's colleague Hugh Richardson, at Lhasa Sir Basil's "reputation for sagacity and dependability was immense. His Mission to Lhasa in 1936 was a landmark in British relations

* The most important of these visits occurred during a five-month period in 1936-7. At the request of Regent Reting at Lhasa, Gould, because of a significant change in the British attitude since 1924 when Major Bailey had visited the Tibetan capital and had talked with the Great Thirteenth, was allowed by the British Government of India to lead a diplomatic mission to Lhasa. This was for the purpose of mediating the complex negotiations, which were then at their most sensitive stage, regarding the return of the Panchen Lama to Tibet from China and of making preparations to serve, if necessary, as the Panchen's escort from Jyekundo. This was the town just inside China along the Tibetan border where he was indeed poised to return to his ecclesiastical seat at Trashilhunpo Monastery near Shigatse. But the High Lama died in late November of 1937 before anything final could be settled. On this mission Gould had been accompanied by, among others, both Richardson and Frederick Spencer-Chapman, the Political Officer's private secretary and the one who would be the first to ascend the 24,000-foot summit of Chomolhari, said to be the world's most beautiful peak and situated near the Bhutan-Tibet border, a mountain that was so often seen by travelers making the caravan trek up to Gyantse from Kalimpong. The mission's journey and stay at the Tibetan capital has been described by Spencer-Chapman in his interesting volume, *Lhasa, the Holy City* (London, 1937). Spencer-Chapman, incidentally, was also a member of the Marco Pallis Himalayan Expedition of 1935 that made it possible for Pallis and his colleagues to visit Tharchin's home village of Poo on their way to scale the Himalayan heights of the awesome cluster of the Leo-Purgyul peaks that rise above 22,000 feet just to the north and east of Poo.

It should be pointed out, however, that according to the impression which Gergan Tharchin gained from his interaction with Lhasa's many high officials, the latter—at least in 1937 when the Babu was at the Tibetan capital—"liked Mr. Richardson very much, but it seems that they do not like Mr. Gould much." Of course, they had only interacted with Gould during the Political Officer's presence at Lhasa the year before as the Head of the British Diplomatic-Military Mission. Perhaps, therefore, this should be perceived as but a temporary assessment by Lhasan officials, since there would be two more opportunities for them to judge the P.O.S. who would make two more major visits to the capital: this current one of 1940 and another in 1944. See letter, Tharchin to Charles Bell, Tsarong House Lhasa, 1 July 1937, Bell Papers.

with Tibet comparable with that of Bell in 1920; and, like Bell, he is remembered by Tibetans with deep affection as a friend and a champion of their interests." A distinguished member of the Royal Central Asian Society, Sir Basil had been "widely recognized," observed that Society's Honorary Secretary, Colonel H. W. Tobin, "as a leading expert in Tibetan" and who after his retirement back in England had been able to remain "in touch with conditions and events" concerning the Roof of the World. Indeed, added Tobin, "his advice was not infrequently sought by the Foreign Office."

With respect to Hugh Richardson (1905-2000; OBE 1944, CIE 1947), in 1936 he had first gone to Lhasa to take charge of the British Mission so recently established there, a post he himself would off and on maintain till October 1939 simultaneously with his other post of BTA at Gyantse which he filled between July 1936 and early February 1940. But before that, this Scotland-born grandson of an ICS officer had received his education first at Glenalmond in his Scottish homeland and on, then, to Keble College at Oxford University. Richardson would join the ICS in 1930 at the age of 25, after having read classics at Keble, thus "having prepared himself philologically as well as culturally," notes his friend and fellow Tibetan scholar David Snellgrove, "for the study of yet another civilization different from his own." Interestingly, Alex McKay has reported that it was at Oxford, in fact, where Richardson had first become interested in Tibet. In an Appreciation which Snellgrove has written of Richardson, it was remarked that this apparently sudden appointment of him to Tibet and Lhasa could not have appeared as a complete surprise to him. This was because Richardson had met Basil Gould in Afghanistan a couple of years prior to 1936. And there they had together discussed Tibet, where Gould had obviously already been and where Richardson had himself briefly been during his ICS posting to Bengal in the years 1930-34. Moreover, he had visited Sikkim twice and had begun to take a personal interest in learning the Tibetan language from a Tibetan servant he had hired and had asked to accompany him down to the Indian plains. In fact, over the next two decades "his proficiency" in the language would become, according to one scholarly journal, "a household word in Tibet."

After other assignments elsewhere during the World War Two years (including a two-year stint at Chungking as First Secretary to the Indian Agency-General in China), Richardson would return again to Lhasa for a few months in June 1944 and much more permanently in April 1946 to head up the Mission as well as serve as the BTA at Gyantse from February 1946 onward. Indeed, he would be asked by the Independent Government of India to remain on in those two capacities in its service after the Transfer of Power occurred in August of 1947.* That dual appointment was eventually terminated in September 1950, after which he

* Independent India's Prime Minister Nehru would much later explain the reasons for this unusual development, in a speech he delivered on 27 April 1959 before India's lower house of Parliament, the Lok Sabha, that dealt with the then tumultuous situation existing in Tibet: "... in the early days after independence and partition, our hands were full, ... and we had to face difficult situations in our own country. We ignored, if I may say so, Tibet. Not being able to find a suitable person to act as our representative at Lhasa, we allowed for some time the existing British representative [Richardson] to continue at Lhasa. Later an Indian took his place." *Tibet Documents* (New Delhi, 1959), 5.

A similar development would occur with respect to who should be Independent India's Political Officer for Sikkim, Bhutan and Tibet. This responsibility would temporarily remain in the hands of the last British P.O.S., A. J. Hopkinson. See two chapters hence for the details.

retired from Government service that same year and returned to Britain in early 1951. Thus was he destined, observed Snellgrove, “to be the chief outside witness of the last years of effective Tibetan independence.” Heinrich Harrer, who knew Richardson in Lhasa from 1946 onward, has described him as “a gaunt Scotsman, slim and tough in his professional work. He had one great hobby—his splendid flower and vegetable garden. When one visited him [in Lhasa] one imagined oneself in a garden in fairyland.” It was the opinion of Snellgrove that Richardson belonged “to the noble lineage of independent gentleman-scholar, precisely of the kind which at its best the old Indian Civil Service would foster.” Moreover, McKay has observed that Richardson, whose grandfather had been an ICS officer during the Indian Mutiny of 1857, had himself been “firmly in the mold of the ‘lean and keen’ frontiersman.” Possessing a “keen intellect” and “empathy with the Tibetans,” adds McKay, “Richardson was to become one of the [Tibet frontier] cadre’s outstanding officers.” Furthermore, it was the view of Peter Hopkirk that Richardson’s “knowledge of Tibet and its people would eventually eclipse that of Sir Charles Bell.” In fact, McKay has reported that as early as 1939 it would be noted in the Secretariat, the administrative headquarters of the Political Department at Delhi, that Richardson—in the words of bureaucrats there—“has identified himself more closely with Tibetans and Tibetan affairs, and ... gained more insight and respect, than any Englishmen [*sic*] since the time of Charles Bell”—the latter, not surprisingly, having become the standard against which all other Tibet cadre officers would thereafter be measured.²

Now very early in 1940 Tharchin was asked by Hugh Richardson to accompany him to the capital of the Snowy Land that he might benefit from Tharchin’s knowledge of Tibetan inasmuch as the Trade Agent and Mission Head wished to appear eventually for the higher examination in the Tibetan language in order to secure a degree in the linguistic field. For according to Tharchin’s “memoirs,” a success in this would also bring Richardson a financial remuneration of Rs. 2000/- which a prospective candidate is entitled to receive upon improving his educational qualifications.

By late July 1939 Dr. Knox had left for his homeland in Australia never to return, and was replaced, as already noted earlier, by Rev. Scott as head of the Tibetan Mission work. Tharchin applied for the necessary leave to go to Tibet and it was readily sanctioned by Scott and the other Mission authorities.



The Tibetan had received a very short notice about the forthcoming journey from Richardson and Sir Basil (the latter was also traveling to Tibet to represent both the British government and the Government of India at the Installation ceremonies of the new Dalai Lama). So short was the notice, in fact, that Tharchin was given scarcely two days to make all preparations necessary for going on the lengthy journey to Lhasa. Yet according to his “memoirs,” he possessed “an amazing capacity for organizing himself efficiently in [such

impromptu] circumstances because the love for travel and adventure" was so much "in his blood," thus giving him added motivation "to do things promptly." Tharchin, for example, had no problem with his clothing since, added his "memoirs," he always kept on hand enough changes of garments "to keep him warm during the cold weather of Tibet."

With regard to this current trip to the Land of Snows the Tibetan, with some amusement, had recollected in his so-called end-of-life memoirs a previous hoped-for journey there: "In the year 1914 when I accompanied Sadhu Sundar Singh on a proposed visit to Tibet, we were prevented by the Political Officer at Gangtok from proceeding farther; but this time, paradoxical as it may seem, the same Political Office was now asking me to accompany their party to Tibet." His "memoirs" make clear that on this journey as on all his previous ones to Tibet, Tharchin's favorite Judeo-Christian Scripture portion was Psalm 23 which sustained him in all circumstances, especially in the most difficult ones. He knew and practiced the art of walking out his life in accordance with the Christian Bible.

Tharchin left Kalimpong for Gangtok and joined the Political Officer's party there. The entourage, according to Sir Basil himself, then departed the Sikkimese capital about the middle of January (1940). Gould, Richardson and party halted at Yatung for two or three days. Because of the brief notice, the Tibetan had had no advance time to do any planning or purchasing of presents to be given to friends in Tibet according to the usual custom. This lack had concerned him considerably during the early part of the journey. At Yatung he came across his good friend Tsarong Shape, the very high-ranking Tibetan official frequently mentioned already in previous chapters. Tsarong had just then come from Lhasa and was heading towards India. By this time Tharchin knew him quite well since he and Theos Bernard had been guests in his Lhasa home for nearly three months just three years earlier.³



The man from Kalimpong happened to possess a copy of a photograph of the present Dalai Lama, the Fourteenth, taken when the latter was but four years of age (Western reckoning). Suddenly the thought ("wisdom from above?" read his "memoirs") came to Tharchin to reproduce several thousand copies of this photograph "to use as gifts" and to sell the many other remaining copies during the Installation program period of His Holiness whose initial day of commencement was then quite imminent. The income to be derived from these sales could thus be utilized to purchase additional gifts for his many friends and close acquaintances in Tibet and also to "help finance his trip." Hope for this to occur now appeared quite favorable in that Tsarong was very agreeable to the idea and happened to be traveling towards the right place—Calcutta—for such a notion to be accomplished. Indeed, the Tibetan official approved of the idea wholeheartedly and promised his immediate unstinting personal cooperation in the implementation of the plan.⁴

It so happened that a certain missionary with the China Inland Mission since 1911, Frank D. Learner, who had been preaching the Christian gospel on the eastern border of Tibet from the China side, had taken a photograph of His Holiness at the age of four at the time when he had only recently been discovered and recognized there—as Tibetans believe—as

the reincarnation of the previous Dalai Lama. At the time, the child, awaiting the moment when he would soon officially be declared by the Tibetan government the chosen candidate to become the Fourteenth Dalai Lama and subsequently be taken by caravan to Lhasa, was staying at the famed Kumbum Monastery, located not far from the child's family home village of Tengtser (aka: Taktser, etc.). At Kumbum the missionary had had an opportunity to present some printed Gospel of John text cards to the incarnate "god-boy" and then he snapped a photo of him.⁵ This photograph came to be viewed as one of the more extraordinary pictures in the history of Tibet.⁶

In the photo the presumed young reincarnation, born of Tibetan parents in the Chinese-controlled region of ethnic East Tibet known as Amdo, was seen dressed in a typical Tibetan peasant boy's garb but wearing—in keeping with his future High Lama rank—an official Yellow Hat with ear flaps turned up and sitting on a small chair with one or more text cards of John's Gospel resting on his lap. The hat referred to was most likely a headpiece called *Naling*, which happened to be, appropriately, the style of hat worn by Tsong Khapa, the great Tibetan Buddhist reformer discussed earlier, the founder of today's dominant "Yellow Hat" or Gelugpa branch of the Tibetan Church.⁷

Subsequently this photograph had been published by the China Inland Mission in its well-known Christian magazine entitled *China's Millions*; and in time it had then appeared in numerous magazines and newspapers around the world.⁸ Someone had sent a clipping of this picture to the Kalimpong publisher who had preserved it very carefully and would thereafter publish it frequently in his Tibetan newspaper.

Now it may be of interest to the reader to learn just how it was that this celebrated photograph came to be taken in the first place. Missionary Learner has himself provided an account of how he came to take the now-famous photo. In the September 1939 number of *China's Millions* there appeared an article by him in which he recounted the event. Here is how the missionary described what happened, as supplemented here and there by a few additional observations derived from a book he wrote called *Tibetan Journey*:

Just recently I took a trip to Kumbum Lamasery, and while there asked if I might see the little new Dalai Lama. Being well known in this Lamasery by those who are in authority, I was granted my request. The little boy, not a bit shy, was brought along to the large guest hall where I was waiting and was presented to me. What a dear wee chap he was!—an attractive child with his bright little fat face. I took a picture of him ... He was not in the least afraid but was, on the other hand, most friendly and happy to be lifted up in my ... arms. I think I won his friendship from the first, as I presented him with some colored Tibetan Gospel text cards, which he eagerly accepted. His parents are just common Tibetan farmers. I felt sorry for the little fellow, for I thought he should have been with his mother.

In a short time he will be taken over to Lhasa. I surely do not envy him his high position as head of the Buddhist hierarchy in Tibet. I wonder if he will take the Tibetan Gospel text cards with him when he goes! I sincerely hope so.⁹

Pulling out the clipping of the Learner photo that had been sent him, Tharchin now requested Tsarong Shape to have a photograph "block" made from it. He asked General Tsarong to have five thousand copies made and to mail them to him at once thereafter.

Tharchin was to reimburse him for this huge order later on. The Tharchin "memoirs" pointedly indicated that Tsarong had agreed to the proposal without there having been any haggling over the surety of the payment, the General having consented to advance the entire cost out of his own pocket. Subsequently Tharchin did pay the whole amount to the General. Moreover, according to these same "memoirs," this entire episode plainly demonstrates that the lowly man from Poo had won the respect and confidence of high-ranking officials in the Tibetan government, who were grateful to him for the lasting contribution to the Tibetan-speaking world he had made through his newspaper.

When the Tibetan publisher handed the former Army Commander and ex-*Shape* a copy of the picture, the official remarked, "Your copy is not very clear. I have got an original copy of the photo." This, Tharchin acknowledged long afterwards, was a welcome surprise to him, for he considered this development to be more than a coincidence. Tsarong promised to forward the consignment to him in Lhasa within a month. The newspaper publisher then gave him the address in Calcutta of the European firm which was to do the job. And on the very day that the General reached Calcutta he rushed to the firm (The Caledonian Press?) and placed an order for five thousand copies of the photograph of the young Fourteenth Dalai Lama. And thus the Lord God, Tharchin the Christian would later observe, had wonderfully solved his "problem" concerning the gifts and the financing of the trip to Lhasa; and so—say his "memoirs"—he "enjoyed great peace of heart thereafter."¹⁰



From Yatung the former Tibetan Army Chief left for Calcutta while Tharchin with the Political Officer's party proceeded on towards Gyantse. Here a message was received directing Hugh Richardson not to proceed to Lhasa since he was being reassigned to India's North-West Frontier Province for a two-year stint of service there. Under these circumstances Richardson told Tharchin: "Gould will take you with him to help in the Tibetan language inasmuch as he is working on a book."¹¹ It was originally to be a volume on various aspects of the Tibetan language, but the language work involved would actually spin off into several books, not just one. In his political autobiography Sir Basil tells of the origin for this linguistic labor.

... as leisure and opportunity offered, the idea of making the Tibetan language more intelligible to myself and perhaps to others, and especially to beginners, had been taking shape. As had been the case with Persian, I felt the need of a book of simple conversations on everyday subjects; and of gramophone records in order that from the start the pronunciation might be got correctly. The main difficulties of the language seemed to lie not in its grammar and syntax, but in its vocabulary and spelling. There were in fact several vocabularies.... With Hugh Richardson as co-author and the willing help of many [now to include Tharchin], what had seemed to me to be chaos gradually took shape. Words became friends.¹²

When Richardson had informed Tharchin of the new situation that would call for a more direct involvement with Sir Basil in his language work, the Tibetan readily agreed to move

forward to Lhasa with the Political Officer's entourage. (Nevertheless, it would not be "fun-and-games" for him in Lhasa, for he would soon find that he would have to labor very hard almost daily—both day and night—on the books which Gould was trying to put together.) Interestingly enough, a film documenting the entire journey of the British delegation from Sikkim to Lhasa was taken by an Indian amateur film-maker and professional portrait painter by the name of Kanwal Krishna.* He had been commissioned by the British to accompany the delegation for the express purpose of painting portraits of the new Dalai Lama and his family. Agreeing to do so for what was in those days a princely sum of Rs. 2000/-, Krishna would return with more than 300 paintings and sketches and also a film which he shot on his own that covered not only the Installation ceremony of the new Tibetan ruler but other events as well, including the delegation's journey up from Gangtok. Wrote one viewer of the film fifty years later:

On the way [to Lhasa], we watch the folk dances of the Tibetans, sure-footed yaks, lamas, monasteries, and the locals making tea and milking cows in their unique way. Krishna and the British delegation that he was accompanying crossed mountain passes between 15,000 and 17,000 feet to get to Lhasa. Among the things they lugged: 90 boxes full of silver rupees.¹³

In due time the travelers came to the outskirts of the Sacred City. Providing a guard of honor from the well-known Trapchi Regiment of the Tibetan Army, the Tibetan government accorded Sir Basil and his party an official reception on their arrival in the capital on 8 February 1940.¹⁴

During this sojourn in Lhasa the visitor from Kalimpong would shortly discover that he would not have much leisure time in which to devote himself to his own advanced study of Tibetan literature in which he so greatly desired to engage. Nevertheless, his "memoirs" indicate that he did meet many scholars there. Among other things, he invited constructive suggestions from them and others as to how his newspaper might be improved, since many of them received and read his publication regularly.

*

Tharchin would now be busy much of the time helping Sir Basil Gould, whose entourage stayed about two miles from Lhasa proper.¹⁵ The Political Officer was first of all compiling a Tibetan word-book. He and those assisting him were also engaged in composing a second volume and even a third: a Tibetan sentence-book and a syllable-book, both of which would be spin-offs of the word-book, as the following description of all three will clearly indicate.

The word-book eventually published would contain in its 447 large pages of text some 2000 Tibetan syllables, each of which, taken in turn and presented in Tibetan alphabetical

* This was the same artist, incidentally, who two years earlier had accompanied Rahul Sankrityayana and Gedun Chopel on their scholarly expedition into southern Tibet; see two chapters hence for the details.

order, would serve as a key syllable, each being assigned a key number. On each of the lines in which these key syllables were to be dealt with singly, the arrangement would be: key number, phonetic rendering, the syllable in Tibetan characters, a letter by letter transcription of these Tibetan characters, and ending with a catch meaning. Subsumed under each key entry would be listed line by line those Tibetan words or phrases of which the key syllable forms a part, with the other syllables of the listed words or phrases being identified by their key numbers. And thus on these subsequent lines, the arrangement would be: the word or phrase in Tibetan characters, the key numbers of other syllables in the word or phrase, the English meaning, and ending with a phonetic rendering of the word or phrase. This word-book would thus provide a select vocabulary of several thousand words, each syllable of which being explained.*

On the other hand, the resultant syllable-book's purpose was to take these same 2000 or so key syllables of the word-book that had been presented in Tibetan alphabetical order and rearrange them, according to their phonetic values, in English alphabetical order. By so doing, it would both facilitate reference to the word-book and also assist in distinguishing syllables of similar sound but of different spelling and meaning. The sentence-book—that is to say, a compilation of both individual sentences and short simple conversations on everyday subjects—which finally emerged from all these labors would likewise make reference to the word-book. It was intended to be published because of the lack of any Tibetan light literature that could assist the beginner to learn the Tibetan language. As each fresh syllable might occur in the sentences to be found in the volume, it would be identified by its key number, with the total number of syllables gradually introduced in this fashion ending up being about 800 in all. The preparation of this sentence-book, incidentally, would have the invaluable help of one of Gergan Tharchin's very good friends. For when published, the word-book's preface by Gould would note that "Kusho Doring Thaiji assisted in revising the Sentences." Could it be that the Babu had suggested the name of his good friend to the British official? More than likely he had.

Tharchin remained in Lhasa for five months working on these scholastic projects of Sir Basil's. That the latter felt very much indebted to the Tibetan for his help is evidenced by what he wrote in the General Preface to what, when at last published, was entitled *Tibetan Word Book*: "A visit to Lhasa in 1940 in connection with" Dalai Lama XIV's "installation gave opportunity for much of the work which has been done on these books.... Mr. G. Tharchin, of the Church of Scotland Mission at Kalimpong, who did much of the work on the Word Book, Sentences, and Verbs, is the Editor and producer of the only Tibetan newspaper."¹⁶

* Interestingly, an American lexicographer in the Tibetan language, Stuart H. Buck, the compiler of a modern, more up-to-date *Tibetan-English Dictionary* (Washington DC: Catholic University of America, 1969), found the Gould-Richardson word-book extremely helpful. For he indicated in his Introduction to his dictionary that "most of the basic material contained in the *Word Book* has been incorporated into the present dictionary." *Ibid.*, xii. Added Buck: "Gould and Richardson place great stress on the importance of the root meaning of each Tibetan syllable." *Ibid.*



During this long period in Lhasa Tharchin came across a Tibetan scholar, Ringang by name (aka: Changoepa Rinzin Dorje), who when only ten or twelve years old had been the youngest of four Tibetan boys (the others were about sixteen) sent abroad for higher studies by the Lhasa government.¹⁷ By the end of all his studies Ringang had come to know English very well since he had been in England twice for a total stay of about ten years in pursuit of an academic education at both Rugby and London University. After his return he worked in an official capacity as Engineer in an important Tibetan government bureau, the State Mint, located just outside Lhasa to the north; and he further utilized his European-acquired engineering knowledge during the late 1920s in the construction of Tibet's first hydroelectric power station which he himself then managed. Because he was required to give items of news derived from the English-language Indian newspapers to the Cabinet (whose official interpreter Ringang was) and to be present on those rare occasions when Europeans visited Lhasa, he was made one of the Municipal Officers of the Tibetan capital. It so happened, in fact, that at these particular New Year celebrations which would see the installation of the new Dalai Lama, Ringang had been selected to be the Master of Ceremonies. He was even serving as District Magistrate (*Dzongpon*) of a distant part of Tibet; but it was his wife, and never he, who would discharge his duties there for him!¹⁸

Sir Basil now arranged for Ringang and another Tibetan scholar, Lama Tshatrul Rimpoche, besides Tharchin, to check through his book.* For this purpose the Kalimpong visitor resided with Ringang, the one who had the excellent mastery of the English language. The three of them would get together to check and revise the meaning, construction, composition and spelling of each word or syllable. One full month was spent like this in doing nothing but this kind of revision work.¹⁹

In his late-in-life personal "memoirs" the Kalimpong scholar related one particularly vivid example of his linguistic labors he had engaged in with these two Lhasan scholars. From time to time there would arise an argument over points of meaning or spelling between Tharchin and the latter's Lhasan host, the scholastic master of English, Ringang. When these two disagreed they would table their conflicting viewpoints until the arrival of the other Tibetan scholar, the recognized incarnate Lama, Tshatrul Rimpoche, who sometimes would be late in coming. After his arrival they would consult him on the disputed points.

* It would be under this same Rimpoche, incidentally, that Babu Tharchin's nephew by marriage, D. Ringzin Wangpo, would sit as student. For in early 1943, at age 23, Ringzin would commence a five-year course of study in Tibetan that included the grammatical works known as the *sum-rtags*. He would complete this rigorous study course under Tshatrul Rimpoche in 1947, after which the budding scholar would go to Kalimpong for a year and assist his famous uncle in publishing the latter's Tibetan newspaper and from there would travel a year later to England where, as the first Tibetan researcher ever invited, he would work and lecture in the Tibetan language for two years at London University's renowned School of Oriental and African Studies. See R. K. Sprigg, "Gelong Rigzin Wangpo ...: 1920-1985" (Obituary), *TJ* (Spring 1988):78. More than likely it was at this time in 1940 that the Babu had put in a good word about his nephew which may have led to the latter's subsequent academic association with the eminent Rimpoche.

But more often than not Tharchin was the one found to be correct or more accurate in his statements. Once, however, they engaged in lengthy discussion on the phrase "Ko Thag Lhodpa": Ko—leather, Thag—rope, Lhodpa—to let loose. The phrase has a cultural context to its meaning: in Tibet boats are tied to the shore with a leather rope; if the latter is loosed or severed, then the boat will be stranded on the river or lake. Ringang, the scholar of English, rendered it, "to leave in the lurch"—a translation which, in this instance, pleased all three!²⁰ This instance only confirmed what all Western visitors to Lhasa in years gone by had been saying of Ringang's mastery of English. To quote but one of these visitors, Frederick Spencer-Chapman, who just three or four years earlier had been on a previous Mission to Lhasa with Sir Basil, had observed about Ringang then in these terms: "He still speaks the most perfect and idiomatic English; and although he was too busy to spend very much time with us, we found him a most entertaining and intelligent man."²¹

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Now it should be noted that Tharchin had by this time created a Tibetan word-book or dictionary of his own whose layout was, not surprisingly, "based," as he himself indicated, "on an alphabetical system." He had in fact brought with him on this current visit to Tibet part if not all of his lexicon as it had then existed. Arranged according to "modern"—that is, Western—rules or principles of dictionary composition, any word or term and its definition could readily be located, declared the Babu in his end-of-life personal record, "without wasting time or effort."* And with the passage of time it had been revised again and again by incorporating into it thousands of additional Tibetan words and their meanings (with many of their Sanskrit parallels included): even by as many as nearly 60,000, when finally completed, along with the inclusion of sentences derived from recent and not-so-recent Tibetan texts demonstrating how such words had been used in context (see later for more about this feature). During their many conversations together at Lhasa in 1940 the Tibetan Lama-scholar Tshatrul Rimpoche had once expressed his opinion that Tharchin's unfinished lexicon, which the Babu had shown him, was "good" and that it would prove to be "very helpful" were it published. This particular Lama, in contrasting his Kalimpong friend's dictionary with the works of others in this field, remarked to Tharchin: "Your dictionary gives more details and words." He added, moreover, that on one occasion it happened that "a Mongolian Lama came to me [for me] to check over his dictionary; indeed, it was something like yours."²²

* Some earlier Tibetan dictionaries—e.g., that of Csoma de Körös published in 1834—did not provide a listing of their vocabularies in Tibetan alphabetical order according to the *root* letter but according to the initial letter. See a few Text pages hence for a fuller description of the Babu's dictionary.

All this which the learned Rimpoche had said to Tharchin the latter would record when decades afterwards his life-record or “memoirs” would be set down not long before his death in 1976. And in this personal record of his, the Babu had made it clear in a subsequent sentence that he knew who this Mongolian Lama was (“... although he knew the dictionary was being composed by the Mongolian Lama”); nevertheless, he was extremely circumspect in not revealing the identity of this Lama in the “memoirs” (in fact, some twenty times in the discussion about the Lama as set forth in the Tharchin record he had carefully employed the phrase of either “the Mongolian Lama,” “this Mongolian Lama,” “the Mongolian,” or else “the Lama”), and the recording of Tshatrul Rimpoche’s comments to the Babu proved to be no exception. However, the present author is quite certain that the Rimpoche, when discussing the Mongolian with Tharchin, had stated by name who this person was, as will be revealed shortly in the present discussion. And hence, in this writer’s opinion, the phrase appearing in Tharchin’s “memoir” account as part of what the Rimpoche had told him—“a Mongolian Lama”—was merely the Babu’s way, in subsequently sharing his memories of this event, of discreetly and charitably disguising the identity of the Lama in question. The present writer is confident in this assumption for the simple reason that both the Mongolian and the Rimpoche were well known to each other by this time (1940) and that it was likewise known to the Rimpoche and to many others at the Tibetan capital that both the Mongolian and Tharchin knew each other very well and, outwardly at least, were still on generally friendly terms with each other at this point in time.

The truth of the matter is that though this Mongolian Lama was by that time very well known to Gergan Tharchin, he came to be known to the Babu and to many others more for his alleged infamous reputation as a scoundrel than as a scholar of recognized talent: both characterizations of which, it seems, were equally true of him. The name of this Lama, when rendered in English, was variously spelled as Chodak, Chodrag, Chodrak, Choedak, Chhoedak, Choidak, or Choitok, depending upon who it was who was relating one of the many little stories—whether uplifting or degrading—which inevitably were bruited about concerning him. The Babu would himself be one of many who had a story, even several stories, to tell; and from the amount of space in his end-of-life “memoirs” which he ended up devoting to this Lama and the latter’s relationship with him, one can easily conclude that Lama Chodak’s conduct and behavior over the years had bothered him considerably. So much so that Tharchin, very careful in having for the longest time kept the Lama’s identity hidden from either his readers or listeners, would ultimately feel compelled to reveal his name and to cite one particular instance of Lama Chodak’s conduct which in his opinion smacked of being the worst kind of skullduggery an erudite scholar could perpetrate; especially when in this particular instance, which in due course will be presented in some detail, such skullduggery had been perpetrated at the expense of the Babu’s lexicographical accomplishments.

Now even though Tharchin had showered Lama Chodak (1898-1972) with many acts of helpfulness on his previous visit to Lhasa in 1937, at which time the Lama had finally achieved the coveted *geshe* degree (see below for more on both these matters), he had actually made his first acquaintance of the Lama back in Kalimpong. As a matter of fact, it was there that Babu Tharchin had initially come to know firsthand something of the

questionable character of this Lama, who came to be dubbed much later by the Babu as "the bad Mongolian Lama" (though as intimated earlier, nowhere in his so-called memoirs did he ever identify him by name; indeed, it was only as a consequence of showing to Sonam T. Kazi the pertinent pages of Tharchin's life-concluding record having to do with this Lama that the present writer had first come to know his name-identity specifically and the unflattering appellation which Babu Tharchin had attached to him; though in the interest of fairness to Tharchin, it must be noted that this appellation never appeared once in the Babu's "memoirs" or in his letters and other writings).^{22a}

It so happened that in 1930 Lama Chodak had first come to Kalimpong from Tibet in the company of the renowned Indian Buddhist scholar, Pandit Rahul Sankrityayana (1893-1963).^{*} Pandit Rahul had "felt the urge" to travel to Tibet in search of those Sanskrit Buddhist texts which had been carried there by Indian monks who during the closing years of the twelfth century into the early thirteenth had fled for their lives northward from before the invading hordes of fanatical Moslems that had attacked and totally razed to the ground the famed Buddhist universities at Nalanda and Vikramasila which back then had been located in what is present-day Bihar State. Secretly trekking to the Great Closed Land via Nepal by foot and pony in early 1929, Rahul would eventually reach Lhasa on 19 July. Initially going straight to the vast Drepung Monastery, he found there 7,000 monks and lamas, among whom he was provided living quarters for what proved to be a lengthy stay. While at the Tibetan capital Rahul made the acquaintance of a budding 32-year-old erudite scholar who since about 1922 had been enrolled in Drepung's sister monastery at nearby Sera: a Buriat Mongol monk. Referred to in one biographical account of the Pandit as Dharmakirti, this Buriat monk's original name in transliterated Tibetan was *chos-kyi grags-pa* (Chökyi Drakpa) but who would long afterwards be more commonly known—at least to Westerners—as Lama (or Geshe) Chodak, Chodrag, Chodrak, etc. etc.

Having remained in Tibet for over a year, the Pandit, after loading onto 22 mules all the materials and artifacts he had collected during his sojourn—books, manuscripts, paintings, and *thangkas*—now departed the Tibetan capital on 24 April 1930, accompanied by the Mongolian Lama. He also carried with him, "on small chits," some 16,000 Bhot words (with their Nepali- and Sanskrit-translated equivalents noted) which he had collected and translated while at Drepung. This had been an activity which may have been the inspiration for the future Geshe Chodak to compile and publish decades later at Lhasa what would become, in Heather Stoddard's words, "the first modern unilingual Tibetan dictionary," in the words of Melvyn Goldstein, "the first modern dictionary compiled in Tibet ... and the first indigenous dictionary to use a modern system of alphabetization," in Jeffrey Hopkins' words, "one of the best modern dictionaries of Tibetan," in the words of Pema Bhum, "the most comprehensive Tibetan dictionary in existence prior to the publication of the *Great Tibetan-Chinese Dictionary* in 1985," in Jamyang Norbu's words, "a remarkable achievement by a traditional

^{*} Most interestingly, during the 1930s this "Indian Buddhist/socialist intellectual" and unwavering Communist would assist in varying degrees three of Gergan Tharchin's closest associates in Tibetan-related scholarly endeavors: Lama Chodak, Gedun Chopel (see Chapter 23), and the Ladakhi Buddhist convert to Christianity, Rev. Fliyah Tsetan Phuntsog (see Chapter 28).

scholar,” and in the words of Professor Donald Lopez Jr., “a Tibetan-Tibetan dictionary that is still widely used.” (Yet none of these scholars and others were aware, nor could they be, of the great influence which Gergan Tharchin and his earlier unilingual Tibetan dictionary had exerted on the Chodak lexicon, a matter which it is hoped will now be rectified by this present discussion.)

Thirty-nine days later, after obtaining on his homeward-bound journey still more books and manuscripts at such Tibetan religious sites as Shalu Vihar, Trashilhunpo and Narthang, Rahul and his party—including the Buriat monk—arrived at Gergan Tharchin’s hill station on or about the 2d of June 1930. But upon the two of them reaching Siliguri on the Pandit’s way to Calcutta, the Lama decided to return immediately to Kalimpong after being advised not to risk the hot climate of the Indian plains to which he obviously was unaccustomed. Thus, with only Rs. 30/- in his pocket, the nearly penurious Mongolian found his way back up to the hill station and, not surprisingly, came into contact with the famed Kalimpong publisher. Tharchin Babu, immediately “recognizing his intellectual and linguistic talents, offered him employment.”*

Lama Chodak accepted this offer and thus, during a period of nearly two years, had the opportunity—which, if one can accept Tharchin’s end-of-life testimony, he took advantage of—to “pick up” and adapt from Tharchin Babu’s dictionary its “modern [or, Western] techniques,” “design,” “plan and system” for later composing and publishing a Tibetan-

* The sources consulted for the information and quoted material presented here concerning Lama Chodak’s relationship with the Indian Pandit and concerning the Pandit himself are eight: (a) GTUM TwMs, Ch. 19, pp. 4, 5 note 2—where their arrival together at Kalimpong, the Siliguri incident, and its aftermath back up in Kalimpong are specifically mentioned; (b) Stoddard, *Le mendiant de l’Amdo*, 219, 332; (c) Goldstein, “Tibetan Lexicography,” in Franz Josef Hausmann et al. (eds.), *Wörterbücher, Dictionnaires, Dictionnaires: Ein internationales Handbuch zur Lexikographie* (Berlin/NewYork), III:2549; (d) Hopkins, “Gedun Chopel ...,” in Gedun Chopel, *Tibetan Arts of Love*, 20; (e) Pema Bhum, “Geshe Chödrak’s Orthographical Dictionary,” *Latse Library Newsletter* (Fall 2005):26; (f) Norbu (2005), “Newspeak and New Tibet ...,” Part III, unnumbered page, at www.TibetWrites.org; (g) Lopez, Jr., “... a Preliminary Study,” in Per Kvaerne, ed., *Tibetan Studies*, 2 vols (Oslo, 1994), I:492; and (h) “Mahapandit Rahul Sankrityayan, a Biographical Sketch,” in D.C. Ahir, *Himalayan Buddhism Past and Present* (Delhi, 1993), xiv-xv. Ahir, one of the Pandit’s more recent biographers, has noted that this huge cache of artifacts from his first of four sojourns in Tibet (occurring between 1929 and 1938) he would almost immediately afterwards present as a gift to the Library of the Patna Museum at Patna in Bihar State, India. Besides the voluminous *Kangyur* and *Tengyur*, Pandit Rahul had also brought out nearly 1620 manuscripts in Tibetan and 150 paintings. A stupendous cultural treasure, indeed. See *ibid.*, xv. Furthermore, it would be a close friend of Lama Chodak’s, the renowned Amdo monk-scholar, Gedun Chopel, who would be tapped by Rahul four years later to conduct cataloging research on this and subsequent collections which the Pandit, along with the Amdowa scholar, would bring forth from Tibet. But there hangs a tale of more than passing interest, which is narrated two chapters hence in the section devoted therein to the relationship between the Indo-Tibetan Babu and the erudite Amdowa—the latter having been introduced to the former, incidentally, by none other than Pandit Rahul.

Finally, it should be noted that Horkhang Jampa Tendar’s Tibetan-language memoir article about Lama Chodak—recently translated and published in English for the first time by Laurant Hartley—is grossly faulty in the dating cited therein concerning the episode in the Lama’s life at Lhasa having to do with his encounter there with the Pandit and his subsequent earliest encounter with Babu Tharchin at Kalimpong; for the correct dating, see *ibid.* Likewise, Horkhang’s dating of Theos Bernard’s arrival at Lhasa (stated as 1936) and Hartley’s assertion as to his length of stay in Tibet (16 months) are also faulty. See Horkhang J.T., “The Geshe Chödrak I Knew and His Dictionary,” *Latse Library Newsletter* (Fall 2005):19-20, 25 note. Consult the present narrative’s Volume II, Chapter 20 for the correct information.

Tibetan lexicon of his own. Given the Babu's well-nigh impeccable reputation for trustworthiness, it is difficult to doubt this claim. Moreover, one can infer from this claim that the Mongolian Lama had probably not previously been aware of these modern dictionary ideas and techniques.

Now this taking on by Chodak of Tharchin's dictionary construction techniques and modern format can definitely be ascertained from reading the Tharchin "memoirs" but less clearly so from perusing a most interesting letter the Babu would write to Hugh Richardson nearly two decades subsequent to the period now under discussion. The letter in question would be written at about the time the Babu began negotiating with the University of Washington at Seattle USA for a substantial subsidy to help underwrite the cost of producing his own much larger—and, in the opinion of both Tharchin and Tshatrul Rimpoche, far better—lexicon, the one alluded to a few pages earlier. Richardson, by the way, would be teaching Literary Tibetan and other related subjects in the Far Eastern and Russian Institute at this very University only a few years hence when both he and the Babu would be corresponding with each other about this same ambitious lexicographical undertaking of Tharchin's.* Now in the particular letter referenced here, and dated 10 February 1962, the Indo-Tibetan scholar would write to Richardson as follows:

I think you know the Mongolian, Geshe Chodrag, who also brought out a Tibetan to Tibetan Dictionary. Actually I was the man to whom I taught [sic] for nearly two years in 1930 and 1932 [i.e., Actually I was the man who taught him, and I employed him for nearly two years total: in 1930 and 1932], then he went back to Tibet and again came in 1935 and worked [once more for me for] about a year. So he got the [dictionary] idea [from me] and later on he printed on a block print as Tibetan ways [i.e., he printed it in wood block-print fashion as is the Tibetan way]. But his explanation[s] of the words are not so good and clear[;] beside mine one is four times more words than his [i.e., besides, mine has four times more words than his].²³

It must be acknowledged that this last statement in the letter was woefully inaccurate. For whereas the Babu's dictionary draft when completed would possess nearly 60,000 words—an extraordinary achievement, by any standard, even though it would never be fully printed—the Mongolian's lexicon when printed contained a highly respectable 26,000. Furthermore, this letter uncovers the fact that well before Lama Chodak had begun to compile his unilingual Tibetan dictionary (possibly 1934 but more likely 1937 in earnest; see below), the Babu had himself commenced doing so on his lexicographical work much earlier—by his own account, he began compiling it in 1930^{23a}—and yet the Lama never gave any recognition in his lexicon of the contribution which his Kalimpong benefactor had provided him.

* For example, in one letter Richardson writes: "I should be very glad to see specimen sheets ["of your new Tibetan-Tibetan Dictionary"] ... I am very much looking forward to the finished work. I do not think you should take out too many Sanskrit words if they are fairly common in Tibetan books. The great thing is to give [text] references showing where the words are to be found [and therefore how used in context]...." Richardson to Tharchin, 15 Sept. 1966, ThPaK.

Now as intimated in the Tharchin-Richardson letter, the Mongolian would be in the employ of the Babu during 1930 and into 1931 and during much of 1932, after which he went back to Tibet to continue his monastic studies at Sera. But the Lama would return to Kalimpong in 1935 where he would resume his employment under Tharchin for nearly another year and where also he apparently would establish a friendship for the first time with Gedun Chopel, before heading back once more to the Tibetan capital. That the establishing of their friendship had occurred at Kalimpong and not at Lhasa is known from Heather Stoddard. For she has asserted that Lama Chodak had "himself [been] an old-time friend of [Gedun Chopel's] from Kalimpong."²⁴ It would appear from Tharchin's letter to Richardson and from his "memoirs" that the primary employment he had provided Lama Chodak was to labor with him on the Babu's continually expanding Tibetan-Tibetan lexicon which he had already well begun to create for future publication. (Gedun Chopel, it is believed, would likewise work with the Babu on this same dictionary project; see in Chapter 23 of the present volume for a brief discussion of this particular collaborative effort.) And thus by this means did the Mongolian Lama have the opportunity, according to Tharchin, to learn and take back with him to Lhasa all he could absorb about the method, design and format of the Babu's ongoing dictionary creation. And hence, it could be said that whereas Pandit Rahul's Bhot vocabulary-collecting activity may have inspired the erudite Mongolian Lama to begin to think of one day compiling a Tibetan-Tibetan dictionary, the opportunity given him of associating and working with Babu Tharchin on the latter's already existing though incomplete lexicon would provide Lama Chodak with all the modern conventions by which to create that dictionary. Finally, it should be pointed out that when the moment came for Lama Chodak to return to Tibet, whether that have been in 1932 or in early to mid-1936 (the record is not clear which), he had promised, declared the Indo-Tibetan in his end-of-life "memoirs," to send back to the hill station "some additional books of Tibetan words" (see below for the probable meaning of this phrase) which it was mutually understood were to be used for Tharchin's monumental lexicon that was anticipated would develop into quite a few volumes when printed. This promise the Lama never kept, however.²⁵

Perhaps it would be helpful to the readers, at this point in the discussion, to have before them a more complete description of the Babu's dictionary. It so happened that many years ago the present author had come across the first two printed volumes of Tharchin's lexicon in the latter's personal library. He learned from the Babu's son, S. G. Tharchin, that these covered the first nine letters of the thirty-letter Tibetan alphabet, with the contents of the initial volume having covered letters one through four and the second, letters five through nine. Since then, unfortunately, the first volume had disappeared, though there are currently on the library shelf two copies of the second printed volume (no further volumes having been printed). The author recently requested Phurbu Tsering (see Volume I of the present biography, page xxxii, for his bona fides) to thoroughly peruse this second volume of the Babu's Tibetan-Tibetan dictionary and provide in English a summary profile of the work. This he kindly did, as follows (with some editing added by the author for clarity):

The second volume begins with [the] ... group of Tibetan consonants Cha to Tha [and consists of] page numbers 660 to 1076. Words are arranged most systematically [in alphabetical order so as] to find them easily.* Besides the Tibetan words presented, many equivalent Sanskrit and Hindi words are included as well, along with their meanings. An English word like "whale" is [now and then] included [as a way] to provide [in a more] vivid [manner] the meaning of the Tibetan word. Tibetan words and their meanings are supported [by the inclusion of] exact references [extracted] from [various] Buddhist texts†. Stories [which lay] behind the origin of some words are presented in detail, and run [in some instances as much as] four pages in length. The [level of] language employed to explain is very simple, lucid and easy to understand for the users. Much effort and hard work [have been] done to make this dictionary useful to Tibetan scholars. It is a huge loss and sad to find that it is incomplete [in its not having been totally printed].

Now the "additional books" which the Mongolian had promised Tharchin—but a promise that remained unfulfilled by the Lama—were most likely some additional and perhaps rare "Buddhist texts" like those referenced in the above profile. Some people who were aware of this unfulfilled promise were not pleased with Lama Chodak, yet not for this only but for other kinds of conduct which they found deplorable. One such example, which the Babu made a point of having had it recorded in his life-concluding personal record, occurred at his home as follows. One day while a serious religious discussion was taking place, this Buddhist Lama—"out of his resentment of, and dislike for, Christianity"—deliberately and flagrantly sat down on a copy of the Gospel of St. Mark, not caring in the slightest that it was a part of the sacred writings of the Christians who were present. In the words of his personal record, Tharchin became "furious" over such behavior, but acknowledged that sometime later the "inconsiderate" Chodak "apologized for his bad conduct." The Babu's account of this incident indicated that in response to the apology, he "forgave" the Lama "in the spirit of Christ."²⁶

Sometime after his return to Lhasa in the first half of 1936 to resume his monastic studies and, more importantly, to prepare for the rigorous examinations he would be required to pass before he could receive his *geshe* degree in 1937, the Mongolian Lama began to collect, organize, define and provide meanings (in sentences) for the many word entries in composing his Tibetan dictionary that in essence, as reported by the Babu, had been created according to the modern dictionary concepts and techniques which were present in his Kalimpong employer's much earlier established but incomplete lexicon. The time for the Lama to commence developing this endeavor in earnest was most likely in the latter part of 1937 after obtaining the degree, which would thus leave the Geshe with much more free time to devote himself to the project that by his own acknowledgment would require thirteen years to totally create.²⁷ In fact, it would not be until the latter part of 1949 that he would

* The Tibetan words are listed in Tibetan alphabetical order according to the *root* letter, not according to the words' initial letter. This information is per e-mail message, David Tharchin to the present author, Kalimpong, 26 September 2008.

† This significant feature had begun to appear in Tibetan dictionaries for the first time in Heinrich Jaeschke's monumental *Tibetan-English Dictionary* of 1881. See Chapter 28 of the present volume for a discussion of this dictionary achievement.

finish the dictionary and have it published at the Tibetan capital in some fifteen copies. In the words of literary critic Jamyang Norbu, this work's "distinctive feature ... is its Western-style format, though the printing is traditional wood-block."^{27a} Perhaps echoing Norbu's interesting observation, Pema Bhum has provided a description of this publication, having been able to see and peruse an extant original print of it made from the wood blocks that under the patronage of a nobleman family in Lhasa had been carved there for the Geshe in 1949. Writes Pema Bhum:

The wood-block print is not elongated like most traditional Tibetan texts, but is in the shape of modern-format books. It consists of two volumes printed on Tibetan paper. If this edition is not the first instance of the transition to modern-format printing using Tibetan wood blocks, it is certainly among the earliest.

The layout of the dictionary also follows modern conventions in that terms are listed on the left with corresponding definitions on the right.* ["Traditional Tibetan glossaries usually listed words, and sometimes definitions, in paragraph-format and were often in verse."—P.B.] This dictionary is likely the first instance of the transformation of what Tibetans call *dag yig* or glossaries into the structure of the modern dictionary.* Yet, unlike modern publications, the pages of this dictionary are not numbered consecutively [whereas the pages of the Babu's dictionary are—the present author].* Rather, the paging starts again for entries beginning with a new letter [of the Tibetan alphabet]. For example, all entries under *ka* comprise pages 1-52 of the dictionary, and the page numbering starts again with '1' for entries under *kha*.†

Tharchin was himself made aware of Lama Chodak's publication of his lexicographical work by means of letters he received from one of his various informants at the Tibetan capital, in this instance Sonam T. Kazi. These letters reflect something of the Geshe's apparent obsession with acquiring wealth; a trait that if true was certainly not in keeping with his Buddhist faith. Here are fragments from three of the Kazi's Lhasan letters culled from the Tharchin Papers:

Geshe Chodak has finished his dictionary except for ten pages. He hopes to sell it for Rs. 50/- each. He says he will present you with one. . . . (19 June 1949)

Geshe Chodak has almost finished his book and is waiting for some money to buy paper [for its printing so as] to circulate free copies to his friends. (14 August 1949)

Geshe Chodak has completed his dictionary and you might have seen it already. He had printed 15 sets of it just now, but owing to this, he has almost to beg for his food; so unlike what he had previously thought. He thought that he will be a millionaire after

* As the ongoing discussion will make clear, these three descriptions can easily be applied to Gergan Tharchin's lexicon, its creation—though far from complete in the decade of the 1930s—having predated the Chodak dictionary by a considerable number of years.

† Pema Bhum, "Geshe Chödrak's Orthographical Dictionary," *Latse Library Newsletter* (Fall 2005):27. Not unlike other Tibetan books, this one was banned during the decade of the barbaric Chinese Communist Cultural Revolution. When the "Red Guard" rampage finally ended in 1976, Lama Chodak's dictionary was rehabilitated and in many areas of the People's Republic of China the earlier unsold copies "were snatched up by buyers as soon as the books reached the market." The dictionary had its fifth printing in 1995. *Ibid.*

completing the book. This is what he told me. (Later 1949, with only the letter's last two pages extant in the Tharchin Papers)*

This latter letter was probably the basis, in part at least, for the observations the Babu made shortly before his death while having his so-called memoirs prepared. For he commented in them that the Mongolian Lama, who "had leanings towards the Communistic philosophy for social change, ... did not achieve much [?materially? when] the Lama [ultimately] resorted to [having] the Communists publish his Tibetan dictionary."† (In the end, in fact, the Geshe would die at Lhasa a greatly disheartened and broken man, having become—at the hands of the Chinese and Tibetan Communists—an innocent victim of the infamous Cultural Revolution. Years later, though, he would be exonerated.)²⁸

* These letters, the contents of which were made available to Tibetan historian Tsering Shakya, prompted him to raise an intriguing question for the present author to consider: "What is interesting is that Chodrak would have known of the modern printing presses available down in India; why, then, did he still use the expensive and laborious wood block to print his dictionary?" Email to the author, Vancouver BC, summer 2006. Why, indeed! Why, for example, did Lama Chodak not approach his benefactor of yesteryear, G. Tharchin Babula? For by this time, as will be discussed two chapters hence, the Babu had now in place a modern printing press which, in contrast to the wood-block method, could far more easily and much less expensively have printed the Lama's dictionary. Certainly, Chodak was well acquainted with Kalimpong and, presumably, also, with its various publishing houses, including, of course, the Tibet Mirror Press. Might this failure to avail himself of Kalimpong's modern presses—and especially that of the Babu's—be indicative of the Geshe having less than a clear conscience *vis-à-vis* Tharchin in having omitted giving any credit to him for his contribution back in the 1930s, thus making the Mongolian Lama reticent to approach the Indo-Tibetan publisher?

On yet another note, these same letters contradict the assertion made by Melvyn Goldstein that "Geshe Chödrak's [dictionary] was completed in 1946 and carved into wooden blocks in 1949." See again Goldstein's "Tibetan Lexicography," in Hausmann et al. (eds), *Wörterbücher, Dictionaries, Dictionnaires*, III:2549.

† It had come to be known to Babu Tharchin that both Lama Chodak and Lama Tshatrul Rimpoche had become sympathetic to Communist philosophy and Socialist theory and practice. Indeed, the anti-Communist Babu would learn, doubtless to his sorrow, that both these erudite scholar-associates of his had been quite willing to lend their considerable linguistic talents to Communist Chinese propaganda endeavors in Tibet once the first contingent of the Chinese People's Liberation Army occupation forces had arrived at Lhasa in September 1951. Yet, not only these two former scholar-associates of Tharchin's, but also his very close friend, Changlo Chen Gung, would, like these two, lend his own linguistic assistance by working with the Communist-established Translation Bureau at Lhasa in helping to transform the land and people of Tibet into a full-fledged "socialist society," as is described in greater detail two chapters hence.

All the foregoing is known from the testimony of a most reliable eyewitness to these linguistic scholars' participation in this development: the prominent Ladakhi Moslem trader, Abdul Wahid Radhu. He it was who had been a resident in the Tibetan capital at the time of this development's unfolding. Radhu would later briefly describe these three close acquaintances of Tharchin's and their relationship to Lhasa's Translation Bureau:

Very well qualified Tibetan intellectuals were already collaborating with this bureau. One of the most eminent was Tshatu Rimpoche [*sic*], a reincarnated lama but married and the father of very pretty daughters. He had opened a school for teaching Tibetan, and the Chinese offered him large amounts of money for his service. Another was Horkhang Geshay [one of several names, but not the real one, for the Mongolian Lama, as is explained next in the Text below], a scholarly man . . . who was highly paid for his translations of Marx and other Communist authors into Tibetan. [He, too, would renounce his vows of celibacy, marry and have children—twin sons and a daughter.] Changlochan [i.e., Changlo Chen Gung], the former "republican" conspirator in the time of Lungshar, had also been recruited by the bureau whose personnel also included a group of Chinese intellectuals who knew Tibetan and even sometimes English. The authorities of the occupying forces attached the greatest importance to the activity of this bureau, indispensable for their propaganda.

Radhu would himself be pressured repeatedly by one of the prime organizers of these Translation Bureaus, Phuntsog Wangyal, to collaborate in this Communist-sponsored propaganda undertaking, but with great difficulty he had refused and ultimately had to escape the dilemma which confronted him by fleeing Tibet shortly afterwards. Radhu, *Islam in Tibet*, 260; see also 257-9, 261 ff.

Apparently lacking enough funds to publish the work himself, the Lama had initially turned elsewhere for support in seeing it published at the Tibetan capital. It so happened that at this time (1949) the Geshe was living with the aristocrat, Horkhang Sonam Pelbar (1918/19-1994), serving as that family's private resident priest and as Horkhang's personal "classical Tibetan studies teacher," a development which soon led Tibetans at Lhasa and elsewhere to call the Buriat Lama "the Horkhang Geshe." Thanks to this nobleman's patronage, this work's first edition, sometimes referred to later as the Horkhang edition, would be published that year, as intimated earlier, "on xylographic blocks but in a Western format." But for several years prior to this publishing event, Lama Chodak, it has been asserted, had been assisted in its preparation by his "old friend" and now his extremely erudite but younger master, the Amdo monk, Gedun Chopel. So close had these two become over the years—both down in Kalimpong and at Lhasa—that during the famed Amdowa's final period at Lhasa before his untimely death there in 1951, they had now and then gone picnicking and swimming together, as well as gone for walks together through the many willow parks which dotted the eastern landscape just outside the Tibetan capital. Moreover, during the Amdowa's incarceration within Lhasa's Shol prison, the Geshe would visit him often. As a matter of fact, Geshe Chodak would even be one of a group of individuals who would join together "in signing a guarantee" for Gedun Chopel's successful release from prison. Now the form of assistance reportedly rendered to Geshe Chodak by "his longstanding friend" was for Gedun Chopel to review the vernacular, more colloquial, vocabulary in Tibetan that was already present in the Geshe's final drafts. With this scholarly help and the aristocrat Horkhang's financial support, the fifteen sets of this unilingual Tibetan lexicon, explained the Mongolian, were at last published after "thirteen long years" of toil "had gone by."²⁹

To round out the story of what happened to this Lama's original block-print publication that in Tibetan is entitled *Brda-dag ming-tshig gsal-ba* (Orthographical Dictionary), following the arrival of Chinese occupation troops at Lhasa in late 1951, the Geshe began keeping the xylographic wood blocks in a room at the Horkhang residence that had for some time been set aside for the Lama's use. And according to Horkhang's son Jampa Tendar, Chodak would at times have the blocks brought to his own Lhasa living quarters where he would print more copies of his original dictionary, performing all necessary labor himself: "mixing the ink, printing the pages, drying them in the sun, [and] binding the volumes." These resultant volumes the enterprising Mongolian Lama would then carry forth to the busy *Barkhor* bazaar of Lhasa "and sell them for additional income." Moreover, it has also been reported by Horkhang's son that the Lama, ever desirous of expanding his dictionary, had "continued to collect a great number of [word] entries, which I myself saw." Written on uncountable small pieces of paper, these additional entries Jampa Tendar estimated as having numbered "more than ten thousand." However, during the aforementioned Cultural Revolution (1966-76), these numberless small chits—along with the Geshe's books and other writings—were totally burned, and by none other than Lama Chodak's wife! She did so out of fear that her husband—already falsely accused by the Communists of being a "Soviet Revisionist Spy" and "Active Counterrevolutionary," and having been publicly "struggled against" and placed under strict isolation and surveillance—would face even more afflictive consequences were

such literary materials discovered among his possessions. Unable "to distinguish between my books and my [dictionary] notes," the Lama-scholar lamented to his patron Horkhang, "she burned them! What a disappointment!"³⁰ These entries thus never did serve to expand the Lama's original dictionary publication.

Well prior to all this, though, the Mongolian had turned to the newly-installed Communist regime in China, where the dictionary was reorganized "according to Western editing rules" still further and published at Beijing a few years later. Both Horkhang's son and Hugh Richardson have pinpointed the precise year when the Geshe's dictionary would be published at the Chinese capital: 1957.* And according to Stoddard, this work would be re-edited in two Western book-style volumes published at Dharamsala NW India in 1980, and more recently still would have several reprintings issued in both India and Communist China. And finally, historian Tsering Shakya has noted that in time the Chinese Communists, with input from a number of intellectuals from all over Tibet and China, including the Geshe himself, had—by adding Chinese to it—adapted the latter's Tibetan-Tibetan lexicon to create "the first modern Tibetan-Chinese dictionary."³¹

Now when Geshe Chodak's lexicon in modern book form had been completed, some people naïvely thought that its design, layout and content construction had originated with the Lama himself (so reported Tharchin in his end-of-life account); but that subsequently, as in the case at Lhasa with Tshatrul Rimpoche, they came to suspect, and rightly so, the Babu made clear, that the Mongolian had derived the dictionary's various modern conventions from him (see again the Tharchin letter to Richardson and consult the Babu's "memoirs"); nevertheless, as intimated before, the Geshe failed to give any credit to the one who had introduced him to, and instructed him in, the ways of a modern dictionary over a period of several years: Gergan Tharchin.

Just here, after reviewing most of the foregoing discussion, and particularly this last paragraph, Tsering Shakya was moved to comment as follows to the present author in an email sent him in the summer of 2006:

What is unique about the [Chodrak] dictionary is that it used a different form [format?] in explaining the words. A traditional dictionary, in the strictest sense of the word,

* "From then on," writes Pema Bhum, "the dictionary circulated more widely and its reputation ... spread throughout all Tibetan regions" and elsewhere. *Ibid.*, 26. For instance, according to Tharchin's future scholar-colleague at Kalimpong for many years, the Russian scholar in Tibetology George N. Roerich (1902-60), the Chodak lexicon would be useful to him in his own dictionary creation. This celebrated linguist utilized the Mongolian Lama's work in expanding his Tibetan-Russian-English Dictionary that was posthumously published in Moscow more than two decades after the Russian's death. In the Preface to the multi-volume work are found these words of explanation: "Although the [Roerich] manuscript was completed in 1933 it remained unpublished. Dr. Roerich got back to the question of publishing his dictionary after his return to the Soviet Union [from Kalimpong] in 1957.... The scholar resumed work on his manuscript with the intention of extending it by Russian equivalents of the Tibetan words [that were already in his manuscript] and some vocabulary derived from the Tibetan Dictionary of Choidak and several smaller Tibetan dictionaries of new terms, which had been published in Peking in the 1950s ... His premature death broke off Dr. Roerich's efforts [but] the preparation of the manuscript for the press was completed by his pupils." See Yuri Nikolayevich Roerich (George N. Roerich), *Tibetan-Russian-English Dictionary; with Sanskrit Parallels*, vol. 1 (Moscow, 1983), 14.

[was] not really a dictionary but [was] more like a compilation of similes [synonyms?] and resemble[d] something like an [early] English Thesaurus, in that following a given term, lots of similes [were] listed and there [were] no explanations or meanings of words given in sentences.

The Chodrak dictionary moved away from [merely] listing similes to providing the meaning of words in sentences.

It must be emphasized again that it was Gergan Tharchin who had taught the Mongolian Lama all about modern dictionary construction and the more substantive nature of its content. A scholarly Tibetan linguist and lexicographer himself, the Babu had collected numerous Tibetan dictionaries published in many parts of the world—both East and West (see Chapter 29a of the present volume for the details). One of these was the now famous *Tibetan-English Dictionary with Sanskrit Synonyms* which had been compiled by Sarat Chandra Das, published at Calcutta in 1902 (and briefly mentioned in the latter part of Chapter 23). This dictionary, along with the equally well-known *Tibetan-English Dictionary* (London, 1881) of the celebrated Moravian linguist-lexicographer Heinrich Jaeschke (and discussed at some length in Chapter 28), were two of several dictionaries of the Tibetan language which must have exerted a considerable influence on Babu Tharchin relative to the creation of his own Tibetan-Tibetan orthographical work that in turn most certainly had influenced Lama Chodak in the making of his work. This is because many of the noteworthy features in both format and scholarly content which marked the Das and Jaeschke lexicons had been adopted by the Babu for the making of his lexicon beginning in 1930, which features were cited by Phurbu Tsering as part of his descriptive profile of the Tharchin dictionary that was quoted a few pages earlier. And it was this latter dictionary, with its several modern conventions and techniques, which had served as the model, as it were, for the Chodak lexicon of 1937-49.

Indeed, one of the primary modern conventions which figured in all four of these dictionaries, beginning with the Jaeschke lexicon of 1881, was—to borrow historian Shakya's observation—to move away from simply listing similes or synonyms to providing the meaning of words in sentences; and if not in sentences, at least in phrases of varying length, and which were often extracted from a variety of Sanskrit, Buddhist and other text sources, both ancient and more recent. Another feature appearing in at least three of the four dictionaries now being discussed was the inclusion of many Sanskrit and/or Hindi equivalents, along with their meanings (it is unclear, from the description sources available to the present author, whether this particular feature appears in the Chodak dictionary). And as was briefly touched upon earlier, there was yet another and very important modern convention that was common to all four of these lexicons under discussion: the listing of the vocabulary in Tibetan alphabetical order according to the root and not the initial letter.

Interestingly enough, some two decades following the publication of the Das dictionary, the scholarly Sikkimese Lama, Kazi Dawa Samdup (1868-1922), who had been a school student of Chandra Das, would publish another Tibetan dictionary. (This same Lama, incidentally, would also be the author of the first Western-language translation—English—of *The Tibetan Book of the Dead*, edited by W. Y. Evans-Wentz and published in 1927.) His lexicon was entitled, *An English-Tibetan Dictionary, containing a vocabulary of*

approximately twenty thousand words with their Tibetan equivalents (Calcutta: The University, 1919). Having examined a copy of the Kazi's lexicon, the present author is moved to say that in terms of noteworthy modern techniques and content construction, it was a far less ambitious undertaking than the dictionaries of Das and Jaeschke, and for that matter, than that of Gergan Tharchin and most likely than that of Geshe Chodak. For the Kazi's lexicon lacked either Hindi or Sanskrit equivalents and did not cite or quote from source texts. But the previously mentioned Tibetan lexicographer, the American, Stuart Buck, has noted this about its contents: "In most instances, the Tibetan 'definition' is an explanation in Tibetan of the English word or phrase rather than an equivalent meaning."^{*}

Now it should be pointed out here that Lama Chodak's Kalimpong benefactor had continued to show much kindness to the Mongolian Lama. He would do so on at least four occasions in 1937, all of which the Babu briefly mentioned in his personal account of his association with the Mongolian. These acts of charity and compassion had all occurred at the Tibetan capital a year or so after the Lama had returned to Tibet from Kalimpong and well before the publication of the Chodak Orthographical Dictionary. First, during the summer of 1937 when Tharchin and Theos Bernard had lived with Tsarong Shape in Lhasa, the visitor from Kalimpong had "arranged [for the Lama] to help for three months in cataloging" the numerous manuscripts and artifacts which Bernard had purchased and which, with the Babu's exceptional help, were to be sent by the American to the United States.† This timely employment, though temporary, assisted the Lama "a great deal"; otherwise, Tharchin had noted, the future Geshe would have remained in "a pitiable condition" financially and in other ways.

Second, later that same summer, and because of Tharchin's recommendation, Tsarong Shape had hired the Mongolian "as a tutor in Tibetan for his children," the Babu having recognized Lama Chodak's considerable linguistic abilities and reported the same to his host. Even as late as 1948, incidentally, Geshe Chodak was still a welcome guest in the Shape's home; this, according to the word of Tharchin's Japanese friend Hisao Kimura, who tells of first meeting the Mongolian there when he himself on one occasion was a guest that year in Tsarong's residence.³²

* Buck, *Tibetan-English Dictionary* (1969), xii. In his helpful Introduction, incidentally, Buck has provided a very good detailed survey on the history of Tibetan lexicography; see pp. vii-xv. Another helpful source—especially concerning the listing of vocabulary by the root letter or by the initial letter—is Goldstein's "Tibetan Lexicography," in Hausmann et al. (eds.), *Wörterbücher, Dictionaries, Dictionnaires*, III:2548-50.

† This helpful arrangement by the Babu has been largely confirmed by Horkhang's son, Jampa Tendar, who has written: "... an American named Bernard arrived in Lhasa, accompanied by Tharchin Bhabu who was serving as Bernard's interpreter. Bernard was collecting [ancient] texts ... in different Tibetan areas. Geshe Chödrak helped the two men prepare a list of all they had collected. This list was compiled in the Tsarong House." Horkhang J. T., "The Geshe Chödrak I Knew...", *Latse Library Newsletter* (Fall 2005):20.

Tharchin had even been responsible, indirectly, for the future longtime linkup between the Geshe and Horkhang Sonam Pelbar, which obviously greatly aided the Lama. Wrote Horkhang J. T. further: "My paternal grandmother is the daughter of Tsarong *zhabs pad* Wangchuk Gyalpo. Thus, she would frequently visit the Tsarong House and see Geshe Chödrak working there. Bhabu Tharchin introduced them to each other, and Geshe Chödrak became my father's classical Tibetan studies teacher. From then on, my father and Geshe Chödrak shared the close relationship of teacher and student." *Ibid.*

Third, when during the late summer of 1937 the Lama was dismissed from Sera, Tharchin “appealed to Tsarong” on his behalf. The Lama had probably been discharged from the monastery due to his inability to meet one final but costly requirement related to receiving his higher monastic degree (see below). The Shape, characteristically wishing to help, “approached the [Abbot] of the monastery,” who had Lama Chodak “readmitted.” “At this time,” recorded the Babu, “the Mongolian [had] passed the examinations for the title of ‘Gyeshe’”—i.e., for the prestigious degree of *lharampa geshe*, the highest aspiration of most every serious student monk. (It is evident, by the way, that Horkhang Jampa Tendar is incorrect in stating that it was in 1941 when the Lama obtained this degree.) But as one knowledgeable writer has noted, “there is a lot more involved in this than twenty years of study and then passing rigorous examinations: the prospective graduate must also throw a feast for the entire monastery. Since [, for example,] there are more than seven thousand monks at Drepung, this involves a lot of money.”³³ This feeding of all the Mongolian’s fellow-monastic inmates (in this instance, those at Sera), Tharchin carefully noted, is called “giving ‘tongo’,” which takes place during the ceremonies surrounding the conferring of the geshe degree. In this very regard, then, Tsarong, asserted the Babu, was willing to meet “all the expenditures” for food and drink involved “on behalf of” poor Lama Chodak. This most generous assistance was obviously due to Tharchin’s timely intervention.*³⁴

And fourth, while still at Lhasa in 1937 Tharchin had reacquainted himself with Rai Bahadur Sahib Pemba Tsering (1905-54) who had at one time been one of his students at Ghoom. Currently, though, he was a staff member at the British Mission in the Tibetan capital. The reader will recall having become briefly acquainted with this individual earlier in

* Tsarong’s generosity was legendary, no one else capable of coming close to outgiving the Shape: not even the Chinese officials there, whose monetary and/or material offerings at Lhasa were more often than not simply ploys to gain some kind of political or diplomatic advantage. Apropos of this, one of Gergan Tharchin’s many correspondents at the Tibetan capital reported the following incident as having occurred in early 1949 during that part of the famous Tibetan New Year celebration known as the *Monlam*: “... The Chinese offered three Sangs [Tibetan currency] per lama in the Monlam. Three young monks were trampled to death in the crowd of monks. There are said to be 30,000 monks in all [enrolled at Lhasa’s many monasteries]. Tsarong offered five Sangs a monk and also fed lots of poor beggars. His presents were offered to the Dalai Lama yesterday, the day of Chokphry, and one thousand lamas went to him to take the presents....” Letter, unknown correspondent to Tharchin, Lhasa, 14 March 1949, ThPaK.

This number of 30,000 monks, it ought to be noted, can present a well-nigh insurmountable obstacle to a prospective geshe-degree candidate if the conferring of it upon him is going to occur during the Monlam Festival itself. Assistance of some sort is almost inescapable for nearly all candidates. A document found among the ThPaK bears this out. The present writer discovered among them an inked draft in Tharchin Babu’s handwriting of what appears to be an announcement which he apparently prepared on behalf of such a candidate and which was probably intended to be circulated by means of a poster or other methods of communication throughout Kalimpong. It may even have appeared in Tibetan or in Tibetan and English in the *Tibet Mirror* newspaper. In the English draft it reads as follows:

Kindhearted Ladies and Gentlemen: Kindly do contribute and help me. I came from Lhasa and I am a philosophy student of the Sera monastery. For the last 20 years I was studying, and now my course is finished but I have to debate during the coming annual prayer gathering [the central event of the Monlam Festival] in Lhasa Cathedral among 30,000 monks, and I have to feed all these monks for getting the degree of geshe. Without doing so I cannot get the degree. Therefore, I come to ask helps. So do kindly help me as much as you can and I am sure little drops of water make the ocean, and fulfill my purpose.

the present narrative (see Volume II, Chapter 14). Born of a Tibetan family that had settled near Darjeeling, the future Rai Sahib would become the father of Tsewang Y. Pemba, the Tibetan who would in time emigrate to Britain for medical training and whose highly enlightening book, *Young Days in Tibet*, has been quoted from several times previously. After Pemba Tsering's education at Ghoom with Tharchin and at Darjeeling's famed Government High School, he had become a clerk in the British Trade Agency at Gyantse, where his son Tsewang would be born in 1932. That same year, the father Pemba was promoted to a new post at Yatung's Trade Agency. Later, but prior to 1937, Rai Sahib Pemba had been transferred to the British Mission that eventually came to be established at the Tibetan capital, where he lived right on the grounds of the Mission compound itself. Ultimately his family, including Tsewang, joined him in 1938 at the Mission, where they would all remain till the summer of 1940, after which the family would move down to Sikkim. There the Rai Bahadur would continue to serve the British Indian government at the Gangtok Residency. But the next several years would witness the elevation of Rai Sahib to the posts of British Trade Agent at Gartok and Yatung, and even to Head of the British Mission at Lhasa for more than a year. Following India's independence from Great Britain in 1947, he would stay on at the Tibetan capital and serve on the Indian Mission staff for a number of years thereafter. Unfortunately, he and his wife would be drowning victims of the disastrous Gyantse flood of July 1954.³⁵

Now one day in 1937 Rai Sahib had remarked to his former teacher, "Sir, you taught us only the first Tibetan primer in Ghoom." By this he meant that with only the study of the first primer and through whatever other means he had had at his disposal thereafter, he apparently still did not possess that strong an academic foundation in Tibetan. As an emerging future member of the frontier cadre under the British Raj, the father Pemba was expected, among other things, "to study privately to improve [his] language skills . . ." Indeed, explains historian Alex McKay further, he would eventually become "fluent in five languages, work[ing] hard to improve himself . . ." It is not surprising, therefore, that since he was currently in the Tibetan capital where linguistic scholars abounded, he desired to study the language more. So noted the Babu in his personal account of this incident. Whereupon Tharchin "made arrangements for the Mongolian Lama to instruct Rai Sahib Pemba."* The "tuition fees" thus derived, observed the Babu later, "helped" to make it further possible for "the Mongolian Lama to earn a living" for himself.³⁶

It is quite obvious that these timely instances of critical assistance which had been rendered Geshe Chodak had been due to either Tharchin's direct recommendation or else his direct intervention on the Lama's behalf. Yet "in spite of" his benefactor's many acts of "kindness," the Geshe, in the words of the Babu's end-of-life record, "was ungrateful." This ingratitude was clearly made evident in two very pronounced ways: the one, an act of

* That the Rai Sahib would ultimately excel in Tibetan is borne out by the fact that Lhasa's British, and later Indian, Mission Chief Hugh Richardson would in 1949-50 receive "much help and advice in interpreting the inscriptions" on various ancient historical stone monuments at the Tibetan capital from the likes of not only "the learned" Tshatrul Rimpoche and Gedun Chopel but from "also Rai Saheb [sic] Pemba Tsering and Kazi Sonam Tobgye of the Indian Mission." Richardson, *Ancient Historical Edicts at Lhasa ...* (London, 1952), 13-14, 55. For the date 1949-50, see *ibid.*, 1 and 82 together.

commission perpetrated some twenty years later (and which will be detailed fully at the end of this discussion on the Mongolian Lama); the other, an act of *omission* which the Lama, as was intimated earlier, failed to do at the time his dictionary was first published at Lhasa. Interestingly, neither of these demonstrations of ungratefulness was specifically cited in Tharchin's end-of-life record; though the latter of these two is hinted at in it, and the former, it can be stated with a great deal of certainty, must have been weighing heavily upon the Babu's mind at the time of his having had this part of the "memoirs" prepared, inasmuch as this act of commission had been carried out by the Geshe just a few years before the Babu's personal record had commenced being prepared. Needless to say, when the full story is laid out a few pages hence concerning this particular act, one can only wonder in consternation at the rank ingratitude exhibited by this Buddhist Lama.

First, though, with respect to Lama Chodak's act of omission as evincing ungratefulness on his part, this was manifested by the fact of his having published his dictionary without having given the slightest recognition or credit to the Babu for the latter having taught him its modern ideas and principles of construction over a period of years down in Kalimpong. On the contrary, the Mongolian Lama had seemingly taken full credit for the entire dictionary himself; indeed, not even so much as crediting by allusion or by name the assistance rendered by the Lama's two erudite friends at Lhasa, Tshatrul Rimpoche and the Amdo scholar Gedun Chophel, in their having reviewed its contents for the Geshe before its publication.* He even failed to give credit to his close Amdowa friend for contributing the lyrical verses which serve as the dictionary's Afterword but instead claimed them as his own. Despite the fact that these verses conclude with the separate statement, "This too is written by Geshe Chodrak," the Geshe's patron, the senior Horkhang, who knew both the Mongolian and the Amdo monk well, had later acknowledged that the Amdowa was actually the author of the poem, though clearly the Geshe had to have provided the poet with enough biographical data about himself and some of his inward thoughts for the verses to have contained, as they do, accurate personal details and musings related to its central personality. Nevertheless, Horkhang tried to put the best face on the matter when commenting on a more serious controversy which had arisen concerning the authorship of the dictionary itself. Horkhang's son much later recalled what his father, on several occasions, had remarked about this:

Some people say that Gedun Choephel wrote Geshe Chödrak's dictionary and that Geshe Chödrak simply published it under his own name. It was not at all like that. Geshe Chödrak and Gedun Choephel were very close friends, so they must have discussed the compilation of this dictionary. However, Geshe Chödrak himself had read all of the major religious texts; he was not only an expert in classical poetry and grammar, but he also knew the Mongolian language. He was highly talented and very

* How very unlike another Tibetan dictionary compiler's production published three decades before the Geshe's lexicon, that of the famous Tibetan-speaking Lama from Sikkim mentioned a few pages earlier, Kazi Dawa Samdup. For he had not hesitated to lavish praise, gratefulness and appreciation upon a whole host of individuals who had either inspired and encouraged him to compile his dictionary or else had assisted him in a variety of ways in its creation and preparation to completion. See the Preface to his *English-Tibetan Dictionary*: xi-xiv.

honest. He would never claim credit for work done by someone else. While the afterword of the dictionary [i.e., the said verses] was written by Gedun Choephel, he had given it to Geshe Chödrak.

As will shortly be learned, the thrust of Tharchin's subsequent observations about the Geshe is at sharp variance with Horkhang's assessment of the Mongolian's honesty and ethics. Apropos of this, it may be of some significance to learn that the latest printing of the Chodak dictionary—the fifth, published in 1995—deleted the supposedly Lama-authored Afterword altogether. Somebody had finally awoken to the fact that this part of the lexicon was not the work of the Mongolian but of the Amdowa scholar.³⁷

Tashi Tsering, the former Research Officer of the Library of Tibetan Works and Archives at Dharamsala, has provided an excellent English translation of the Afterword in question. Cast in poetic form, the verses which conclude the dictionary leave the definite impression that no other person than the Geshe himself had had a hand in the creation and preparation to completion of the lexicon:

Seeking happiness in this world of suffering,
Wishing to look back even after death,
All beings by nature diligently strive
To leave behind one's own legacy.

The able leave heirs or their disciples
Their words of wisdom or deeds of fame.
Others leave Temples of Learning and Statues of Gods,
And others buildings of beauty and much wealth.

With neither Spiritual nor Earthly wealth,
The poor wanderer with no possessions—
In return for long years of refuge—
Leaves behind this book in a foreign land.

In writing this book, though unasked,
Thirteen long years have gone by;
Though not sure what good or ill others may say,
To some a little good it surely must bring.

The third stanza's opening lines are an allusion, of course, to the Mongolian himself in his poverty-stricken and wandering state that not unlike many other Mongolian monks was his lot in life upon initially arriving at Lhasa to commence his higher monastic studies. That would not, however, be the Geshe's lot in life forever, as the further sketch of Lama Chodak's life will make clear in the next several Text pages to follow. The "long years of refuge" has reference, of course, to his lengthy stay in Tibet as a learning and then teaching monk while others of his countrymen back in Mongolia were suffering all kinds of persecution at the hands of the Bolsheviks; and "in a foreign land" would also allude to Tibet as the place where he would now "leave behind this book" as his "own legacy" (cf. the first stanza). The fourth stanza indicates that the dictionary had required "thirteen long years" to compile and publish, from roughly 1937 to 1949.³⁸

Now the Geshe's negligence in failing to acknowledge—even if only slightly—in his lexicon the contribution which the Babu had so generously provided him back in the 1930s, as well as the assistance rendered later by the Rimpoche and Gedun Chopel, should not come as any surprise, since it would appear to have been in keeping with the less-than-commendable reputation which, willy-nilly, had been growing up around Geshe Chodak over the years as a self-serving, deceitful, conniving, money-grubbing, thieving scoundrel. An instance of this, for example, is what Hisao Kimura, once a youthful smuggler in collaboration with the Geshe, had related about Lama Chodak*:

At the Tsarong home [in early 1948] I met a Mongolian monk named Geshe Choitok. I had long known of him through hearsay, for in the early 'forties he was reputed to have walked off with the money allotted to one Altan Ochir, a Mongolian agent working for the Japanese army who died mysteriously at the Yung-Ho-Kung Monastery in Peking [a place of refuge for many Mongolian monks]. I could no longer really blame him. We [Japanese] had, after all, stood for nothing in Asia that could inspire loyalty in the peoples we had conquered.

Kimura then went on to describe his collaboration with the Geshe in smuggling activities across the Indian border, Lama Chodak having become by this time a rather prosperous monk, though how he had accumulated this wealth—whether by honest or dishonest means—is not made clear:

Choitok knew that I often went back and forth between Tibet and India, and also that I had been making some discreet gold purchases. He offered to provide further capital if I would supply the labor and the risk to smuggle some of his own gold into India and return with legal, but profitable, goods from Calcutta. Ready for anything, I was happy to agree, and so within two months of my return to Lhasa I was again on the road [back to India].

Choitok supplied me with several horseshoe-shaped Mongolian silver ingots, a

* The reader should be made aware of the fact that Kimura's youthful indiscretions, which immediately terminated once he returned to his homeland, cannot be compared to the now-known *ongoing* ethical deficiency of the Geshe (for the substantiation of this claim, see shortly in the Text above). A passage from Kimura's book on his spy adventures in Central Asia is quite revealing about the ex-spy's character:

Of all the people I met in my travels, the Tharchins were some of the best. An elder in his church for about thirty years, Tharchin Babu was widely known and respected by all. During my years of deception [a Japanese secularist posing as a Mongolian monk], with the need for constant vigilance, an irritability and harshness towards my neighbors had unconsciously taken hold of me, but this gradually began to thaw in the family warmth of the Tharchins. Often when talking with Tharchin I would feel that our spirits were in deep communion, and I would be seized with an impulse to tell him who I was. I tried to atone for my life of deception by performing to the best of my ability everything he asked me to do. *Japanese Agent in Tibet*, 138, 146.

That he did finally come clean is obvious, and the numerous Kimura letters to the Babu extant in the ThPaK validate the fact that the ensuing close friendship which was forged between these two was forever afterwards based on mutual openness and honesty. The same, it would appear, could not be said of Lama Chodak in his relationship with at least some of his acquaintances.

quantity of reddish Tibetan gold, and musk. It all had a total value of around twenty thousand Indian rupees. . . .*

I left Lhasa in the middle of May with one companion, a servant of Choitok's. Since our goods were compact, there was no need this time for a caravan . . .

In Phari a wool merchant agreed to take my silver ingots across the border concealed in his wool: the gold pieces I sewed into the cover under my saddle. . . .

The Tharchins again invited me to stay at their house in Kalimpong . . . Two or three days later the wool merchant arrived with the silver, and since I had the gold with me, this meant that I had successfully brought all our illegal goods out of the country. I quickly unloaded the silver on a Nepali merchant who cut each piece open to make sure it was genuine, and I was both surprised and disappointed when I saw that a few had iron cores.

I waited until I reached Calcutta to sell the gold. . . . The night after I changed the gold into cash, . . . I quickly loaded up on dyes, gold paint, and Indian coral for the return trip . . .

By July I was back in Lhasa, and when Nepali merchants eagerly snapped up my paints, dyes and coral, we had a handsome profit to show. I was surprised at how easy it could be to make money, and was all ready for another trip. But Choitok had fallen ill and, in no state to think about business, he asked me to put it off until later. His condition improved very slowly and I would remain in Lhasa until May of the following year [when Kimura, along with all Chinese, and some Tibetans, were deported as undesirables].³⁹

Still another illustration of Geshe Chodak's apparent rogue character was related to the present writer by a longtime resident of Kalimpong. This was the formerly Tibetan Buddhist monk, the late Christian pastor, Rev. Peter Thupten Rapgey (d.1995), for a number of years Gergan Tharchin's Tibet Mirror Press supervisor. In an interview with him at the Tharchin residence in February 1992, Pastor Rapgey reported the following:

I had heard in Kalimpong that [while in Tibet] Geshe Chhoedak had counterfeited Tibetan currency which he had then had circulated. The Tibetan government, alarmed at this, had sought to arrest and imprison him, but unsuccessfully. The Geshe had perpetrated this fraudulent activity during the decade of the 1950s.

Though Pastor Rapgey did not state it in so many words, the writer was left with the impression that the Geshe had escaped from Tibet during that turbulent period and had most likely come to Kalimpong itself temporarily where, Rev. Rapgey added, "there must be those still living in Kalimpong who will recall this Lama, who must certainly no longer be alive." Indeed, there still were those who could recall the Lama after he had died in 1972, as the following concluding incident to this entire discussion about the Mongolian Lama will attest.

* If Geshe Chodak had this much wealth at his disposal in 1948/9, one is compelled to wonder why it was necessary for him to look to the aristocrat Horkhang for financial assistance in publishing his dictionary. Why, too, one wonders, did he seemingly pass himself off to Sonam Kazi as being nearly penniless? It could have been the case, of course, that the Geshe, like other eventually well-off Mongolian Lamas (e.g., Geshe Wangyal; see Chapter 24a below), had come to the aid of other Mongolian monks at Lhasa and/or had sent most of this wealth to Mongolia to help support his poor and persecuted ethnic brethren there. But if not and he had kept most of his wealth to himself, why the need to gain Horkhang's financial backing or to play on the sympathy of the Kazi?

This instance of Geshe Chodak's unprincipled conduct must definitely be brought up, since it encapsulates in one single episode all which has heretofore been alleged or asserted about the apparently unseemly character of this man. It was an incident about which there can be no doubt that it happened. In fact, the details surrounding its occurrence were published by Gergan Tharchin himself at the very time of its unfolding, and have been corroborated by testimony passed on to the present writer by the Babu's grandson David and daughter-in-law Nini.

The incident directly revolved around the first edition of Tharchin's very popular *English-Tibetan-Hindi Pocket Dictionary* which he had published in early 1965 at his Tibet Mirror Press; but the public's awareness of what had been secretly undertaken by Geshe Chodak, and an accomplice of his, did not occur till several years afterwards with the publication of the *Pocket Dictionary's* revised edition of 1968. For in the latter's two Prefaces—a brief one in English, another and much longer one in Tibetan—the Babu would describe in great detail what the Geshe and his collaborator in crime had only just then carried out. Yet not surprisingly, and in keeping with his now customary Christian charity, Gergan Tharchin never once publicly intimated by name or hinted by description who these “collaborating thieves,” as he labeled them, actually were. Furthermore, and most likely because he had currently already laid out before the Indian- and Tibetan-reading public a summary of this latest exercise in unseemly conduct by the Geshe, the Babu saw no need a few years later to include in his end-of-life “memoirs” a recapitulation of it. He would let the revised *Pocket Dictionary's* two Prefaces speak for themselves.

For the details on how and why both editions of this *Pocket Dictionary* came to be published, the reader should consult the latter pages of Chapter 27 of the present work; for it will afford the reader a greater appreciation of just how reprehensible the action perpetrated by Geshe Chodak was that is now to be recounted here. Suffice it to explain here, however, that the dictionary had been published primarily for the linguistic and educational benefit of thousands of Lama Chodak's “adopted” countrymen—especially those Tibetans of school-age among them—who at this time were living in India as refugees and were even then being educated in schools which had been graciously and without cost established all over the Subcontinent by the Indian government to aid these displaced and traumatized Tibetans in getting a handle on their damaged lives in their new homeland. And of all this the Geshe could not have been unaware; and furthermore, Babu Tharchin had specifically stated the following in the Preface to his *Pocket Dictionary's* original edition: “For many years I had collected English, Tibetan and Hindi words for printing a small dictionary, but till this year I was not able to bring it out. It is hoped that this small work may prove a practical handbook for the Tibetan refugee students as well as for those Indians who wish to acquire the Tibetan language.”

Here, then, is what Gergan Tharchin felt led to reveal to his dictionary's readers about the incident in question. This revelation appeared in the opening pages of the revised and enlarged reprint edition (1968) of his *Pocket Dictionary* that in its 478 pages now included “hundreds of new useful words” which were not in the initial edition of 1965. What follows below is a composite presentation of what can be found in its English and Tibetan Prefaces (the latter translated by the earlier-mentioned Phurbu Tsering for the present author as then

edited by the latter for clearer understanding):

Since last year [1967] the first edition was out of print and, there still being a great demand, as well as 500 copies [more] still needing to be distributed [freely, as I had committed myself to doing] to the Tibetan Refugee Schools, I [realized the need] to reprint it [in a revised and enlarged edition]. When nearly half of the reprinting work was completed, I received an anonymous note from a scholar in Delhi which simply said: "Someone here has printed your dictionary." Again from Delhi, I received from a law-knowing scholar-friend of mine a copy of a book which was a printed reproduction of my *English-Tibetan-Hindi Pocket Dictionary*. On the inside page of this illegally printed book, which was entitled, *English-Hindi-Tibetan-Sanskrit Dictionary: Heaped Precious [sic]*, there was written in English: "You should take [legal] action against this reprinting of your dictionary. Your friend."

In the book there is no mention of the publisher or the press where it was reproduced by photo-offset process. They have acted against the law, inasmuch as the "ALL RIGHTS RESERVED" statement was included in my dictionary. This book was reproduced by collaborating thieves. For in its front and back sections there appears the stolen text derived from a Tibetan-Sanskrit volume entitled, *Bhot Prakash*, authored by Prof. Bhattacharjee Bidusekhar and previously published by the University of Calcutta. The Tibetan-Sanskrit portion of *Bhot Prakash* is in the front section and the Sanskrit-Tibetan portion is in the back section. And in the middle section of this illegally reproduced book there is the text of my dictionary, but excluded from it are any mention of the Title, Preface, my name as Author and as Printer.

The reason "All Rights Reserved" is stated in my dictionary is that, as is recognized by the Indian government, no one can reprint it [without permission], and so the same was ignored. Furthermore, no mention was made of my Press where my dictionary had been printed, which was also illegal. And as for *Bhot Prakash*, here, too, there was neither mention of its Author nor of the Calcutta University press where it had been printed.

On the front page of the reproduced book there was rubber-stamped the Bookseller's name and address: Tashi Paljor, Ladakh Buddhist Monastery, Bela Road, Delhi – 6. Using this address, I sent a legal letter of inquiry to this Tashi Paljor that asked the following: Who printed the dictionary? Where was it printed? All other details? He was to furnish all these particulars immediately; otherwise, legal action would be taken.

I received a sweet reply in which Tashi Paljor admitted that he had had the book reprinted, that he had to earn some money as he was a poor man, and that he apologized to me that he absolutely did not know the press law. He being a Tibetan and ignorant of the rules, I overlooked him, and for this first time I have withdrawn any legal action; but I wrote him that in future, if the same thing is repeated, then "I am going to act legally" against him. But surely, I added in my letter to Tashi Paljor, there must have been some law-knowing crooked collaborators with him, and moreover, the Press in Delhi which undertook the reprinting had to have known that doing this reprinting would be violating the law.

So now I came to know [from the bookseller] that behind him there was someone who knew the press law which they have ignored, since they had excluded any mention from my original copy of its Title, Preface, Author's name, Press, etc. And the same with respect to the *Bhot Prakash* volume.

Obviously, Babu Tharchin had now learned from the frightened bookseller who were the prime movers in perpetrating this crime committed at Delhi. But out of Christian charity he refrained from publishing their names in these two Prefaces. Most likely he did so out of special consideration for one of these two, a prominent businessman from Kalimpong who, according to David Tharchin, is known to David personally and is still living in the hill station today; whereas the other individual, the Bad Mongolian Lama, had clearly continued to live up to his alleged unsavory reputation of yesteryear. According to the Babu's grandson and daughter-in-law, the factual details in this instance of definite skullduggery involving the Mongolian Lama, are the following.

"From a very tender age," explained David to the present author recently, "when my immediate family were living at 'Dechhen Khang-Zang' (the original small house of my grandfather's within the Tharchin compound and located near the main gate but at the opposite end from the compound's later constructed, much larger, elevated main house), I used to sleep with my grandfather up in the main house most of the time. In fact, I was with him constantly, and was almost eleven years old in early 1976 when I first heard from him this story about the illegal printing of his *Pocket Dictionary*."

David further explained that during what was "most probably" his sixth grade schooling at Kalimpong's St. Augustine School, his second language course taken there, which was compulsory, was Tibetan. Moreover, wrote David to the author, "the main textbook used then in the Tibetan class was one written by my grandfather and printed at his Tibet Mirror Press." Therefore, he reported, "I used to have discussions and even arguments with my grandfather about matters pertaining to the Tibetan language." And it was during one of these discussions "that the illegal reprinting of the *Pocket Dictionary* came to my attention." It was then, David recalls, "that Grandfather Tharchin mentioned to me that some *bad* people had stolen the dictionary's text and had illegally printed it [emphasis the Babu's]. Indeed, I vividly remember my grandfather mentioning that this unlawful printing had been done at a Press in Delhi." It was only later, David continued, "as I grew a bit older (which was not long after my grandfather's death), that I realized that it was Geshe Chodak, together with a Marwari businessman and longtime resident in Kalimpong, who had done this crooked deed." Even today, in fact, he added, "my mother still recalls having heard my grandfather talk about this Chodak and the Marwari by name as those who were behind this illegal publication. I myself have known the Marwari personally in the past, although I have not met him again for many years now."

David and his mother Nini, incidentally, have confirmed to the author, as did Sonam T. Kazi and Rev. Rapsey much earlier, that the "bad Mongolian Lama" and Geshe Chodak were one and the same person. But the source for the present author having learned that this appellation had been attached to the Geshe by the Babu himself is David and his mother. But additionally, it is also these two who have recently reported to the author that it was specifically because of what the Geshe had perpetrated at Delhi involving the *Pocket Dictionary* which had earned for Lama Chodak from Babu Tharchin this opprobrious description—a description which forever afterwards was frequently applied to the Geshe whenever anyone spoke of him in private conversation within the Tharchin household and among those who knew the latter well.

Apprised now of a fairly accurate knowledge of relevant dates, places, names and events derived from various reliable sources, the present author is able to lay out a rather credible sequential outline for when and how the Bad Mongolian Lama and his colleague in crime had carried out their plan for making money for themselves. It would be an unlawful scheme which would be at the expense of both Gergan Tharchin and Bhattacharjee Bidusekhar; and it would result in the purchase of this pirated publication by hundreds, possibly even thousands, of innocent, naïve Tibetan refugee students and/or their families and others who were totally unaware of the criminal nature of this publication until perhaps realizing later how they had been taken advantage of by possibly having read the detailed account of the dastardly trick in Tharchin Babu's enlarged edition of his *Pocket Dictionary*.

Now it has been learned from Nini Tharchin that Lama Chodak had arrived in Kalimpong from Ladakh sometime during the latter 1960s, although no record or other source available to the present author can confirm the Ladakh element in this assertion of hers. Yet the fact that Tashi Paljor's business address and conceivably that of his residence had been that of the Ladakh Buddhist Gomba along Bela Road in Delhi lends credence to the belief that a Ladakhi connection of some kind played a role in the Geshe's nefarious conduct involving the *Pocket Dictionary*.

It has also been learned, as intimated by Hisao Kimura, that the Geshe had engaged in shady business ventures between Lhasa and Kalimpong/Calcutta; and hence, over the years he had most likely come to know of the prominent Marwari merchant community in the hill station. He may even have previously made the acquaintance of his future accomplice in crime before traveling on this more recent journey of his to Kalimpong in 1966 or at the latest in 1967. By the end of the latter year, of course, the first edition of the Babu's *Pocket Dictionary* had gone out of print as stated by Tharchin in his English Preface to the second edition. With the increasing demand for the dictionary having made itself felt within and without the Tibetan refugee community, the concerned Indo-Tibetan lexicographer had commenced printing an enlarged version of it in the early part of 1968 when he suddenly learned to his dismay that the Chodak-Marwari pirated printing of the original edition had just recently appeared on the booksellers' market at the Indian capital.

Meanwhile, the Geshe, having most likely waited in Lhasa for the birth of his third child, a daughter, who was born there "in about 1966," had thereafter felt free to travel outside Tibet once again. Perhaps going first to Ladakh, then making his way to Delhi and visiting the Ladakh Buddhist Monastery there, and possibly making the acquaintance at this time of the bookseller Tashi Paljor, he eventually ends up at Kalimpong. Being the published lexicographer that he now was, Geshe Chodak would have had a professional interest in picking up a copy of both *Bhot Prakash* (with its Sanskrit emphasis) and the *Pocket Dictionary's* original edition (with its English and Hindi elements) somewhere along the route of his peregrinations. He may even have been able to secure both books at Tharchin's hill station, where it is known from Nini Tharchin that copies of at least the Tharchin dictionary were still on sale at this time for 15 to 20 rupees each. Thus armed with both these highly interesting lexicons, and aware of the popular demand for at least one of them that was now out of print, the cunning Geshe begins to ruminate about surreptitiously printing these two works together in a pirated version. But needing someone with enough private means to

partially or totally finance the contemplated undertaking, he hits upon approaching his Marwari friend.

Recalling his encounter with Tashi Paljor within the now-familiar and friendly surroundings of the Ladakh Buddhist Monastery, the Geshe commences to flesh out his scheme in conversation with the Marwari merchant. And, upon gaining the latter's assent, off to Delhi—with its considerable, ready-made booksellers' market in mind—go these two “collaborating thieves.” Here they would place their innocent-appearing business venture before the naïve Tibetan bookseller at the Bela Road Buddhist monastery, who at this impoverished juncture in his life could easily be convinced to make arrangements with one of several local printers he knew who could perform the necessary photo-offset process in creating a better-than-average voluminous lexicon uniquely consisting of four important languages of the time: English, Tibetan, Hindi, and even Sanskrit. And—*Voilà!*—the rest of this deplorable incident is now history.

On the other hand, if Nini Tharchin is mistaken and the Geshe had gone to Ladakh at a later time (or not at all) but had traveled directly from Lhasa to Kalimpong, then the above-outlined plot would have occurred in reverse order between the hill station and Delhi. In either case, this disgraceful episode in chicanery had probably garnered for this enterprising duo a sizable profit from the sale of this artificially- and fraudulently-created *Heaped Precious Dictionary*. Meanwhile, however, Gergan Tharchin would hereafter remain silent, humbly taking his losses and having decided not to take any legal action against either of these men nor to make public their identities.⁴⁰

It is of some significance that by the time in 1973-5 when the last and fullest account of his life was being prepared for publication, the Babu had apparently decided against ever revealing in its pages the identity of the Mongolian Lama, even though the latter had already died. Most likely his deep sense of Christian charity had ultimately overruled the natural inclination to intervene somehow in seeing justice done in this latest incident involving the Geshe by more fully identifying who the Lama and his accomplice in crime were. Instead, he would leave to posterity the responsibility, if it wished, of sorting out the “who” in what he deemed had been a less-than-sterling chapter in human behavior. Even so, his *Pocket Dictionary's* two Prefaces make clear that Babu Tharchin nonetheless felt he had a moral obligation to at least inform the interested world of the “what” in this unscrupulous affair by detailing what had been perpetrated by the two unnamed “crooked collaborators.” Not unlike one of his heroes of yesteryear—Mahatma Gandhi—Gergan Tharchin had sought to expose and to confront injustice and unrighteousness whenever and however it might rear its ugly head, yet the Christian pastor would do so in his own inimitable fashion by leaving undisclosed the names of these two “collaborating thieves.” If, later, others cared to discover their identities, that would be their concern, not Rev. Tharchin's.

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In the midst of his many labors conjointly engaged in on the Gould project with his fellow scholars Ringang and Lama Tshatrul, the scholar from Kalimpong was about to turn his

complete attention to a momentous event which was ready to unfold at Lhasa. Without question it stood out as the highlight of his entire stay in the Tibetan Holy City. The new "god-king" of Tibet,⁴¹ a mere boy of less than five years in age, was about to be installed as the Fourteenth Dalai Lama. Streams of citizens from all over the country and elsewhere in the Mahayana Buddhist world had begun to flow already towards the Tibetan capital to witness this once-in-a-lifetime event. And Tharchin, who was already there, waited with great interest and expectation, hoping to catch a glimpse of Tibet's Child-King during the festivities. He would not be disappointed.

C H A P T E R 22

Fourth Major Visit to Tibet and Lhasa (Concl'd): Enthronement of a New Dalai Lama and the “Tibet Mirror’s” Role in His Early Education

Saith the Lord,... My word ... shall not return unto me void, but it shall accomplish that which I please, and it shall prosper in the thing whereto I sent it.

The Lamb ... is Lord of lords, and King of kings.

Isaiah 55:8, 11; Revelation 17:14

IT WILL BE RECALLED that through the kindness of his friend, Tsarong Shape, Gergan Tharchin had been able to place an order with a Calcutta firm for five thousand copies to be made of the Frank Learner photograph of the future Dalai Lama. This highly-placed friend of Tharchin’s had promised to send the consignment of photographs within a month, and within this specified period the parcel did indeed arrive in Lhasa. Long afterwards, Tharchin could still exhibit a great deal of animation as he explained what had happened:

Wonderful! It arrived just exactly before the Installation of His Holiness. I sold these photos “like hot cakes”—at the rate of one, two and even three rupees. I was able to purchase gifts and presents to be given to my friends as was customary. I made a handsome profit out of these sales, and was thus able to buy soap and candles, as well as kerosene at the rate of Rs. 20/- per tin. Such items were to be given as presents inasmuch as these commodities were rare in the country and therefore highly valuable as well as practical for daily domestic use in Tibet. Norphel, who was my Tibetan attendant, sold the photographs for me. He sold them above the actual rate and, deducting my set price, he pocketed the rest as his personal income. Norphel made more profit than I. Today he is a well-to-do man!

Around this time Tharchin once again visited the famous Jo-khang, the well-known Buddhist Cathedral where the celebrated Christian bell seen by him on his first visit to Lhasa was still hanging. He was well aware that in this most holy of Tibetan temples could be found many large and small images that through the centuries had been placed there in an orderly manner. All these images were made out of fine and precious metals. Upon entering the Cathedral this time, to the Tibetan Christian’s great amazement he discovered that numerous copies of the photograph of His Holiness (showing several Gospel of John text cards resting on his lap), which he had only lately sold en masse, had been placed on all sides of the images of the Buddha—some on the right, others on the left, and still others on the shoulder or else by the side of these images! He was absolutely taken aback by it all!

Formerly, whenever Tharchin had entered this most sacred of Tibet's temples, he had always prayed and besought his God that His kingdom might come in the hearts and minds of the people of the land. And in apparent answer to these earnest prayers of his, he now saw displayed inside the Jo-khang hundreds of photographs of the Dalai Lama holding on his lap one or more copies of text cards of the Gospel of Saint John! Tharchin, who continually through life had always harbored a childlike faith in his heart, believed it to be the beginning of the kingdom of God in Tibet and now prayed that this very temple "could become a place where God would be worshiped in spirit and in truth."¹ For he probably deemed the display of his "Christian-oriented" photographs of the Dalai Lama around the sides of the Jowo Rimpoche and the other lesser images of the Buddha (see again Volume II, Chapter 15 for their description) as constituting a direct challenge to what he deemed was the Tibetans' superstitious worship of these lifeless "god-images." Conceivably, too, the sight that day of such an incredible manifestation of deep-seated image worship may have been the very thing which now impelled the Christian visitor to make his own direct challenge to the Jowo Rimpoche itself. For it has been reported by Sonam T. Kazi, who heard it personally from Tharchin himself, that the latter, while standing before this most sacred object of Tibetan Buddhism, and refusing to bow or to prostrate, spoke firmly to it, issuing the following challenge: "I have heard it said that you sometimes speak. If today you speak to me, I will relinquish my faith in Christ in favor of Buddhism." The Jowo Buddha remained deathly silent. And with that the Christian evangelist turned and walked away.*

Later he was to ask some officials, "Why are these photographs of His Holiness placed around the images of Buddha?" These officials, friends of his, explained it this way: "After one week the blessings of the images and of the Temple will be infused into the photographs, so the masses at least believe. And thereafter the people will take the pictures away to their homes and after some ritualistic prayer and ceremony the photographs will be framed and hung on their walls."²

This was not the first time a photograph of a Dalai Lama had received this kind of reverential treatment at the hands of the Tibetan populace. Although in the instance now to be told the photo was never displayed in the Jo-khang—that distinction being reserved for the Learner photograph of the Fourteenth Dalai Lama—there had nonetheless been a similar

* Interview with the Kazi, Oct. 1991. The reader may recall from Chapter 15 of the present work that this most famous of all the Buddha images throughout the Tibetan Buddhist world was thought to have been fashioned during the lifetime of Gautama the Buddha but in his likeness as he was when a youth. The reason Gergan Tharchin spoke to the Jowo Rimpoche in the manner he initially did is because Tibetans, who themselves sometimes verbally address the image as Jo or "Lord," firmly believe that it can in fact speak to them. See W. B. Sinclair, *Jump to the land of God* (Caldwell ID USA, 1965), 151. And for the reason why he refused to bow or prostrate, see again Chapter 15.

The Kazi, incidentally, who is the son of a Sikkimese aristocratic Buddhist family, explained to the present writer that Babu Tharchin—who had been like a father to him in Kalimpong—had told him of this incident shortly after the Babu's return from Lhasa in 1940. At this time the Kazi would have only been 14 years old; and thus this writer feels that perhaps the Christian Babu had confided this incident to the lad as a way of inspiring the Kazi to pursue an interest in the Christian faith. In any case, the story was bound to be of interest to any impressionable adolescent boy of 14 in that part of the world.

development previously involving a photo-likeness of the late Thirteenth Lama-King of Tibet which Sir Charles Bell had taken while His Holiness was in exile in India during the early part of the twentieth century. In his excellent biography of the current Dalai Lama's predecessor, Bell related the unusual story of what happened:

After the Dalai Lama had been about five months in Darjeeling I took a photograph of him, seated on a throne Buddha-wise, with crossed legs, and hands placed in the prescribed position; in fact, as he would sit in his own palace at Lhasa for blessing pilgrims and others. This was, I believe, the first photograph of him seated in the Tibetan style. I gave him a large number of copies, and these proved useful to him; he used to give them to monasteries and to deserving people. These all used the photograph instead of an image, rendering to it the worship that they gave to the images of Buddhas and deities. In subsequent years, when I traveled here and there in Tibet, I frequently saw my photograph of the Dalai Lama, but photographed down to a smaller size, standing among the images on the altar either in a private house or in a monastery, and worshiped along with them. In the private houses and shops of Darjeeling District and Sikkim one saw them everywhere; there must have been thousands of them receiving the adoration of the faithful.⁵

With regard to the unique Learner photograph taken of the Fourteenth Dalai Lama in 1939 (it showing the latter holding one or two cards with printed texts derived from the Christian Scriptures) and distributed as gifts and sales by Tharchin the following year at Lhasa, the Christian visitor from Kalimpong acknowledged what he thought was the clear intervention of God in the affair when he asserted:

I took the whole episode as God's help and opening. First, the Lord opened the way for me in a very wonderful manner so that I could purchase gifts and presents for my friends. Second, the picture showing portions of the Gospel of St. John on the lap of His Holiness found entrance into the chief temple of Tibet. To me these circumstances evinced God's help, clear will, and guidance.

After a lapse of three or four months people came to know that the object on the lap of the "god-king" was a piece of Christian canonical literature. Some Tibetans were not pleased. Tharchin, ever the man of faith and hope, was later heard to exclaim: "I believe the time will come when Tibet will be evangelized with the saving gospel of Christ. When the right moment comes many Christians from various lands, including the Tibetan Christians from India, will enter the country of Tibet to declare the Word of Truth concerning the glorious riches of the redeeming love of God."



Attention must now be turned towards the primary purpose for which the British delegation, of whom Gergan Tharchin was a part, had come to the Sacred City of the Tibetans. As representative of His Majesty's Government at London and of the British Government of India at Delhi, Mr. (later Sir) Basil Gould, along with his official party, had come overland the long distance from India to witness, and pay tribute to, the new Dalai Lama at his Installation ceremonies. As Sir Basil was to describe it later in an article of reminiscences, this long mid-winter journey from Sikkim had been "in twenty-two stages over four mountain passes ranging from 14,000 to nearly 17,000 feet," a journey, he continued, that was "apt to be a serious undertaking; but the weather was kind to the delegation and to the pilgrims who were flocking to Lhasa from every direction."⁴ Besides China, Nepal and Bhutan, Britain and the representatives of the Maharaja of Sikkim had also been officially invited by the Tibetan government to be here for this august event that would see an hitherto obscure East Tibetan peasant boy assume the exalted position of ruler of his countrymen. "No European, so far as I am aware," Sir Basil confided in his autobiography, "had ever before been present in Lhasa at the time of the Installation of a Dalai Lama." It was a tale of fairy-book proportions, the likes of which the world has seldom seen or heard of in its entire history. Only the highlights of the story, which, if all its details were told, would fill a fair-size volume, can be presented here.*

Before doing so, however, it would be well to place before the reader two intriguing excerpts from anthropologist-historian Melvyn C. Goldstein's writings on Tibet which may prove helpful in better understanding the startling, not to say, mysterious episode which would play itself out in Tibet's religio-political history during the mid- to late 1930s. What he does here, in fact, is to present this entire episode in proper perspective for those who may not be conversant with Tibetan Buddhist thought and practice as had been developed over the centuries and, in particular, ever since the institution of the Dalai Lama system of government during the first half of the fifteenth century. For in these excerpts Goldstein makes reference to what he terms a "supernatural selection process" for finding a new incarnation to succeed the Great Thirteenth. As he has intimated in the first excerpt: "Mere humans could not by themselves properly determine the incarnation, and the institutionalization depended on supplying the selection process with supernatural supports." And in the current instance of finding the Thirteenth Dalai Lama's successor, this extraordinary process (much of whose string of miraculous events the orthodox Christian would have to label as occult or paranormal in character) would be set in motion by the Tibetan regent at the time, Reting Rimpoche (1911-47), who himself had displayed from childhood an array of miraculous supernatural

* During the last decade of the twentieth century a fairly good and quite accurate rendering on cinematic film of this richly detailed story was presented to the world's moviegoing public by one Hollywood studio that produced a major motion picture entitled *Kundun* (i.e., *The Presence*). Released in late 1997, it had as its director one of filmdom's best, Martin Scorsese; and its screenwriter was Melissa Mathiesen.

powers of his own.* Here, then, in the second and longer excerpt, is how Goldstein introduces his discussion of Tibet's remarkable method by which was discovered the Fourteenth incarnation of her country's patron deity of compassion, Chenrezi:

The main task of the interregnum government was to find the new Dalai Lama. Reting, as a great incarnation lama, felt that this duty devolved upon himself in particular. The process of selecting a new Dalai Lama was critical to the legitimacy of the Tibetan polity: Its authority depended on a total transfer of charisma from the old to the new Dalai Lama, who was considered his incarnation. The selection process therefore had to be accepted as infallible. Tibetans achieved this conviction by deflecting the main responsibility for selection onto the realm of the supernatural. Tibetans have well-developed methods of testing and selecting candidates for the position of Dalai Lama, but the difficult task of identifying such candidates is generally guided by prophecies, signs, and portents that focus attention on specific parts of the country and then, within these, on specific kinds of buildings, scenery, and so forth.



A long passage from one of the current Dalai Lama's biographers, John Avedon, is likewise worth quoting, for it tells in encapsulated form how this legend-like, yet apparently true, story had all begun. It abounds, as would be expected from Goldstein's explanation of the selection process, with numerous supernatural phenomena:

As was perennially the case in locating a new Dalai Lama, miraculous signs had indicated the child's whereabouts. Shortly after the Thirteenth Dalai Lama's death in December 1933, curious cloud formations, pierced by rainbows, appeared repeatedly over the northeast end of Lhasa. A giant star-shaped fungus grew overnight on [the east side of] the northeast pillar of the room wherein the Dalai Lama's corpse lay.⁵ A few days later, the deceased ruler's head was found to have turned. No longer facing south—the traditional direction of auspiciousness—it clearly pointed to the northeast ["and

* Writes Goldstein: "Reting was ... famous in his own right for having performed several miracles as a child." To cite but one example, there is the particularly extraordinary circumstance surrounding Reting's own discovery as an incarnate Lama which Michael Goodman has recounted. It had occurred in Reting's home village of Dakpo southeast of Lhasa. Writes Goodman:

It is said that when he was three years old he had hammered a wooden peg into a large rock near his parents' house, and when asked why he had done so replied that he was expecting a caravan of wealthy guests from afar to take him home and that they would need the peg to tether their horses. That evening a caravan composed of high monastic dignitaries searching for the reincarnation of the late Reting Rimpoche [i.e., the Abbot of Reting Monastery some 60 miles north of Lhasa] arrived in Dakpo, discovered the child to be the one they were looking for, and escorted him and his peasant parents to the Reting Monastery.

That Reting as a grown man still apparently retained a certain degree of supernatural powers has frequently been asserted by those presumably in the know. Tharchin's latter-day Japanese friend, Hisao Kimura, for instance, has reported that his Inner Mongolian monk companion in the Tibetan capital, Danzanhairob by name, who had himself lived at Lhasa several years during and after Reting Rimpoche's selection and assumption of power as Regent, had on one occasion commented to the Japanese that his Regency was marked by much scandal; nevertheless, "everyone was frightened of him because of his magical powers." Apropos of this, Goldstein has also noted that "Reting was to become a feared ruler," though during his reign's initial years "this future was hidden from view." More than likely, this fear stemmed in part, as intimated by Kimura's friend, from the Regent's self-serving sinister use of his still existent supernormal powers. See Goldstein, *A History of Modern Tibet*, 188, 310; Kimura, *Japanese Agent in Tibet*, 113; and Goodman, *The Last Dalai Lama*, 147-8.

on several different occasions, the state oracles Nechung, Gadong, and Samye had flung scarves toward the east while in trance”—Goldstein].

In the spring of 1935, the Regent of Tibet [Reting Rimpoche], accompanied by members of the National Assembly, journeyed to the sacred lake of Lhamoi Latso [in south central Tibet some 100 miles from Lhasa and known also as Chö-kor-gye] seeking a vision of the newborn Dalai Lama.* Standing alone on a high rock, he peered into the water, believed by Tibetans to reflect the future.†⁶ A great monastery capped by jade and gold rooftops, floated into view.

A narrow trail wound east from the monastery to a barren hilltop. Across from the hill, a house with turquoise tiles and a brown and white spotted dog [other accounts say black and white spotted or else brown and black spotted], was seen. Finally, three letters from the Tibetan alphabet [*ah, ka, ma*] came forth signifying, it was assumed, the specific town and province. Soon after this vision—which was set down in a secret report to the Government—the Regent had a dream. Again he saw the same humble farmer’s house. This time, however, there was a small boy in its courtyard, standing beneath oddly shaped gutter pipes emerging from the roof.

Guided by the vision, search parties fanned out across Tibet. One group traveled over a thousand miles northeast to Kumbum Monastery, renowned for its jade and gold rooftops. From there, monks led them to a house with turquoise tiles set into its walls, located in the nearby village of Tengtser [Taktser]. Disguised as merchants, the party arrived at the door and requested to make tea in the kitchen, a common custom of Tibetan travelers.

Now it just so happened that in this humble house less than two years after the passing

* W. D. Shakabpa, a high lay official in the Tibetan government at this time, was present at the sacred lake on this dramatic occasion and would long afterwards relate in great detail to historian Goldstein what initially happened upon arriving at the lake, and what traditions were required to be observed by the Regent and his party if a vision were to be seen. Goldstein noted that it was only after the late Dalai Lama’s tomb had been consecrated that Reting, accompanied by high Government officials like Trimön Shape, who himself had his own large retinue, set out on a lengthy pilgrimage that would include a visit to the sacred lake. Shakabpa was in the Government retinue that accompanied the Regent. During the mid-1980s Goldstein had the opportunity to interview this former Government official, who reported the following:

They say you should not look at these lakes [smaller ones along the way to the main lake] because if you see visions there you do not get to see visions at the main lake. Therefore ... we averted our glance so as not to see the lakes by chance as we rode by.... We found an open space on top of the mountain [overlooking the main lake], made a temporary camp there, and offered prayers to a local deity. The prayers were chanted with full ritual music by the monks from Namkye Tratsang [the Dalai Lama’s monastery in the Potala] who had accompanied the group. When you look down from the peak you can see the lake which appears turquoise blue. From this site we had to walk down individually without making any noise. They say that if you go down with your friends you will not see any visions. So we all went separately without servants or companions.... The Regent and Trimön rode down the steep slope to the lake on yaks while we had to walk.... The Regent went back to the lake three times. The first was very ceremonial and involved the entire retinue. The second and third visits were private and he was accompanied by only a few attendants. Trimön similarly visited the lake two more times.... We used to sit between the rocks waiting 2-3 hours to try to get a vision. I saw nothing on all of my three visits. Reting Rimpoche, however, had a vision.... Before we were to depart from Chökhorgyal [Monastery nearby,] people started talking about the visions of the Regent but he would not make any comment. He only announced his vision in the following year at a meeting of the [National] Assembly called for that purpose [the substance of which is related in the Avedon passage given in the Text above].

† Another biographer of the present Dalai Lama, Mary Craig, has commented more fully on the significance which Tibetans have unhesitatingly assigned to certain features of Tibet’s natural landscape such as mountains and lakes, and on the historical role which Lake Lhamoi Latso, in particular, has played in the supernatural selection process now under discussion. Mountains and lakes, she writes,

of the previous occupant of Tibet's throne, a farmer's son by the name of Lhamo Dhondrub (literally meaning "Wish-Fulfilling Goddess") was born into a large peasant family "of pure Tibetan stock" whose forefathers had come from central Tibet. The date was 6 July 1935. His birthplace was in the Chinese province of Chinghai at the village of Tengtser (elevation: 9000 feet) located only a 25-mile journey from the notable lamasery town of Kumbum in the vicinity of the sacred Lake Koko Nor in a district southeast of there. When grown to maturity, Tibet's new ruler would himself give a vivid pen-picture of his home and village:

Our small peasant farmstead was in the village of Tengtser ... whose meaning ... is "place on the heights"; that is to say, something like "mountain village," and, in fact, our village was perched on a hill surrounded by still higher mountains, all of which were dominated by the great glacier mountain Kyiri. Tengtser was a small and poor village [having] only thirty cottages all told, and it was surrounded by many fields which were wonderfully green in summer and deep in snow in winter.

Although clearly under the *secular* rule of China, its Tibetan inhabitants were equally as much under the *spiritual* rule of Tibet's "god-king" at far-off Lhasa.

The province of Chinghai had been formed in 1928 when a large portion of Chinese western Kansu Province was linked to a part of the large northeastern ethnic Tibetan area of Amdo (formerly the possession of Tibet) where Tengtser was situated. Amdo has been depicted by Lhamo Dhondrub's eldest brother, Thubten Jigme Norbu, as

a beautiful province; there were snowcapped mountains in the background, lush green pasture land, conifer forests, masses of rhododendron bushes, and innumerable salt lakes; and it was a fair size, too, for a caravan would take about a month to pass through it from one end to the other. Tibetans formed the great majority of its population, but in the marketplaces and along the caravan routes you could hear Chinese and Mongolian spoken, and even the tongue of the Hu-Hus, the armed Moslem bands who scoured the land plundering, with Chinese troops on their heels.

The newly-formed province of Chinghai had received this Chinese name, which in that language means Clear Lake and refers, of course, to Koko Nor, the very large body of salt water (230 miles in circumference at 10,500 feet above sea level) that was to be found within its borders. Koko Nor, believed to have been given this name by the Mongols and which in that tongue means Blue Lake, had been recognized as sacred, and was worshiped by not only Tibetans from far and near but also by the Chinese and Mongols. Even Chinese

were held in awe in the land of mystery and magic that was Tibet, for they seemed to radiate a supernatural life of their own; they were reputed to put strange thoughts into the head and fill the ear with sounds. Some lakes were so numinous that they were consulted as oracles. Of them all, the mountain lake Lhamoi Lhatso inspired the most awe, and was always consulted about the whereabouts of the next Dalai Lama. For its guardian spirit was the goddess Palden Lhamo, who had promised the first Dalai Lama in a vision that she would watch over his successors. (Almost sixty years earlier [to Regent Reting's experience at Lhamoi Latso] the birthplace of the Great Thirteenth had been indicated in this same lake.) Different people saw different things in the ... blue waters—and some, it must be said, saw nothing at all [see, e.g., the previous footnote]. On this occasion, Regent Reting had a vision. *Kundun*, 12-13.

officials from the provincial capital of Sining (“the Western City of Peace”) some 70 miles to the east would make a yearly pilgrimage to its shores for worship.

Now this border province of many races was under the autocratic rule of the Chinese Nationalist-appointed Governor, the Moslem General Mapufang and his clan. Virtually independent of Chiang Kai-shek’s central government, the entire province was so firmly controlled by the Ma clan that the Tibetan community, for example, could not even move their important incarnations around at will. So noted Hisao Kimura, Tharchin’s latter-day colleague in intelligence gathering, who as a Japanese spy during this period came to know firsthand of the machinations and manipulations of this powerful warlord. An extremely pragmatic Moslem with a large Buddhist population to govern, Ma, Kimura writes, was “a very different type of man from the fanatics who had stamped out Buddhism in India more than a thousand years before: he felt that infidels were better manipulated than put to the sword.”

Yet because of the Ma clan’s rigorous rule over Chinghai, one could not fail to notice how well-governed and peaceful the province appeared to be. In the eastern part could be seen fertile valleys, and everywhere were signs posted calling for the preservation of forests, with squads of Ma’s soldiers detailed to various places to plant saplings. “I do not know,” wrote Kimura retrospectively of that time, “whether Chiang had more to fear from Ma’s military efficiency or from his example of reasonably good government: Chinghai could even boast to be one of the few areas outside Communist control where laws against opium cultivation and transport were strictly enforced.”

On the other hand, Chiang had much to fear militarily from General Ma as well. For the latter had an army of over 100,000—nominally under the Chinese Generalissimo’s central government command but loyal first to Ma, who was continuously dispatching merchants to distant India, via Tibet, to buy arms for his numerous soldiers, who always gave the impression, observed Kimura, “of being well-trained and in high morale.” This was something which could not always be said of Chiang’s troops in the area. No wonder, then, wrote Kimura, that the troops under Chiang’s General in Chinghai, Fu Tso-yi, had “spent more time keeping an eye on Ma’s soldiers than fighting the Japanese” and later the Communists. In short, concluded Kimura, the Moslems under Ma “would be far better won over than fought.”*

* The sequel to Ma’s free-wheeling career in China has been far less militant: as with the rest of non-Communist China, Mapufang’s empire in Chinghai collapsed at the hands of Mao Tse-tung’s forces. Hanging on to his interests in Chinghai as long as he could, Ma in late summer 1949 finally fled to Taiwan with his wives, his entire clan, and his many treasures—all aboard two DC 10 aircraft which he had always kept at the ready just in case; but because he and his clan had made so many enemies over the years among the other refugees who escaped from the mainland, the Mas felt most uncomfortable in Taiwan. So following a period as the Republic of China’s ambassador to Saudi Arabia, Ma and his family decided they would feel more at home in the Moslem Holy Land and therefore they emigrated there. See Kimura, *Japanese Agent in Tibet*, 218; and also Jamyang Norbu, “The Tibetan Resistance Movement,” in R. Barnett and S. Akiner, eds., *Resistance and Reform in Tibet*, 190.

One of warlord Ma’s heretofore most valuable possessions, incidentally, wound up in the hands of the



It is most interesting that the Dalai Lama-to-be of Tibetan Buddhism, Lhamo Dhondrub, should have been born in this very area, since the great fourteenth-century reformer of Lamaism, Tsong Khapa, had himself been born here, had been initiated into monkhood at the Tsong Ridro Monastery adjoining the village of Tengtser, and whose Tibetan-recognized successor reincarnation Lama had maintained his ecclesiastical residence just 20 miles south of Sining at the well-known Monastery of Kumbum already mentioned. According to Frank Learner, the longtime Christian missionary stationed along the Sino-Tibetan border, this "Lamasery of the Hundred Thousand Images" (for that is the meaning of the Tibetan word Kumbum), containing an unlimited number of idol images, had been "second only in importance and renown to Lhasa, and it drew sightseers from every continent." The reason for this was because the most famous part of the Monastery—indeed, "the holiest place" within its precincts and called the Temple of Serdong—was the place where legend has it that Tsong Khapa "first saw the light of day." Serdong means "Golden Tree," and as Thubten Norbu has explained it, this four-storied Temple, "which narrows as it rises to its crowning golden roof, is built round the tree which grew on the spot where ... Tsong Khapa was born ... and where he was ordained." According to the legend as well, "the roots of this tree are the hair of the young novice himself."

What had added even more luster to Kumbum Monastery through the centuries was the fact that because Tsong Khapa had been born here, the town of Kumbum and its holy place had come to be known to Tibetans "as the second birthplace of Buddha." This was because, though a historical figure, Tsong Khapa was also believed to be an earthly incarnation of the Enlightened One himself; and hence, writes Hisao Kimura, he was worshiped at Kumbum "as much for what he was as for what he had done."

conquering Red Chinese, setting off a fascinating chain of events. Upon defeating Ma's forces in Chinghai, the Communists were able to snatch away the warlord's huge cache of Chinese silver dollars bearing the image of the soon-to-be totally vanquished Generalissimo Chiang and known as Da Yuan. But because the latter were no longer of any value as currency in Mao's new China, the People's Liberation Army, upon next invading Tibet's eastern territory and later pushing farther westward into the country, cleverly began to distribute these worthless Chiang dollars to the deceived Tibetans throughout the Land of Snows as payment for goods and services the inhabitants provided the Red Chinese. Ultimately, however, many of these same dollars would find their way into India, the bearers of these coins using them as payment in *silver* for various goods or services, since silver was in great demand and hence worth much in the Subcontinent! Indeed, the Chinese Communists would in time use this stratagem themselves in India. For when they by treaty were able to establish a Trade Agency in Tharchin's hill town in 1954 that soon became a cover for conducting clandestine intelligence operations against the exile Tibetans there and eventually against India herself, it was learned by one frequent visitor to the Agency, Ven. Kusho Wangchuk of nearby Tharpa Chholing Gompa, that hidden away in an underground area of the Agency's main building were "bags full of these Chiang silver dollars"—apparently kept at the ready by the Agency's Communist staff to serve as a clever method of putting this otherwise worthless currency to good use as payment for certain goods and services provided them in Kalimpong and elsewhere in India! Per interview with the Ven., Dec. 1992.

Of additional interest surrounding Kumbum Monastery and its environs has been the fact that the new Dalai Lama's immediate predecessor, during his wandering exile in Mongolia and China between 1904 and 1909, had found his way to Sining in December of 1906 and had visited the Monastery; furthermore, His Holiness was again at the Monastery during February-March 1909 on his way back to Lhasa that brought his years of exile to an end. But it should also be pointed out that even Lhamo Dhondrub, during 1938-9, had spent up to eighteen months at this same celebrated Monastery under the care of his eldest brother Thubten Jigme Norbu, who having been recognized as a reincarnated Lama himself, had already been enrolled as a monastic student there. The young Dalai Lama-to-be had been placed at Kumbum by his parents under "the advice" (read: command) of the Chinese-appointed provincial governor, the Moslem warlord Mapufang, at the time when the little boy was strongly being considered for recognition as the next "god-king" of Tibet.

Now the members of the search party from Lhasa, who in late 1937 had come to Amdo in quest of the successor to the Great Thirteenth, were truly amazed to learn, and found it quite significant, that the Great Thirteenth had actually visited Tengtser. On his way back to the Potala from five years of exile, His Holiness sometime in late February-early March 1909 had for some little while stayed at the Ridro Monastery adjacent to Tengtser, receiving homage and obeisance from the tiny village's inhabitants. And among those who paid homage was Lhamo Dhondrub's own father, Chokyong Tsering, who recalled that at the time he was only nine years old! Furthermore, the search party that had found its way to Chokyong's humble dwelling place was also to learn, with ever increasing amazement, that the Great Thirteenth, in one of those curious ironies of history, had even rested for a while at this home—the home that would prove to be the birthplace of his "successor incarnation"! In addition, noted the new Dalai Lama decades later, he had even "looked for some time at the house where I was born [and had] remarked that it was a beautiful place."

But what is also worth noticing about the fourteenth occupant of Tibet's Lion Throne having been born in this area is what Sir Basil Gould would point out shortly after he himself had witnessed the glorious enthronement of the Boy-King from East Tibet. In the Preface to his *Tibetan Word Book* he wrote that "it is in and about Amdo that historians have located the original home of the Tibetan race. Spreading out from Amdo the Tibetans, who were formidable warriors, came in contact with the civilizations of China, eastern India, Nepal and Kashmir. Buddhist influences reached them from many directions, and some thirteen hundred years ago Buddhism became the State religion of Tibet." And ultimately Tibetan Buddhism, it can be said, has spawned what Tibetans would confidently assert has been a line of fourteen reincarnated Dalai Lama rulers that have spiritually if not always temporally reigned over Tibet ever since. Moreover, it would be these same Amdo warriors, but of a much later generation, who, in concert with their neighboring Tibetans to the south, the brave Khampas, would give the Chinese oppressors of the 1950s and '60s the greatest and fiercest resistance in Tibet's unsuccessful attempt to rid the Land of Snows of their hated taskmasters from Communist China (see later in Chapters 24 and 27).



Now there was no doubt in the minds of the members of the search party, led by Kyitsang Rimpoche, that the peasant homestead to which they had been guided by monks of Kumbum Monastery was the very house whose image had been seen by Regent Reting in the sacred waters of Lhamoi Latso; since not only did it possess the turquoise tiles but it also possessed the strangely shaped gutter pipes made of gnarled juniper wood.* Furthermore, after several examination-sessions with the youngest boy of the household, who on that initial visit had suddenly bounded into the kitchen and immediately displayed an unexpected familiarity with the disguised incarnate Lama leader of the group (the boy having cried out “Sera Lama! Sera Lama!” to the disguised Kyitsang Rimpoche, who was indeed one of this Lhasan monastery’s leading Lamas),⁷ the latter and his party had become convinced that this child, Lhamo Dhondrub, was in fact the successor reincarnation of the Tibetan patron deity of compassion, Chenrezi.

As indicated elsewhere, according to the doctrine of reincarnation (or rebirth), which is a central part of the religious culture of Tibetan Buddhists, the one to be chosen as the country’s new spiritual leader is held to be a reincarnated Dalai Lama, the human embodiment of Chenrezi. He is to be selected by high-ranking clergy and respected secular officials from among boys of tender age and is to evidence to the examiners as having such physical traits as elongated earlobes, ears which stand out a little from the head (both characteristic of Gautama Buddha’s own ears), a shoulder blade malformation (since Tibet’s patron deity Chenrezi or Avalokiteshvara, of whom all Dalai Lamas are believed to be emanations or incarnations, is always represented with four arms, and so the boy must possess fleshy protuberances on his shoulders or shoulder-blades), a tiger-stripe birthmark on one leg, moles on the trunk, and a palm or footprint with special characteristics. All, or most all, of these features were said to have been found on the body of the little boy of Tengtser on the second visit to the child’s home by the search group.⁸ In addition, another facet of this search party’s mission was to submit potential boy candidates to “an examination of prior memories.” And in the instance at hand with respect to Lhamo Dhondrub, a variety of personal objects of daily use—both religious and mundane—which had belonged to the previous Dalai Lama, and which were carried by the members of the search team, were spread out before him on a long low table in his family’s kitchen. These all were correctly identified by the Amdo

* But the Regent had also seen in the sacred waters many other details surrounding the homestead of the future Dalai Lama. This is confirmed by what the youngster’s mother would report having heard several years later from the lips of the Regent himself upon her first encounter with him. “To my surprise,” she wrote long afterwards, “the Regent Reting [at Reting Gumpa, when she, in company with her son the new Dalai Lama, were on their way to Lhasa for the first time in October 1939] ... began to describe the details of our house in Taktser, which he had seen in a vision. He knew that there was a tree in the backyard and a *stupa* (a reliquary mound) at the doorway and that we had a small black-and-white dog and a large mastiff on the terrace. He noted that there were many nationalities in our house and asked who they were. I said they were Muslims and Chinese, whom we had hired to work in the fields.” Diki Tsering, *Dalai Lama. My Son: a Mother’s Story*, edited by her grandson K. Thondup (New York, 2000), 105.

youngster from among several facsimiles of each of these various kinds of objects that had been brought from Lhasa, some of which were rich and most attractive in appearance.* Moreover, in all instances he accompanied his correct selections of these objects by declaring with great self-assurance, "It's mine, it's mine!" According to all eyewitnesses, writes Claude Levenson in her account of the early life of His Holiness, this less than three-year-old boy appeared "quite undaunted" by the lengthy set of examinations to which he had been subjected.

Furthermore, but never known at the time to the band of searchers, from the day of their first of several house visits onwards, the boy gave his mother no peace. At the first bark of the family dog (which sure enough turned out to be brown and white spotted), the young child would run to the front gate to see if the high Lama dignitary and his colleagues had returned. To his mother he would urge that she should make some special tea. "Then," he would add, "perhaps they will come." The lad would repeat at least once each day to his mother: "When they *do* come, you must give them some food and a place to rest, for they have traveled from a very distant place." But the most revealing activity he would frequently engage in, which became his favorite pastime, was to gather together various household objects and place them on the kitchen table, announcing quite matter-of-factly as he did so: "I'm packing to go to Lhasa." This, despite the fact that the party had never indicated they were from the Tibetan capital. Said his mother reflectively many years afterwards, "It was almost as though he knew." In fact, what may have been the origin of this favorite pastime of his was when the party of dignitaries had prepared to depart the boy's house on the morning after their first overnight visit with him and his family. For Levenson has reported the following incident:

Very early the next morning, as the visitors prepared to take their leave, the monks were astonished to see little Lhamo Thondup appear with a bundle on a stick, ready to go with them. Rather confused, his mother came and ordered him back in the house, but he began to cry, stamping his feet and imperiously proclaiming that "my people" had come there in order to "take me back to my big monastery." Kewtsang Rinpoche [Kyitsang Rimpoche] had to intervene, tenderly assuring the child that it was not yet time, and that he promised to return. Only this promise calmed the child.^{8a}

* There had only been one instance of hesitation when it seemed the boy might make a mistake. For upon picking up a well-used cane, Lhamo Dhondrub "examined it closely and then changed his mind, exchanging it for another one which was known by the examiners to have belonged to the thirteenth Dalai Lama. Yet this particular hesitation only reinforced the examiners' certainty of the identity of the child, for it turned out that the first cane he had selected had in fact originally belonged to the previous Dalai Lama, but that he had long ago made a present of it to one of his faithful servants [though according to Mary Craig, the Great Thirteenth had given it to a Lama, who in turn had given it to Kyitsang Rimpoche]. Another significant event was when the boy picked up an obviously well-used *damaru* [drum used in Tantric rituals], and began to play it resoundingly, with a natural ease that astonished the old monks" in the search party. Levenson, *Tenzin Gyatso*, 14. In fact, later that same evening, the boy's mother, upon taking her son to bed, found that he was clutching this same drum, the one that had been used by his predecessor to summon his servants, beating it "exactly as the monks do during prayers." His refusal to part with it had embarrassed his mother in the presence of the search party's members, but they told her to let the boy keep it. *Kundun*, 17.

The remarkable aura of paranormality surrounding this child would continue to manifest itself in other ways during the entire selection process and well beyond its conclusion. An instance of the latter time-frame, for example, was what would happen on his initial arrival at Lhasa some two years later and shortly after he and his family had immediately been taken to the Norbu Lingka Palace grounds. To say the least, the incident now to be related would startle his mother no end. For this four-year-old son of hers, having already been declared to be the reincarnation of the late Thirteenth Dalai Lama, began insisting that his teeth lay in a particular house within the Summer Palace compound. When finally taken there, he matter-of-factly pointed to a box, declaring as he did so that he had left them there. Upon the box being opened, there was found inside a set of dentures which had belonged to his immediate predecessor on the Lion Throne!^{8b}

For a good summary account of these or other aspects of Lhamo Dhondrub's recognition as the new incarnation when but two or three years old, the reader would do well to consult Chapter 16 of Heinrich Harrer's highly readable volume, *Seven Years in Tibet*. For in its pages will be found the testimony of a most reliable Tibetan eyewitness to the entire affair, General Dzasa Kunsangtse (aka: Khemey Sonam Wangdu). The latter is recorded by Harrer as having told him what had happened, step by step. This eyewitness and participant in these extraordinary proceedings had been the one secular official among the members of the particular 1937 search group headed by Kyitsang Rimpoche that had successfully discovered the future "god-king" of Tibet; and at the time when he had recounted these mysterious events to Harrer at Lhasa in 1950, Kunsangtse was the Tibetan Army Commander-in-Chief (he had been promoted to the rank and title of Dzasa as part of his reward for the contribution he made to the successful selection of the Fourteenth Dalai Lama).

Equally fascinating accounts of the discovery and recognition of the newly-found Dalai Lama, all presented from different vantage points, can be found in Thubten Jigme Norbu's own eyewitness delineation of many of the events, in his book *Tibet Is My Country*; in the autobiographical work by the Fourteenth Dalai Lama entitled *My Land and My People* (as well as in his more recent work, *Freedom in Exile*); in the extremely detailed biography of the current Dalai Lama by Michael Goodman, *The Last Dalai Lama*; in Sir Basil Gould's political autobiography, *The Jewel in the Lotus: Recollections of an Indian Political* (together with his *Report on the Discovery, Recognition and Installation of the Fourteenth Dalai Lama*, Delhi, 1941); in Lowell Thomas, Jr's two works entitled *The Dalai Lama* and *The Silent War in Tibet*; in Melvyn Goldstein's remarkable *History of Modern Tibet*; in the concluding pages of Sir Charles Bell's definitive English-language biography of the Great Thirteenth, *Portrait of the Dalai Lama*; in Mary Craig's *Kundun*, a biographical account of the Fourteenth Dalai Lama and his family; in Claude Levenson's *Tenzin Gyatso: the Early Life of Dalai Lama [XIV]*; and in the opening section of Diki Tsering's heartwarming personal narrative, *Dalai Lama. My Son: a Mother's Story*.



Theos Bernard, who was at the Tibetan capital with Tharchin in 1937, has described something of the concern he found there over the failure by that late date in recognizing the new spiritual and temporal head of Tibet: “The late Dalai Lama has been dead now for over five years”—in reality, it was less than four—and they still have not been able to find a small child who is supposed to be his incarnation. This is the first time in the history of the country that there has been such a lapse of time between the death of a Dalai Lama and the finding of his reincarnation.” (It has been generally but mistakenly believed by most Westerners interested in the subject that every rebirth of the Dalai Lama was supposed to occur at the very moment of the death of the predecessor. Such an idea does not accord, however, with Lamaist doctrine, for it makes plain that years may go by before the Tibetan patron god Chenrezi again leaves “the heavenly fields” to reassume a man’s form.) Added Bernard, “There is a prediction that the Thirteenth Dalai Lama will be the last one, and the late Dalai Lama was the thirteenth.”

According to Charles Bell, the prophecy alluded to by Tharchin’s American friend had gained such wide currency over the years prior to the Great Thirteenth’s death that even the former Central Asian explorer-scholar and Minister to China from the United States, William W. Rockhill, had been taken in by it. While stationed at Peking he had conversed with His Holiness many times there in 1908 during the latter’s lengthy exile from Lhasa; but afterwards, Bell pointed out, the American Minister had been impelled to write to his President to say the following: “The special interest to me is that I have probably been a witness to the overthrow of the temporal power of the head of the Yellow Church, which, curiously enough, I heard twenty years ago predicted in Tibet, where it was commonly said that the thirteenth Dalai Lama would be the last, and my client *is* the thirteenth.” For his part, however, Bell, after quoting Rockhill’s statement, was quick to comment that “this prophecy ... was a sham one, invented by some monks in the Tengyeling Monastery [of Lhasa that had ceased to exist as an institution after 1912]. Indeed, the fourteenth Dalai Lama was discovered a few years after the death of the thirteenth and placed upon the throne.”

The reason for this formerly prestigious institution’s lamas having lent the weight of their religious influence to the spread of this rumor against the Thirteenth Dalai Lama was because for many years they had remained bitter over the severe punishment His Holiness had long ago meted out upon the then Regent (whose monastic home was Tengyeling) for either he himself or his subordinates having attempted to assassinate him near the close of his minority. It was a malicious rumor to spread, since it was tantamount, reasoned Bell, “to asserting that the present incumbent, who is the thirteenth, could not reincarnate, as he was himself no true incarnation.” Although such a falsely-implied pronouncement was incapable of misleading the better informed citizens of the land, who, observed Bell, were acquainted “with the old and well-authenticated prophecy” that there would be *seventeen* Dalai Lamas, these disgruntled inmates of Tengyeling had nonetheless “hoped to work harm among the ignorant crowds.” Whatever harmful effects it might have wreaked, they were soon dissipated

with the news of the discovery of the Great Thirteenth's successor.*



Many, many months had to pass following the discovery of Tibet's fourteenth Dalai ruler; and only after the Lhasan government's protracted negotiations had been concluded with the greedy Chinese Moslem warlord Mapufang about huge monetary gifts for the latter (costing the Tibetans between 300 and 400,000 Chinese dollars!), were the members of the search group, headed by Kyitsang Rimpoche, finally able to take their leave of Kumbum (the group's residence off and on for two years) with their precious possession, Lhamo Dhondrub. They and others, in company with a group of Moslem merchants and their many retainers (including Chinese Moslem pilgrims on their way to Mecca via Lhasa), whose very presence would guarantee the safety of the future Priest-King, set off in an incredibly long and impressive yak, horse and mule train (300 horses and mules alone!) along the ancient caravan route to Tibet's distant capital.†

Coincidentally, on the day of the departure from Kumbum, which for reasons of state as well as for safety precautions had not been made known publicly in advance, George A.

* Far from the Lhasan populace believing the thirteenth Dalai Lama was no true incarnation of Tibet's protective deity Chenrezi, Tharchin, who had visited Lhasa for many months in 1937, could report by letter to Sir Charles Bell that "all Tibetans, high and low" at the capital were now of the opinion that the deceased Dalai Lama "was wonderful—and really Chenrezi." So sincere was their admiration of the Great Thirteenth that nearly four years after his passing, Tharchin could further report that "all the public" at Lhasa "were declaring that unlike when their fortune had been good" under the Great Thirteenth, today their "fate" had turned "dry" (*so-de-kampo*) and that "in future they doubt if they shall ever have the likes of him" again. Indeed, "since his death," continued the Babu in his report to Sir Charles, the Tibetans at Lhasa say that "Tibet's shining glory has disappeared." During the Thirteenth's time on the Lion Throne, declared these same Tibetans, "the discipline was so good and all his subjects were so happy, but now not so." Instead, they "are no longer looked after" as had been the case "during his time." Moreover, all the prices for food and other articles had increased; in fact, "everything has become much dearer." Furthermore, added Tharchin in his report on what the Lhasan public was saying, the present "high officials," far from caring for the welfare of the late ruler's subjects, "are only trying to make money and gain wealth for themselves."

So admirable had the late Dalai Lama become in the eyes of some of Lhasa's citizenry that some of these same citizens, added Tharchin, were even "repenting," they asserting that they had incorrectly thought the Thirteenth "had been very hard to all but that now they understand it was not so." The Babu had gone on to testify that he had seen "many old men and women" at the capital "weeping at the tomb of the late Dalai Lama and crying out: 'Oh! Jewel that fulfills every wish, come quickly and hold us under your protection!'" (*Yid shin Nor bu Phral-du-phep ne Gon Kyap zod.*)

See and cf. together Tharchin's letter to Bell from Tsarong House Lhasa, 25 July 1937 and his retrospective summary letter on his entire stay at Lhasa during the summer-fall 1937, sent Bell from Kalimpong, 11 Dec. 1937, both among the Bell Papers.

† It should be noted that some in the National Assembly at Lhasa, writes Mary Craig, had been "appalled at the idea of sending a search party into an area [then] under the control of China.... [They] saw no point in handing China a tailor-made excuse to meddle in Tibet's affairs. But a sacred vision was a sacred vision, and in the end the National Assembly [had] agreed that a search party must go to Amdo." *Kundun*, 13.

Furthermore, Hugh Richardson would write later that there had been "some uneasiness in Lhasa that the Dalai Lama had been discovered in territory under Chinese control and that it was reported that he would be brought to Lhasa by Chinese troops. But any anxiety there may have been was dispelled when only a handful of ragged soldiers accompanied the child to Lhasa; and even greater was the relief and joyful emotion of the people of Lhasa when they saw the perfect behavior and radiant charm of the boy himself." Richardson, "The Rva-sgreng Conspiracy of 1947," in M. Aris and A.S.S. Kyi, eds., *Tibetan Studies*.... xvii.

Fitch, a foreign Young Men's Christian Association executive based in China, was making another of his visits to the famed Monastery. And because of this coincidence, Fitch most likely turned out to be one of only two Western eyewitnesses to this important event in Tibetan history—the other having been missionary Frank Learner.⁹ It would be some months after the little Lama's departure for Lhasa, however, before the YMCA official wrote an account of the dramatic story. It appeared on the front page of one of Shanghai's daily newspapers the day after the young boy was installed as Dalai Lama XIV at the Tibetan capital. Here is his account:

I saw him at the Kumbum Lamasery ... It happened while we were visiting this temple of the faith, next in importance to that at Lhasa. Our attention was attracted by a sudden rush of people towards a particular spot.

A procession was coming our way. It was headed by a lama in full regalia, carrying in his arms a young boy ... As he approached, people prostrated themselves before him. Some pushed forward to touch the clothes of the child.

Suddenly it dawned on me that this must be the new Dalai Lama en route to Lhasa, where he will be introduced into the mysteries of the religion. I reached into my pocket for a film. Here was the chance of a lifetime! I made one shot, hastily started to turn the film for another. The young Dalai Lama was within ten feet of me. Then I discovered that I had, in my excitement, loaded the camera with exposed film. Luckily, however, my Chinese colleague was on the spot with his camera, too.

The procession hurriedly entered two of the Temple buildings, where brief rites were observed, and then proceeded to the courtyard. Here a gorgeous palanquin—or mule litter—all yellow brocaded satin, awaited. The boy, whose large boots had to be held on while he was carried, was placed in the palanquin. His weeping mother and elder brother climbed into two other litters behind him.

Outriders in richly-colored silks dashed up. Then the procession was off on its perilous 1200-mile trek across the Himalaya mountains to Lhasa—a trip that will take at least two full months to complete.

The lad was handsome, intelligent looking. He must now relinquish all his family connections. His life will be anything but safe. No wonder his mother wept as the colorful procession started on the long journey to Lhasa.

The date of the departure from Kumbum was 13 July 1939, a scant week after the boy's fourth birthday (Western reckoning). It would be a journey that would actually last for over *three* months and would take the wide-eyed youngster from the peaceful obscurity of the familiar fields and mountains of Amdo to the high visibility of exalted spiritual and temporal office and, later, the turbulence of international politics and intrigue.* All that, however, lay

* It was while on his way to the Tibetan capital, incidentally, and towards the end of his caravan journey, that Lhamo Dhondrub would publicly be proclaimed at Lhasa the next occupant of Tibet's Lion Throne. As autumn had approached, in fact, the capital's citizens were filled with unrestrained happiness as the news finally broke, informing the public that the new "god-king" would reach the northern checkpoint of Nagchuka on or about 20 September. As it happened, this announcement had been timed to coincide with the caravan having crossed over the official border with Central Tibet—"and thus beyond the reach of Ma Pu-feng." Dropping all pretense of ongoing uncertainty, adds Mary Craig, the Tibetan government had immediately summoned the National Assembly, where it "formally declared the boy from Taktser to be the Fourteenth Dalai Lama." This "uncommon haste" had more than likely occurred as a way, Craig explains, "to pre-empt the Chinese official [Wu Chung Hsin; see later below] who would be coming from Peking for the enthronement ceremony" from "claiming, as he was sure to—and did—that the proclamation could not be made without him." *Kundun*, 65.

in the future; for the present, the Tibetan people would savor the delicious excitement and sheer joy of having their absent Leader return to them. For when Tibet's "Holy Child" finally made his solemn entry into the Sacred City on 8 October, he did so "amidst the cheers and prayers of the whole population of Lhasa and the surrounding countryside."

A Western eyewitness to this momentous event, Hugh Richardson, has captured in word something of the excitement, color and atmosphere which dominated the pageantry of that long-a-go day.

On the 8th October the new Dalai Lama reached the end of his two and a half months' journey to Lhasa. For two nights he had rested at Rigya where, [situated] over two miles east of Lhasa and within sight of the soaring Potala, he was received by a large number of officials from all over Tibet. The Dalai Lama entered his capital early in the morning escorted by all the officials of Lhasa and the outlying districts within two hundred miles. The streets through which he passed were lined partly by drummers and dancers in gay silk clothes and streamers of colored ribbons over their shoulders, and partly by monks in deep wine-colored robes and yellow crest-like hats who were holding all kinds of sacred objects. From a window near the west door of the ancient Tsuklakhang—the Cathedral of Lhasa—the procession appeared in a golden aureole with the early morning sun behind it.

First a stream of servants in orange silk and large circular red hats hurried ahead to be ready to hold their master's horses. Then various minor attendants in green, blue and yellow; and then a long line of banners and umbrellas. A band of officials wearing the dress of the old kings of Tibet were conspicuous by their rich brocade, enormous circular ornaments on their chests, and earrings of turquoise over a foot long. High lay officials in gold brocade with broad fur-edged collars and hats with a crown of red surrounded by a golden band, monk officials in deep red robes and brocade waistcoats, lesser lay officials in black silk skirts and shining brocade jackets with rainbow silk scarves draped over the shoulder and fixed by large ornaments of turquoise: over a hundred in all preceded the palanquin of royal yellow with gilded top; and more followed after. Golden incense burners and silk-wrapped bundles of the Dalai Lama's clothing were carried past on horses. The regent rode beside the palanquin on a richly caparisoned pony.

As the center of the procession reached the south entrance of the Cathedral it was met by the Nechung State Oracle in a state of possession. A god who acts as guardian of the religion of Tibet is said to enter into him and when he is so possessed he dances with convulsive movements, bending his body fiercely to the ground, forwards and backwards. He wears a towering headdress of white plumes over a golden crown, and brandishes a sword and bow. This terrible figure rushed to the Dalai Lama's palanquin and thrust in his head so that the spirit in him could do reverence to the Dalai Lama. There had been some apprehension that the sight would frighten the child but it is said by those who were near that to the astonishment of his entourage he was quite unperturbed by the experience. This was yet another witness to Tibetans of the fact that the child is the true reincarnation.

When the Oracle had withdrawn, the procession went to the west door of the Cathedral by which the Dalai Lama entered to visit the shrine, eleven centuries old, in which is kept the Jowo Rimpoche ... After a short time the procession emerged and began the last stage of the Dalai Lama's long journey home. Passing by the foot of the Potala, which was hung with many colored flags, the procession entered the long

straight road to the Norbu Lingka, a large walled park containing the several summer palaces of the Dalai Lama. [Though winter had already arrived, the date having passed for when the Dalai Lamas have traditionally been transferred to the Potala, the new “god-king” and his family were to reside in Norbu Lingka till the moment of his formal enthronement at the Potala arrived.] In the oldest of these, after a private service of prayer, a reception ceremony was held at which the customary offering of scarves was made and a short performance of dances was given by the Dalai Lama’s dancing boys. Finally the Dalai Lama withdrew to his private rooms for a well-deserved rest after more than six hours of ceremony.

His behavior during the exacting two days of his entry into Lhasa has been a source of wonder and delight to the people of Tibet and has confirmed their trust in the reincarnation. Indeed, such calm assurance in so young a child seems to come from something more than mere schooling.¹⁰

It should be noted that though at birth he had been named Lhamo Dhondrub, within seven weeks after his initial arrival at Lhasa and before his official installation as the new occupant of Tibet’s Golden Throne, this young lad would be given a long string of new names in keeping with his new and exalted station in life. These names would be fraught with much meaning. He (as likewise his immediate elder brother Lobsang Samden Dhondup) was given his novice vows at the Jo-khang Cathedral on 24 November 1939, at which ceremony he was renamed.^{10a} At this ceremony, known as *taphue* (meaning the “cutting of the hair”), he had his hair cut for the first time as a sign of his formal initiation into the Buddhist Church. “From now on,” the Dalai Lama would later explain, “I was to be shaven-headed and attired in a maroon-monk’s robe.” He then received the new names of Jetsun Jampel Ngawang Lobsang Yishe Tendzin Gyamtsho—all deriving from the names of earlier Dalai Lamas and signifying: The Holy One, The Tender Glory, Mighty in Speech, Of Excellent Intellect, Of Absolute Wisdom, Holding the Doctrine, Ocean-Wide. To his countrymen and all other Central Asians who subscribed to the Lamaist faith, this new young Dalai Lama was immediately revered as Gyalwa Rimpoche or Yeshe Norbu: their “Precious Protector (or Buddha)” or “Wish-Fulfilling Gem.” On that same day the Boy-King of Tibet also received the minor seal of the Dalai Lamas which is called *Gya Tam*. And just three months later, the boy who had been known in his tiny, obscure Amdo village as Lhamo Dhondrub would experience all the pageantry and sacramental ritual which only the unique Installation of a new Dalai Lama upon the ancient Lion Throne of Tibet could possibly call forth. Almost without exception he would ever afterwards be referred to by all Tibetans quite simply but most significantly to them as *Kundun*—The All-Knowing Presence or, Presence of the Buddha. For they reasoned that as long as the Presence was with them in their midst they as a people and nation would be secure and protected from all harm.¹¹



It was no wonder, then, that in late 1939 all Tibetans found cause to rejoice greatly over

the discovery and recognition of this Holy Child of theirs, because it signified to them that their patron deity Chenrezi had deigned to look down upon their land with compassion once again: in embodied form he had at last returned to them in the person of their new Dalai Lama after an absence of six long years. In short, the Presence had come back. One must understand that in Tibetan religious and political theory those individuals who appear as the human embodiments of the Dalai-hood may die but the Dalai-hood itself never disappears. Hence, the emergence of the Dalai Lama in essence constitutes the coming back of one who, having temporarily absented himself, reassumes an authority and functions already his own. And the culminating event in this resumption of power by a Dalai Lama (subject, of course, to the Regency's continuance during the years of minority) is what Gergan Tharchin and those with whom he had come to Lhasa were about to join the Tibetans themselves in celebrating: the occupation—one might more accurately say, from the Tibetan point of view, the *re-occupation*—of the Golden Throne in the Potala by the newly recognized Dalai Lama. It is a ceremony which the Tibetans call *sitringasol*—a term that, roughly translated, means “the [people's] request or prayer [for the successor incarnation] to take possession or occupy the golden throne”—or, to give this ceremony a formal title, it is called the Prayer for the Power of the Golden Throne. To put it another way, explained Charles Bell, *sitringasol* is in effect “a petition to the Supreme Head to occupy again the throne which is his by right, and is the symbol of the power that he will exercise.” In short, wrote Sir Basil Gould, the *Sitringasol* ceremonial “is the public acknowledgment of his people by the Dalai Lama, and of the Dalai Lama by his people.”

The dates for this days-long ceremony were fixed by the Tibetan government to coincide with the Tibetan New Year celebrations (called *Losar*) and the twenty-one days of the Great Prayer or *Monlam* Festival which immediately followed. These two annual festivals are very important in the Tibetan religious calendar. The first of these, *Losar*, is—after the birth- and death-days of Buddha—the greatest event of every year in Tibet, usually falling in mid- or late February, and always occurring during the time of the first full moon of the year; and thus the Tibetan year is calculated according to the lunar calendar (with the latter having to be adjusted every third year by the addition of one month). Now it was the dream of every Tibetan to be able to participate in the New Year Festival at Lhasa at least once in his or her lifetime, for in normal years it constituted the most spectacular and exciting event which could ever be experienced in a Tibetan's life.

Ever since the early fifteenth century the great Tibetan Buddhist monastic reformer Tsong Khapa had begun the practice of combining the New Year Festival with an innovation which he introduced called the *Monlam* or Great Prayer. It was to be an annual season when the welfare of the entire world—Buddhist and non-Buddhist alike—was to be prayed for, although its original intention had been to celebrate the anniversary of a legendary occasion when the Lord Buddha defeated six heretical teachers by performing a series of miracles. Initially, the Great Reformer had designed the *Monlam* Festival to last fifteen days, and to culminate on the night of the first full moon of the year. Later, however, the Tibetan government lengthened the period of the celebration to a full three weeks, the last of these being that of the moon's waning and therefore actually a kind of anticlimax to the entire carnival period.¹²



These two annual events together always guaranteed that every year at this time the Tibetan Holy City's population would be trebled if not quadrupled. But with the added attraction of the Sistringasol festivities, one could well imagine how overcrowded the capital must have become during these even more unwonted and exciting days of celebration surrounding the Installation of the new Dalai Lama.* Now on February 9th, the first day of the Tibetan New Year for 1940, the members of the British delegation were privileged, from among all the foreign delegations, to attend the religious celebration of this year's Losar inauguration. It was held in the main hall of the Potala. These delegation members, including Tharchin, presented *khatas* at the still vacant throne of the Dalai Lama and to the Regent and Prime Minister; they then shared in the ceremonial tea and food which followed. Only on the next day were the other foreign delegations and their staffs permitted to witness the less religious ceremony in the same hall.

On the auspicious fifth day of the New Year (13 February) an official reception of the British Mission by the young Dalai Lama was held at the Summer Palace, Norbu Lingka, from whence eight days later the Child-King would be moved in a long and colorful procession to the Potala Palace for the remainder of the winter season. In his memoirs Sir Basil provided a fascinating account of the event at the Jewel Park Palace that included Gergan Tharchin as a participant:

The hall in which the Dalai Lama grants audiences at the Norbu Lingka is a simple room of moderate size, lighted from a central square shaft supported on painted pillars. The walls, dim behind the pillars, are covered with frescoes in oil paint. In the interval between the death of the Thirteenth Dalai Lama and the arrival of the Fourteenth the throne had been vacant, but always the room had been kept as in the time of the Thirteenth, with fresh food ready by the throne, fresh holy water in brass bowls and pots of such flowers as were in season. The courtyard outside was thronged with monks on duty and other monks who had come to receive a blessing. Beyond the courtyard there had gathered a small crowd of men, women and children, villagers from near Lhasa, and shepherds ...

On entering the room of audience it was seen that the Dalai Lama, a solemn, solid but very wide-awake boy, red-cheeked and closely shorn, wrapped warm in the maroon-red robes of a monk and in outer coverings, was seated high on a simple throne, cross-legged in the attitude of Buddha. Below and round him on the graded steps of the throne, looking like giants beside the child, were five Abbots who included the Lord Chamberlain and Kyitsang Rimpoche. One felt that the child was surrounded by loyalty and love.

* In fact, one could conceivably estimate that the Tibetan capital's population must have been augmented to well over 100,000 during the Dalai Lama's Installation. For in citing the two annual festivals of Losar and Monlam, Amsterdam University historical geographer Wim van Spengen has concluded that, based on the estimate of Sir Charles Bell and the 18th-century Capuchin missionary figure of 80,000 inhabitants present at these festivals in the Tibetan capital, "the population of Lhasa, which was ordinarily perhaps fifteen to twenty thousand, swelled to four or five times this number." Van Spengen, "Geographical History: Long Distance Trade in Tibet," *TJ* (Summer 1995):36. Therefore, 1940's extraordinary event could easily have drawn 120 to 150,000 people.

The occasion was one of the audiences which the Dalai Lama grants almost every day and which any Tibetan may attend freely—high monks and low; men, women and children; villagers and shepherds ...

On the steps below the throne, to right and left, were pots of sprouting barley and of the pink primula ... I soon realized the truth of the report that the child appears to recognize the associates of his predecessor. [As one such associate Gould had himself accompanied the late Thirteenth in 1912 on several stages of his return journey towards Lhasa from his Indian exile; and Tharchin, too, had had close association with the late Dalai Lama in 1927 at Lhasa; and there were others of this category among the British delegation as well.] I noticed the steadiness of his gaze, the beauty of his hands, and the devotion and love of the Abbots who attend him. All seemed to be aware that they were in the presence of a Presence.

First came some of those few who might expect the two-handed blessing; then monks who, down to the most junior, are entitled to the blessing by one hand; and then the laity, villagers and shepherds, each with his small offering of at least a shred of white scarf and a few coins, some to receive the blessing by two hands or by one, but most to have their foreheads touched by one of the Abbots in attendance with a tassel of bright silk ribbons which had been blessed by the Dalai Lama.

After a time the column of those seeking a blessing was held back and the members and staff and servants of the British Mission [not all of them Buddhists] approached the throne in turn. I presented a white silk scarf, a scarf which had been blessed by the Dalai Lama was placed round my neck, and two small, cool, firm hands were laid steadily on my head. The other members of the party followed in turn.

Twice tea, and once rice, was served, as a form of mutual hospitality which was also a sacrament. At the first serving of tea the Abbot responsible for the Dalai Lama's food advanced, produced his box-wood tea-bowl from the folds of his dress and tasted the tea to make sure that it was not poisoned. Then the Dalai Lama was served and then all present. On the second occasion Rai Bahadur Norbu—on behalf of the British Mission, who were permitted to provide the second tea and the food of the day—advanced and performed the same duty. Meanwhile we had produced our gifts—a gold clock with a nightingale that pops out and sings, a pedal motor car, and a tricycle.

And so the audience ended. The Dalai Lama was lifted down from his throne by the Lord Chamberlain and left the hall of audience holding the hands of two Abbots who towered on either side of him, but looking back at the toys which had gripped his attention. Within a minute his eight-year-old brother was on the spot to find out how everything worked, additionally keen and anxious because, he said, if he did not at once find out all about everything, the Dalai Lama would certainly beat him. It appears that His Holiness has a strong will and is already learning to exercise the privileges of his position. The little Dalai Lama was soon back and going round the smooth floor of the audience chamber in the pedal car. The visit ended with congratulations to Kyitsang Rimpoche on his great discovery.¹³

Another eyewitness to some of the long ceremonies during these weeks of enthronement celebrations has confirmed not only the mature and dignified behavior of "the little Dalai Lama" but also the latter's predilection towards those present who had been associates of the late Thirteenth. This eyewitness account was given Heinrich Harrer at Lhasa in 1950 by the then Tibetan Army Commander Dzasa Kunsangtse, identified earlier as having been an important member of the search party that had discovered the new Dalai Lama. At the conclusion of his account to Harrer, the latter had recorded the following comment by the

General (paraphrased): “Everyone was astonished at the unbelievable dignity of the child and the gravity with which he followed ceremonies which lasted for hours. With his predecessor’s servants, who had charge of him, he was as trusting and affectionate as if he had always known them.”



Eight days later, on the 21st of February, the Tibetan from Kalimpong had the privilege of witnessing what the London *Times* termed “an event which happens only about once in a lifetime”: it was what Sir Basil Gould has described as “a mile-long riot of color” that was assembled in procession to escort the newly-recognized child Dalai Lama from Norbu Lingka to the magnificent Palace of the Tibetan Priest-Kings. It would be inside this latter edifice that on the following day the boy Lhamo Dhondrub would be enthroned upon the Golden Lion Throne as the fourteenth in the historic line of ruling Dalai Lamas. This particular transfer procession from Summer to Winter Palace took on much greater significance than otherwise simply because it is the Monastery Palace of the Potala and nowhere else in the realm. explained Sir Basil, that constitutes “the definite seat of authority in Tibet, and therefore it is not until he has entered the Potala that the Dalai Lama receives the Great Seal” with which he himself can then validate the decisions of the Lhasa authorities. Hence the state significance of the event, which was now about to unfold before the entire populace of Lhasa and its thousands upon thousands of visitors, including Gergan Tharchin.

By dawn of the 21st nearly every person in and around the capital had lined the three-mile-long route to behold the rare spectacle. Passing through dense crowds of onlookers most of whom were dressed in colorful finery for the occasion, the procession made its way from the main gates of the Jewel Park Palace along an avenue of stately poplar trees, across the Sacred Walk known as the Lingkhör, over the summit of the Medical College hill, and on to the Western Gate that was decked out with strings of tinkling bells. Here were gathered numerous ladies of Lhasa’s main aristocratic families gaily dressed with headpieces that were set with seed pearls, coral and turquoise and over which were looped black coils of their lengthy straight hair; charm boxes covered with gemstones; colorful silk robes, with equally colorful shirtsleeves turned back over the wrist; the right shoulders bedecked with a cascade of precious stones; and, with respect to the married among them, aprons (called *pangdens*) in stripe designs of green, red, purple and gold or to whatever other colors a particular weaver might have taken a fancy.

From inside the Gate the line of route swept around the base of the Winter Palace, skirted the walls and lake belonging to the Snake Temple, then made its way along the northern face of the Palace, from whence it reached its conclusion up the alternating steps and ascending stone pavements of the southern approach to the monumental multi-storied Abode of the Priest-Kings of Tibet. All along the route could be seen countless clerics of every age, from small children upward, clad in their maroon robes that were often tattered. These religious had all been disgorged from the hundred-odd monasteries that were

scattered about the Lhasan plain; and once free of their monastic precincts, the monks came forth and mingled with the crowds that had been waiting since dawn for this grand event to begin. The crowds included troupes of dancers, bearers of banners, and purveyors of incense sticks, which from their smoldering tips wafted fumes of incense upward in a faint cloud that hung above the entire length of the procession route. There were also mummers alongside the path to be taken by His Holiness, as well as bands and drummers, besides neat-looking shepherds dressed in their finest sheepskins and accompanied by their wives whose hair was punctuated with innumerable closely-braided ringlets. There were also beggars and farmers, and countless thousands of everyday citizens and pilgrims who occupied themselves continually with turning prayer wheels that were of every kind and size imaginable.

These colorful throngs, however, paled in comparison to the spectacular display of pomp and glory they had all gathered on the streets to witness and to enjoy. First to come into view of the official procession of the Dalai Lama and his retinue were hundreds of servants. Dressed in green tunics, blue breeches and broad maroon-colored tasseled hats, they carried the young ruler's food, kitchenware, garments and bedclothes. Next came the grooms who would continue as always to be ready at their masters' bidding but now at the Potala; then came attendants who carried tall banners supposedly able to keep the evil spirits away; certain members of the Chinese delegation could next be seen, followed by a number of high Lamas, the State Oracle, the Chief Secretaries of His Holiness, and led ponies of the new Tibetan Sovereign, brightly caparisoned in the finest of silk trappings.

But there was much, much more to come: the Potala Monastery's head Lamas whose garments were claret robes fringed with embroidery of gold and silver; junior lay officials of the Government dressed in their long multi-colored mantles called *geluches*, along with black shirts, and unusual white hats shaped like boats that rested sideways upon their heads and were tied down under their ears; and senior lay officers of State who moved forward in ascending order of rank—Thaijis, Dzasas, Shapes—and all stiffly costumed in heavy brocades.

But, then, through the clouds of incense which drifted across the route and between the lines of standard-bearers Tharchin and those with him began to glimpse two long double lines of men clad in uniforms of green satin and white-plumed red hats; these were holding draw ropes which would be needed to negotiate the long climb up the Potala. Tharchin also saw two dozen men dressed all in red with yellow hats who advanced with short, shuffling steps; these were bearing the yokes which supported the four poles attached to the great golden palanquin of the Dalai Lama. On a pony directly in front of the palanquin rode the Prime Minister, who wore a Mongolian-style costume and a silk tasseled hat with gold bands. Invisible behind the golden curtains and bright batches of paper flowers of the palanquin sat the little Dalai Lama who must have been beside himself with unfulfilled eagerness to witness the enormous crowds of well-wishers who were overjoyed even to behold merely the curtained-off palanquin of their Kundun. Over the palanquin and slightly to the rear hovered one of two great ceremonial umbrellas, this one made of green peacock feathers that was the privilege only of Tibet's Dalai Lamas.

Behind the palanquin of the Presence came the Regent under the other, but gold, ceremonial umbrella. He was dressed in golden silk robes and a conical yellow hat trimmed with black fox fur, and whose horse, led by two grooms, was draped in brocade and wore a gold knob between its ears. The Regent was immediately followed by the Dalai Lama's parents (both now about 40 years old) and his two brothers, whose presence excited the curiosity and interest of the crowds. The father, incidentally, wore the clothes of a Gung or Duke, a title he had received from the Tibetan authorities only recently. Wearing peaked hats and wrapped in coats of gold brocade which they wore over their claret-colored robes, Abbots and Incarnate Lamas from monasteries around the country were near the rear of the procession. Some of these were mere boys as young as the Kundun himself, and had to be tied firmly to their saddles to avoid falling off their mounts! At the very end came additional civil officers, more monk officials, and finally the Potala Monastery's giant monk doorkeeper, whose presence and stentorian voice were surprisingly sufficient to keep back the dense crowds of awestruck villagers, pilgrims, nomads and clerics.

Tharchin had unquestionably witnessed an eye-filling of spectacle, pageantry and pomp that had not been seen in the sacred city of the Tibetans in over sixty years, and a display not likely to be repeated for a long, long time to come.¹⁴ Once inside the Palace, the child who would be King of the Tibetans was whisked immediately to his private quarters to rest, since the beginning of the long and demanding enthronement ceremonies of the next few days to a week was less than twenty-four hours away.



Neither Gergan Tharchin nor any other part of the British delegation nor, for that matter, any other foreign delegations would have the privilege of attending the first day's ceremonial. In his autobiographical volume *The Jewel in the Lotus* (1957), Sir Basil explained in retrospect that "this first day, February 22nd, was the occasion on which the Tibetan government, both Church and State, would dominate the proceedings in its official capacity. Other days, when also all principal officials of Church and State would be present, were allotted for special participation for and presentation of gifts by the Regent, the Chinese delegation and others." Indeed, with only slight variations, this same ceremony, wrote Sir Basil, would be performed eight times in all! In working out the arrangements for these "other days," the Tibetan government had proposed that the British "attend with their gifts" on the second day, the 23rd, yet made it clear that Sir Basil and his party "were welcome to be present on the first day"—that is to say, the primary ceremony on the 22nd—but that it could not be the occasion for gift-giving or special reception of the delegation. "It was therefore decided," Gould reported, "that we should attend on the second day only, in company with our good friends the representatives of Trashilhunpo (the seat of the Panchen Lama) and of Sikkim."

As a consequence of these arrangements no foreign delegation would be present at the

Potala on the 22nd:* nevertheless, Lowell Thomas, Jr, who with his father had been invited to Lhasa nine years later by the Tibetan government, had apparently gained sufficient knowledge from his travels in Tibet and his research afterwards to have been able to gather together many intimate details of the drama which had unfolded on that most momentous day in the life of the boy Dalai Lama. In one of his several volumes on Tibet, Thomas, Jr delineated for his readers some of the highlights of the lengthy affair that had taken place inside the thousand-room Potala Palace:

On the great day the young Dalai Lama was awakened in the cold dawn. He began an elaborate ritual that had been prescribed in complete detail by the Fifth Incarnation three centuries earlier. First he was taken to a special room for his prayers. Then he was taken to another room to be dressed in the fabulously rich robes worn by Dalai Lamas on state occasions.

At the appointed hour he left his apartments and joined his personal party of two hundred lamas and high officials who would accompany him to the vast throne room, a massive place, very broad and very high, and designed to hold as many people as possible. This room was a fifteen-minute walk from his apartments. Every foot of the way was runnered with white silk on which religious symbols were painted in bright colors. Only His Holiness could touch this silk; his personal party walked behind him and along the sides of the corridors.

Preceding him and his followers was the "heralding party." This group included about a hundred lamas and laymen who were given their duty as an honor. They were dressed in ancient robes of great richness. The robes were so well preserved as to appear fresh and new. In addition the robes were decorated with jewels taken from the court treasuries. Each outfit was said to be worth the equivalent of about twenty-five thousand dollars; every item was carefully registered with the Government and on these rare state occasions was issued only against a receipt. After the ceremony each item was checked back into the treasury.

* As is made clear by Mary Craig's research into the matter, this statement is not altogether accurate, she having learned from her reading of the relevant British documents that the head of the Chinese delegation, Wu Chung Hsin, had changed his mind about attending the Installation ceremony on just the one date which by agreement between that delegation and the Tibetan government had been allotted the Chinese to be present, which was the 26th. In consequence of this development, Sir Basil found himself having to explain the situation with some embarrassment to his superiors in the External Affairs Department at Delhi who had heard about this potentially troubling development from other sources. In two telegrams Gould sent from Lhasa—both on 14 March 1940—he wrote: "The question I had to consider was whether we should be present on 22 Feb." Wu, he then noted, "was originally allotted the 26th for the presentation of his gifts but (apparently at the last moment) decided to attend on 22 Feb. also. Possibly this may have been done with a view to affording some sort of foundation of truth for his false account of the proceedings." Gould went on to insist that the Chinese had done nothing at the 22nd February ceremony which had not also been done by him and the other foreigners who were present with him on the 23rd; which was to say that Wu had simply presented a *khata* to the new Priest-Sovereign of Tibet. Nevertheless, added Gould, "it did not ... perhaps suit the Chinese ... to admit to this, and on this as on other occasions they have published a deliberately false account of what took place." Quoted in Craig, *Kundun*, 77.

It was therefore not true that the British had been slighted. Indeed, Gould would eventually issue a printed pamphlet dealing with the Installation as a way, he wrote, "to counter false Chinese propoganda by giving an authentic account of what actually happened." See his article, "The Discovery of the Fourteenth Dalai Lama," in *Geographical Magazine* (Oct. 1946):246-58, where this pamphlet was summarized. See further on this incident and its aftermath a few pages hence in the Text to follow.

The heralding party chanted prayers and played music on traditional instruments. They announced the arrival of the holy child to the throng of five thousand especially chosen guests in the throne room. When the child entered the great hall, everyone rose and stood in utter silence with downcast eyes. The boy walked alone across the hall to the throne and was lifted to its great height. For a moment the assembly remained silent in prayer.

Now the highest lama came forward and addressed himself to the child in a traditional chant known as the "Prayer for the Power of the Golden Throne." The orchestra began to play again, this time a soft background of religious music. In effect the lama prayed to the Incarnation to take the throne and he professed his acceptance of the Dalai Lama's return. The ten-minute chant ended with traditional words of praise and devotion. Afterwards everyone in the great hall joined to repeat words of entreaty, acceptance, and praise.

At this point came the climax of the ceremony. The highest *Kashag* member approached the throne. He first presented the child a *khata*, the traditional scarf. Then he offered a curious golden urn. Inside was a scroll inscribed with holy words, the chop [seal] of the *Kashag*, and the date of the enthronement. The urn was sealed and would never be opened. It symbolized the acceptance of the Dalai Lama by the *Kashag* and thus by the Tibetan nation. The moment the child took the urn he became officially the Fourteenth Dalai Lama and the spiritual-temporal ruler of his people.

Finally came the hours-long parade of guests before the throne.... At least 5000 were present, most of them Tibetans ... Each Tibetan, as he came in front of his young sovereign, made his vow of homage, offering personal allegiance as well as religious veneration. Each brought a scarf and gifts. Each received a blessing; an important personage was touched on the head by the boy's hand, while a lesser person was merely whisked with the tasseled end of the scepter. An attendant held the arm of the boy and helped him administer the blessings. The child, however, showed remarkable endurance. He remained calm and self-possessed, and apparently he took a deep and serious pleasure in the long ceremony.

Even this relatively lengthy account could not do full justice to all the ritual, color and ceremony which had occurred at the Potala on this auspicious occasion. However, the *Times* special correspondent (Gould?) already referred to was able to fill in more of the details of what happened that day both inside and outside the great Monastery Palace of Tibet's Priest-Sovereigns. In two articles, one datelined "Lhasa February 22" and the other, "Lhasa February 23," he was able to cable to the outside world the impressions he had received from someone who had been an eyewitness to the state affair inside the massive Throne Room of the Potala itself and from his own eyewitness experience of events on the streets of Lhasa outside. Here in part is what the *Times* correspondent reported of these dramatic episodes:

Amid scenes of splendor and pageantry the boy Dalai Lama, who was recently found in an obscure village in China, was today installed as the chief civil and religious dignity of the Tibetan hierarchy. The genuineness of his incarnation has not been fully established, and it received its final sanction in today's ceremony. The installation took place at the Potala ... Thronged of Tibetans, on foot or mounted, had trekked into the capital from the most remote places in Tibet to be present at the ceremony.

Early this morning Lhasa awoke to the deep boom of temple trumpets, and under

the faint light of a clouded moon almost at the full and with attendants carrying lamps, all the monks and lay officials set out up the steep slopes of the Potala looming in its glory above the city. An hour before dawn, at the time fixed by astrologers, the fourteenth incarnation of the Dalai Lama entered the lamplit main assembly hall of the Potala to the sound of trumpets. The five-year-old boy proceeded hand in hand with the Chief Abbot and the Kalong Lama (the ecclesiastical Cabinet Minister) along a white carpet marked with the eight lucky signs [of Tibetan Buddhism], and with their help climbed the golden throne of the Dalai Lamas. The ceremony, which will last several days, marked the culminating stage of the assumption of Dalai Lamahood already incarnate in the child and disclosed in the mutual recognition of his people.

* * * * *

The Dalai Lama wore a golden robe and a yellow hat, and briskly and confidently climbed the lower steps of the throne. He was then lifted to his place by the Lord Chamberlain and carefully wrapped in red and golden robes.

The Dalai Lama and the chief ecclesiastical officers, including the Lord Chamberlain and the Kyitsang Rimpoche, who discovered him, and the Abbot responsible for his apartment and food, stood on the steps round the throne. All prostrated themselves. The Regent and the Prime Minister then occupied the raised seats on the right. First the monks of the Potala, then the Regent offered a prayer in low tones. Then the Regent prostrated himself three times, advanced up the steps of the throne and offered a scarf, and he and the Dalai Lama saluted one another by touching forehead to forehead.

In the intervals of a shrill debate between two doctors of divinity and of stiff-jointed dancing by boys, armed with jade battle-axes, the Dalai Lama conferred blessing with both hands on the Cabinet Ministers, his parents, brother, and brother's wife, and with one hand on other officials and monks. Hundreds of others, advancing with body touching body in a dense, swaying line, received blessings with the tassel. From time to time tea, rice, and meat were served to the Dalai Lama, after the usual precautions against poison, and to the others present. Later great piles of sweetmeats, bread, entire dried carcasses of yaks, bulls and sheep, complete with horns, were set out on [some fifty] low tables in the center of the hall. The servants of the Potala and other poor persons desiring a share of the Dalai Lama's food made a wild rush for the tables, and in spite of the whips of the attendants each secured what he could. After further debate and dances the Dalai Lama sent silk scarves to the principal persons present. He was then lifted from his throne and withdrew.

The scene was one of magnificence and solemnity. To the right of the throne, seven-foot-high, stood the Dalai Lama's golden food table, inset with great rubies, pearls and turquoises. To the left of the throne, on raised cushions, sat the Dalai Lama's father in a robe of gold brocade, embroidered with green, and with a skirt of rainbow-striped silk. His mother was in a stiff brocade and purple robe, with a rainbow-striped skirt. His lay brother, about twelve years old, and his attractive wife, of about the same age, were also present. The Abbots and monks wore dark maroon robes, over which the Abbots wore voluminous cloaks of stiff gold and silver brocade. The installation took five hours and more, during which the child Dalai Lama showed composure, confidence and attention.



It would now be the turn the following day for Tharchin and his British, Indian and Tibetan confreres from the distant Subcontinent to be treated to a similar rendering of these same dramatic episodes. But to these august proceedings would be added two further facets to the drama: the presentation of gifts, and the special attention which would be paid the members of the British, Sikkimese and Trashilhunpo delegations. They also, like the many thousands of the Dalai Lama's invited subjects on the previous day, would file past the Lion Throne to pay their personal respects, and receive the personal blessings of the young Tibetan ruler himself. Sir Basil Gould years afterwards would set down his reminiscences of these events of long ago when he and his party of about fifty, including Gergan Tharchin, had set out to have their own rendezvous with the newly-installed and enthroned young "god-king" of Tibet:

The next day, February 23rd, was a day of general rejoicing, being the 15th of the Tibetan first month and full moon. It was a happy thought, fraught it may be hoped with good augury for the future, that the representatives both of Trashilhunpo and of the Maharaja of Sikkim ... should be associated with the British Mission in offerings to the new occupant of the Golden Throne.

Snow had fallen during the night and the hills which surround the Lhasa valley were silver-bright when at eight o'clock in the morning we set out, some fifty persons in all in uniforms of many kinds, to ride on our stocky Tibetan ponies, shaggy in their winter coats, to the Potala.... A crowd of pilgrims acquiring merit by performing the five-mile circuit of the Holy Walk made way for us to pass.... We climbed the steep ascent to the Potala which loomed above the city in its glory....

The main audience hall of the Potala [called *si-shi-phuntsok*, "Hall of All Good Deeds of the Spiritual and Temporal Worlds," and located in the principal stateroom in the east wing of the Palace on the topmost story] is a great square room, wholly enclosed, lighted from a central well supported on painted wooden pillars round which, in frequent repetition, are hung the eight lucky signs. What appears to be the north wall, but is really a screen advanced several feet from the actual wall, is covered with hangings of silk appliqué work which depict various religious scenes. Against this screen is set the seven-foot-high throne of the Dalai Lamas [the *sengrî* or Lion Throne, a "vast, jewel-encrusted and beautifully carved structure" which had been constructed according to instructions of the Tibetan scriptures; fashioned of gilded wood, it was square and supported by a pair of carved wooden lions at each of its corners; and on the throne were five square cushions, each covered with a different-colored brocade]. The other three walls, which lie back much farther behind the pillars of the central well than the north screen, are covered with oil paintings, barely visible even by day....

To the right of the Dalai Lama's seven-foot-throne stood a golden table, inlaid with great rubies and hundreds of turquoises and pearls. In a long anteroom were being set out the gifts which were to be offered that day. Ours included a brick of gold fresh from the Calcutta Mint, ten sacks of silver, three rifles, six rolls of broadcloth of different colors, a gold watch and chain, field glasses (through which the Dalai Lama would later enjoy watching his subjects in the city below as they would go about their tasks).

an English saddle, a picnic case, three stoves, a musical box and a garden hammock....

I felt that, solemn and magnificent as the ceremonial might be, the atmosphere was intimate. Seated on raised cushions to the left front of the throne, we found ourselves next to the family of the Dalai Lama....

The special Lhasa correspondent (Gould?) for the *Times* picks up the details of the event from this point forward:

For the ceremony the British Mission were given seats on square silk cushions to the left in front of the throne, facing the Regent's seat. The Dalai Lama's parents and family were seated beside the throne, a few feet to the right of the Mission. The Dalai Lama entered the reception hall, and after receiving the salutations of the attendant monks, ascended the throne before which the Regent prostrated himself. The aged Chief Abbot of Trashilhunpo, the present head of the Trashilhunpo Government, offered prayers, prostrated himself, and advanced to the throne. He presented an image of the Lord Buddha, a holy book, and other religious emblems which had been received, while hundreds of the Trashilhunpo servants hurried past the throne bearing gifts, including a six-foot elephant tusk, a rhinoceros horn set in silver, bags of gold dust, silver ingots shaped like slippers, and rolls of silk.

After an interval the British Mission advanced in single file. Mr. Gould saluted the Dalai Lama, ascended the steps of the throne, and presented him with a silk scarf and ceremonial gifts handed to him by the attendant Abbot, including a bar of gold and bags of silver. The Lord Chamberlain then placed a long silk scarf round Mr. Gould's neck, and the Dalai Lama conferred his blessings. Mr. Gould then presented a scarf to the Regent and bowed to the Prime Minister. The whole staff of the Mission were next presented, and then the Mission's other personnel and its servants followed. Other delegations from neighboring territories were presented while the ceremonies, which included the blessing of monks and officials, a religious debate by Tibetan leaders, dancing, an ancient ritual of display, and a scramble for food, continued. During the proceedings the Dalai Lama once more impressed all by his imperturbable demeanor, his attentiveness, and his composure. During the less solemn parts of the ceremony his monk brother stole up to the throne to be near his now famous kinsman.

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The Chinese delegation, as intimated earlier, had a day separate from the British on which to pay their respects and present their official gifts to the young new ruler of Tibet. Ever since Chao Ehr-feng and his army had been expelled from the Roof of the World, no other Chinese official had up to this point been permitted to enter Tibet except in the instance in 1934 when special representatives had been allowed to come to Lhasa on a supposedly short visit ostensibly to offer "religious tribute" and "the condolences" of the Han government on the death of the Great Thirteenth (see Volumes II and III, Chapters 20 and 24, respectively, of the present narrative). These representatives from Peking, who were referred to officially by the Chinese as a "Mission of Condolence," had nonetheless stayed on at the Tibetan capital despite the Lhasan government's known desire repeatedly made that they should

return home. And thus now, with the oncoming Installation of the Great Thirteenth's successor, the Chinese—having apparently been permitted by Lhasa to send another delegation in honor of this new and joyful ceremony—had simultaneously commenced a public relations campaign both inside and outside Tibet to bolster their claim that this entire series of events surrounding the Installation had been undertaken *by them* as a means of demonstrating their continued respect for the Tibetan people and their customs.

This new delegation, consisting of nine members from the staff of the Mongolian and Tibetan Affairs Commission, arrived “as carefully planned” at the Tibetan capital on 25 November 1939. Indeed, these nine were shortly afterwards joined by the Commission's Director of Tibetan Affairs himself, Wu Chung Hsin. Although their gifts, presented by Wu and his fellow delegates at the ceremony in the Potala, were lavish, nothing could have been further from the truth with regard to this and other subsequent propaganda claims made by the Chinese. Not only the Nationalists but also the Communists, reports Tibetan historian Tsering Shakya, would claim that China's Representative Wu had in fact “presided” over the ceremony and “that his involvement was essential to the recognition of the new Dalai Lama.” Yet, adds the historian, “there is no evidence to suggest that Wu ... ‘presided’ over the installation of the Dalai Lama.”^{14a}

Indeed, having talked in 1949 and subsequently to several Tibetans who had been at the days-long ceremony, Lowell Thomas, Jr could report that “not one of them has said that the Chinese representative played a role or received attention in any way different from the other foreign representatives.” Added the American traveler and author, “The British envoy's position in the ceremony was at least equal to that of the Chinese representative.” And Gould himself reported to his Government in March of 1940 in the following vein: “As to Mr. Wu Chung Hsin's alleged participation in the Installation ceremony of the 22nd February, it is clear that the Chinese put out an advance account of events which were not likely to take place and did not take place. This represents one form of tendentious statement.”*

* Hugh Richardson has provided the background to this little episode. In his official summary of Anglo-Tibetan relations over many years, *Tibetan Precis*, published in 1945, the British diplomat reported the following with regard to the Installation and the Chinese representative's participation in the event (pp. 66-7):

The Chinese press made tendentious claims about the part played by Mr. Wu. It was alleged that he had escorted the Dalai Lama to his throne and had announced his installation; that the Dalai Lama had returned thanks and had prostrated himself in the direction of the Imperial Abode. This report which had been prepared and issued before the event may have represented what the Chinese intended to take place, but in fact Mr. Wu was allowed only a passive part in the ceremony and did no more than present a scarf. There was also a Chinese press report that the Dalai Lama had been “permitted to succeed,” by a Chinese Government Mandate of 5th February 1940. It was also claimed that the Regent had accepted a letter of appointment from the Chinese government. These announcements are evidence of the Chinese addiction to make-believe, and their tendency to treat events that have happened despite of them [*sic*] as having happened through their agency. The effectiveness of such an attitude in Tibetan affairs is that the Chinese have the ear of the world, through the press, and their falsehoods go undenied. They can later refer to press records of past events and convince themselves, and perhaps others, of a wholly fallacious view of history.

Mr. Wu's behavior reflected the traditional Chinese attitude towards Tibet. He looked upon the Tibetans as an inferior race, and Tibet as an integral part of China. He harped on the expense which China had incurred on Tibet in the past. He offended Tibetan susceptibilities by lack of respect for the Dalai Lama which he showed among other ways by demanding an immediate interview on his arrival at Lhasa.

... Wu does not appear to have made any serious efforts to enter into any sort of negotiations with the Tibetan government and he confined himself to general expressions of benevolence, and of the readiness of the Chinese government to help in the development of Tibet, and an offer to repay the sum of 400,000 dollars which the Tibetan government had had to pay to the Governor of Chinghai. It appears that the Tibetan government politely refused his overtures but had no objection to accepting the money



“A main impression produced,” wrote Sir Basil, recalling these rare audiences with the boy Dalai Lama in 1940, “was the extraordinary interest of the child in the proceedings, his presence, and his infallible skill in doing the right thing to the right person and at the right time. He was perhaps the only person amongst many hundreds who never fidgeted and whose attention never wavered. It was evident that the Sitringasol was indeed the return, in response to prayer, of the Dalai Lama to a throne which by inherent authority was already his.” The newly-installed boy-ruler was not even perturbed by the operation of a motion-picture camera that off-and-on was handled by the British delegation’s unofficial photographer, and painter, Kanwal Krishna. Looking later at the movie footage of these moments, one viewer of the film was given to remark: “There, on a throne, we see the Dalai Lama, only five years old, peeping [calmly] at the camera.”¹⁵

Decades after the event, when having his own “memoirs” prepared, Gergan Tharchin could still vividly remember what it was like to have been present at this rare, incredibly elevated and dramatic state function in the Tibetan capital:

At the time of his Installation His Holiness was less than five years of age. On the day of the Installation I was in the Potala Palace, and present at the ceremony. For this occasion people traveled from all parts and directions of Tibet to witness the proceedings of the day. It was a grand ceremony. Many official representatives had come there on behalf of religious, social, and political organizations and governments. I admired this huge throng of people happy and jubilant over the occasion.

From 8 o’clock in the morning till 3 o’clock in the afternoon His Holiness was sitting on the throne. He was not at all excited, though many exciting things were taking place all around him. The large room was beautifully painted and decorated with expensive materials. Thousands upon thousands of his people were moving in and out paying their heartfelt respects to their political ruler and spiritual head.¹⁶ I too went forward paying my respects to His Holiness. The Fourteenth Dalai Lama noted my presence in a very special way, and many years later he recollected having seen me on the occasion of his Installation in Lhasa.¹⁷

Tharchin continued his recollections and impressions. “Sir Basil Gould, then the Political

as a “pious offering” from the Chinese government.

... The single point of importance gained by Wu’s mission was the establishment at Lhasa of a Chinese official of higher standing than the stopgap [predecessor] ... This was Dr. Kung, who was one of Wu’s party, and remained at Lhasa when Wu left.

Interestingly, the noted American historian on Tibet, Warren Smith, is only in partial agreement with what can be found in Richardson’s critique. For he accepts to a considerable degree the Chinese version of events surrounding some of these Chinese claims reported by this British official, as well as other claims not mentioned by Richardson—in particular, those relating to the assumed actions of the pro-Chinese Regent, Reting. These claims accepted by Smith include Reting’s acquiescence in a number of significant diplomatic maneuvers perpetrated by Wu on behalf of the Peking government. Smith, however, cites as his only source the Chinese historian, Tieh-tseng Li (T’ieh-cheng Li) and the latter’s book, *Tibet: Today and Yesterday* (1960), a revised edition of his 1954 volume, *The Historical Status of Tibet*, both published in New York. See Smith Jr, *Tibetan Nation* (1996), 240-41, for the details.

Officer, spoke very highly and appreciatively to us all about the calmness and quietness with which His Holiness conducted himself throughout the busy schedule of the Installation rites. This was an excellent performance for a child so young. Gifts and presents came from hundreds of people both private and official.” “The offering of presents to His Holiness reminded me,” added this follower of Jesus Christ, “of the Wise Men of the East who brought gold, frankincense and myrrh to the Christ Child.”¹⁸ No matter how grand and glorious the enthronement ceremony or how deep and pervasive the reverence and worship of their new Lama-King by his fellow Tibetans, Tharchin’s reverence of Christ was unaffected by it all; to the end of his life he remained unswerving in his worship of only “[Jesus] the Lamb [of God],... for he is Lord of lords, and King of kings.”¹⁹

Tharchin went on in his reminiscence to describe something further of the religious fervor which accompanied the participation of so many of his ethnic countrymen during the Sistringasol ceremony. He noted how “thousands of people were jostling and fighting to have the opportunity to experience the *darshana* [or perhaps more correctly to be shown as “darshan”] of His Holiness on the occasion of his Installation. The Tibetan security guards could not control the surge of people as they earnestly sought to file past the Lion Throne and receive the divine blessing of their Kundun. Although these guards resorted to merciless whippings, still the mob paid no heed to the strikes or lashes. For many of them the *darshana* of His Holiness was the opportunity of a lifetime, and was perhaps a single qualification in their minds for entering the portals of heaven.”

The Tibetan visitor from Kalimpong is here found employing a term which among many Eastern religionists is fraught with immense significance. Darshan is “an almost untranslatable Indian expression” in Hindi which in its simplest definition signifies the blessing which arises from the touch or even the sight of a person of great eminence or holiness (such as a religious leader). By way of further clarification and amplification, one can say that the expression means the seeing of a person or deity on the occasion of a ceremonial visit to the person or to an enshrined image, with some religionists, particularly various Hindus and Buddhists, believing that a blessing is thus bestowed upon the one who views the eminent person or enshrined image of the person, or even, in very modern times, a photographic image of the said eminent person.²⁰ It must not be forgotten that according to Tibetan Buddhism the Dalai Lama is a Bodhisattva of the very highest order: the reincarnation of a being who having attained enlightenment, instead of entering the heavenly Nirvana, chooses to reembody himself in an earthly person for the purpose of helping others to gain their perfect spiritual state too. And since in Tibetan Buddhism it is a cardinal belief that anyone can approach a Bodhisattva to ask for help,²¹ every Tibetan earnestly seeks during his earthly pilgrimage to see, and to be blessed personally by, His Holiness inasmuch as the latter as a Bodhisattva is believed to be the reincarnation of the patron deity of all Tibetans. Chenrezi the Lord of Mercy. And hence, by the spiritual reward or merit thus gained, the darshan of His Holiness was to be prized above all things else in any Tibetan’s “wheel of life.”²²

To give but one example of how a Tibetan, young or old, would feel upon experiencing the darshan of His Holiness, Dolkar Tseten, who grew up at Lhasa during much of the Fourteenth Dalai Lama’s reign on the Lion Throne after 1940, has intimately shared what

went through her mind and heart when at about the age of twelve she and her family achieved the darshan at the Jo-khang during one of the annual New Year Festivals:

On several occasions during the Festival His Holiness the Dalai Lama ... would come to the Temple where he would hold public audience. Of course we went. Every family wanted the sense of spiritual well-being that came with his blessing, and joined the respectfully quiet throng that waited their turn to prostrate themselves before him.... With eyes downcast we prostrated ourselves before the divine presence, feeling the light touch of the silken tassel that swept our heads in blessing. Even at that early age I had an indescribable sense of grace, a knowledge that everything bad I had done like getting mud on my second best dress and being jealous of the jewel merchant's daughter who lived just down the street, was now forgiven. I felt so clean, so good, so happy that I scarcely noticed the patiently waiting crowd or the strangely carved stone figures as we left the Temple, each of us with a specially blessed colored ribbon to be worn round our necks. When we returned home my parents had a surprise for me, a beautiful gold bracelet. To my young mind this seemed an immediate and tangible sign of my new state of spiritual grace.²³



Each night for a week, after every day-long ceremonial surrounding the Sistringasol drama, there were remarkable scenes to be witnessed on the streets of Lhasa. The *Times* correspondent noted that various members of the British delegation would make a point of returning to the city, from their lodging at the Mission compound on the capital's outskirts, "to share in the general rejoicings." And no doubt Tharchin was himself among them taking in the contagious *joie de vivre* for which Tibetans were famous. Most particularly, however, did the latter exhibit their unrestrained joy during these incomparable nights of celebration. Cabled the correspondent back to London: "The streets, which were lined by troops, were ablaze with lighted faggots and thronged with happy crowds. Huge pyramid-like structures [made of molded butter], provided by monasteries from all parts of Tibet, had been set up, marked with brilliant colored designs of gods and tutelary demons." "To all Tibetans," remembered the recognized Fourteenth Incarnation, "the future seemed happy and secure." A mere decade later, however, would witness the beginning of one of the saddest and darkest chapters in this proud people's long history.²⁴



Now it was at the time of the multiple Sistringasol ceremonies that Gergan Tharchin first learned of the scholastic assignment which was to be his for four months or more in Lhasa and that was discussed at some length in the previous chapter. He remained in the Tibetan capital, in fact, for five months, finally leaving in mid-year 1940, Gould himself having departed Lhasa earlier, on 4 June.

After bidding goodbye to his mother-in-law and friends at Lhasa, the visitor from Kalimpong took the return journey to India. He went by way of Gyantse and Yatung and stayed for some time in Gangtok. He was very thankful to his Lord for His providential protection all along the way to the Sikkimese capital, which he safely reached by the 20th of July. His family had been instructed to come to the Sikkimese capital from Kalimpong since Tharchin was still going to be engaged in scholastic work there for Sir Basil Gould. Sherab, Tharchin's son, also came to Gangtok. He was then but three or four years old. Sherab's father was especially thankful to his God for journeying mercies and protection for his family when just ten days after his arrival in Gangtok from the north, a serious flood overtook the city of Yatung where he had been just a few days before!

According to the *Times of India*, "on the night of July 10 an unprecedented flood, accompanied by a slight earthquake shock, occurred in the Chumbi Valley in southern Tibet. Several houses in Yatung collapsed and from later reports it appears that some villages south of Yatung have been completely washed away.... It appears that [so far] about 200 persons have perished." Moreover, the same newspaper report indicated that the telegraph line between Yatung and India was also washed away for a distance of six miles and that all bridges over the Amo Chu were demolished. Actually, the flood had been caused by a huge glacier having dropped into a nearby lake, swelling the latter to overflowing with an enormous volume of water. Besides the many houses destroyed and the many lives lost, the damage to agriculture and livestock was incalculable. The ensuing effect caused by the flood was so serious, in fact, that according to the newspaper report, Sikkim's Crown Prince, the Maharaj Kumar, personally left Gangtok with a relief party of workers, and furthermore, the Medical Officer attached to the British Trade Agency at Gyantse also felt obliged to proceed to the disaster site.²⁵ Tharchin's attitude of thankfulness was therefore not without reason!

Sir Basil's word-book was at last completed. He wanted to have it printed by a "photo-zincographic process." But for that to be done the entire Tibetan part of the manuscript would first have to be written out by hand. The English portion, of course, was to be typed. As to the Tibetan portion, however, the Kalimpong publisher was quick to offer on loan, if so desired by Sir Basil, his skillful copyist to handwrite it out; in the end, though, this assignment was given to another copyist. This other calligrapher turned out to be Gould's young clerk, Kazi Dorje Tsering, who also accomplished the typing out of the English text. Arrangements were subsequently made for the word-book to be printed at both Gangtok and Calcutta, for it had been decided that "the preliminaries" of the printing would first be done by the Sikkim Durbar (or State) Press at Gangtok and The Modern Art Press at Calcutta, but that the text—reproduced by the said photo zincographic process—would be printed by the Director of Map Publications of the Survey of India at Calcutta.

Gould, who was already in Calcutta, now directed Tharchin to come down from Gangtok to the Bengal city to see the work. This he did. After some time he returned to Kalimpong alone that he might be reunited with his family, Sir Basil himself returning to his Gangtok Residency from Calcutta later. The *Tibetan Word Book*, when ultimately produced, would have as its co authors both Gould and Hugh Richardson, and would be graced with a foreword by the renowned Tibetologist and scholar-explorer, Sir Aurel Stein. And by late 1942, all the various stages of printing—at Gangtok much earlier and at Calcutta

subsequently—had at last been completed; so that in May 1943 the work could finally be published by Oxford University Press (of London, New York, Bombay, Calcutta, etc.).

The two other works of Sir Basil's on which Tharchin had diligently labored at Lhasa, that is to say, the Tibetan sentence-book and the syllable-book, would also appear in May 1943 and be published by the same Oxford University Press. As was indicated on the verso of the title pages of all three volumes, they in essence formed together a three-part series of works designed to assist the beginner in the learning of the Tibetan language. In the case of these two latter works, however, they were entirely printed exclusively at Gangtok by the Sikkim Durbar Press, nonetheless bearing the publisher's imprint of Oxford University Press, Calcutta. Again, as was the case with the *Word Book*, these two additional works in this same series were co-authored by Gould and Richardson, and had simply been entitled *Tibetan Sentences* and *Tibetan Syllables*. About the Gangtok press just mentioned, Sir Basil had commented briefly but significantly in the General Preface to his *Word Book* that "of those who have helped, His Highness the Maharaja of Sikkim was amongst the first to come forward when, nearly seven years ago, he contributed a list of place names and their meanings. He has now had the Sikkim State Press specially equipped for the printing of some of these books"—the first two to come forth having been, of course, *Sentences* and *Syllables*.²⁶

There would be several more Gould works to roll off the Press at Gangtok. In his political autobiography published in 1957 Sir Basil indicated that the sentence and syllable books "were followed by the private printing and issue of *Tibetan Language Records, Etc.*, which fitted in with language records (made in Lhasa and produced by the Gramophone Company), and dealt also with several other matters; and of *Tibetan Verb Roots*, and *Tibetan Medical Words*." The latter work was a Tibetan-English medical dictionary.²⁷ Gould's statement about these last three works having been privately printed and issued was his way of referring in his autobiography to the already cited Sikkim Durbar Press at Gangtok, where all three were indeed first printed and published. All three would subsequently be reprinted by Gergan Tharchin at his Tibet Mirror Press, Kalimpong (the facts of publication and other details for which can be found in Appendix A at the end of the present volume).



By 1941 the Second World War was fiercely raging in Europe and the Allied forces were experiencing a difficult time defending themselves against the aggressive designs of Adolf Hitler. In the year 1940 Tharchin had already discontinued the publication of his Tibetan newspaper. This action proved to be only temporary, however. Several factors were responsible for this decision to cease publication. First, he was leaving for Lhasa to attend the Installation of the new Dalai Lama and would therefore be away for a considerable length of time. Second, the War was in progress and many restrictions were being imposed on the press everywhere. Third, in this period it was very difficult to obtain paper, a permit to purchase it not being easily available. (This, in fact, would precipitate the closing of many

other local newspapers during this wartime period.) Fourth, censorship of the news created its own peculiar difficulties. But the fifth and most overriding reason for the decision to cease, at least temporarily, the *Tibet Mirror's* publication was quite simply, as Tharchin would explain a decade later, because of a “want of sufficient funds”—a situation which would plague him for many years to come. In spite of all this, though, the newspaper publisher *was* able to produce at least one issue: one that covered the Installation of His Holiness. The border of this particular issue was decorated with designs cast in different colors. The pictures of the Dalai Lama, his family and the high-ranking Tibetan officials were published in this issue, which interestingly enough was brought out in 1940 *prior* to the Installation. Thereafter, publication of the newspaper was stopped for a period of about two years.

In 1942 the Jubilee Celebration of Dr. Graham's Homes was organized and observed in Kalimpong (Graham himself died on 15 May of the same year). Sir Basil Gould attended the celebrations, as did Gergan Tharchin. While at this function Sir Basil asked Tharchin to accompany him to Delhi with some sample copies of his Tibetan newspaper, which he did. What had precipitated Gould's request was the fact that certain authorities within the British Army in India had shown an interest in the *Tibet Mirror* that in May of 1942 led to an inquiry about the Tibetan's newspaper by the Indian government's War Office through the Political Officer Sikkim. Apparently the Office saw the potential contribution the news organ could make in the effort to defeat the Axis Powers—especially the Japanese—in Central and Southeast Asia during the World War that was then raging everywhere. As the Babu would himself later explain, “they knew,” as a result of the inquiry, “that the paper was [a] great help to up keep the minds of the Tibetans and as well the friendly relations with India.” And hence at the Graham's Homes celebration in July Gould notified Tharchin of the summons from the Indian government to appear with the Political Officer at Delhi for an interview with a few high authorities. The Political Officer and the Babu therefore traveled together to the Indian capital. There the Tibetan publisher laid out before them in a formal display the various issues of his paper he had brought. Upon closely examining them, these Government and military officials seemed quite pleased with the content and general appearance of the newspaper. And as a consequence, after the publisher's return to Kalimpong he would be asked by Sir Basil to recommence the publication of his news organ, with all expenses involved—including the supply of paper—to be borne by the British Government of India for an indefinite period. Here is how Tharchin himself some two decades later would describe what happened in 1942:

[At Delhi] I met several military as well as high civil officials and I was ordered to resume the publication of my paper under the kind guidance of the P.O.S. and all the cost expenses for its publication were favored by the Government. From August 1942 I restarted bringing out 500 copies monthly, out of which 250 copies I had to send to the P.O.S. who used to send them to Tibet for free distribution [to Government officials and monk dignitaries]. In this way, till the end of the War and even [for] several years after, the Government was so kind to grant me a monthly subsidy by which I was able to continue the publication of my paper.... [However, after the War, those in Tibet] were thinking that they may get it freely as they had gotten it during the wartime. In this way, the paper was never self-supporting without the help of the Government.²⁸

Needless to say, Gergan Tharchin accepted with grateful thanks this munificent offer and the recognition which came with it that his lowly newspaper possessed a measure of worth and significance for both India and Tibet at that time in the eyes of high Government officials.

Apropos of this with respect to Tibet herself, the British Mission Head at Lhasa George Sherriff, could report the following in a letter he sent the Babu in July 1943:

The paper is appreciated by everyone whom I ask about it.... I saw copies both in Drepung and Sera monasteries a few weeks ago, & they caused a good deal of discussion. Now that so many people have seen War news cine films which we show here in Dekyi Lingka, the pictures in your paper are understood better and more appreciated.... I hope you will be able to keep the newspaper going, as it is doing useful work here.^{28a}

Sherriff's reference to "the pictures in your paper" points up one of the more prominent and salutary features of the *Tibet Mirror*. Tharchin was himself a very good photographer in his own right and thus could illustrate his newspaper with many helpful photos of his own from his travels both inside and outside Tibet. But he would also borrow, for a fee, photo blocks from various other sources; for example, from the editorial offices of other Indian newspapers like *The Statesman* down in Calcutta.

Furthermore, because the Indian government was now subsidizing Tharchin's news organ for the duration of World War II, the Babu would receive free of charge a continual supply of blocks from the Government's Information & Broadcasting Department's well-stocked Publicity Office at Delhi. From these blocks he could select what photographs he wished to include in the various wartime issues of his newspaper. For instance, on 11 April and 4 July 1944, the said Office had dispatched to the *Tibet Mirror* editor nine blocks and eight blocks, respectively, accompanied by appropriate captions in English which Tharchin would then place—either in Tibetan translation or in English, as he desired—below those photos he had selected to use. The subject matter of these Government-issued illustrations on block—all, as might be expected, having been created as favorable propaganda material for wide dissemination in support of the War effort—was far-ranging in scope.

One photo depicted grain and flour shipments being sent out from Britain's ally Canada "to feed people in the four corners of the world"; another showed "a pretty girl with some ugly objects: broken gas-masks for repairs"; there was a series of photos taken of a glider regiment, with one caption reading: "Troops enter a glider in which they will be carried to the front"; another photo showed "Princess Elizabeth (left), the heir to the British throne" at age 18, "and her sister Princess Margaret who is four years younger"; still another displayed New Zealand troops being trained "in the fiercest form of warfare—hand-to-hand bayonet fighting"; a further photo showed a woman worker in a Canadian war factory who, "protected by safety glasses and arm guard," was welding "a Bren gun machine"; and finally, there was one among several photographs dealing with the fledgling Air Force of India whose caption reads: "The Indian Air Force, of which only the framework existed before 1939, is being rapidly expanded and is attracting the best type of young Indians. Here are [sic] a batch of pilots learning how to attend an aero engine before flight."^{28b}

Here was presented Tharchin with somewhat of a challenge to come up with new,

understandable terms in the Tibetan language with which to translate what for him must not have been that easy a vocabulary of technical words and expressions. But he was up to the task and performed quite well, as is attested by one of Exile Tibet's best writers, the historian and critic, Jamyang Norbu (see the following chapter for the details). And the British themselves must have been impressed by this and other challenges successfully overcome by the Babu during this critical wartime period.

Further evidence, if any were needed, that the British Indian government looked upon Tharchin's subsidized newspaper as a valuable asset during the war for the dissemination of news and information in Tibet about the war effort is clearly borne out in one of its official Government publications. This one was prepared in 1944 by the former British Mission Head in Lhasa (1936-40), Hugh Richardson, and published in 1945 before the end of the Second Great War. Entitled *Tibetan Precis*, the volume constituted a summary review of Anglo-Tibetan relations conducted over many decades. In the section on "British [War] Propaganda in Tibet," Richardson enunciated the two primary aims of British policy there: to help that land maintain her independence, and "to preserve and improve the existing good relations" between the two countries. With regard to this second broad aim, Richardson, who would once again become the representative of the British government at Lhasa in 1946, laid out the means by which "friendly relations" could be maintained, noting from the outset that "the good will" is already there, the British only needing to keep and enlarge it. "Our activities in this field," he went on to say, "which, for want of a better word, may be called propaganda," were limited to the following: providing straightforward news concerning the war, British resources, Allied successes, and the "certainty of victory." And the ways by which to convey this news? There were four which Richardson enumerated. Listed third was this one: "by a Tibetan newspaper published at Kalimpong, with a small subsidy"—obviously a reference to the *Tibet Mirror*. The other methods: conversation, circulating BBC broadcast summaries, and the showing of news films.

Suffice it to say here that Babu Tharchin had happily resumed the paper's publication in August of 1942.²⁹



The British Political Officer and other Government officials in India were not the only ones to appreciate the value of continuing to have the *Tibet Mirror* published during the politically and militarily explosive war years. Unbeknown to the publisher at the time, far away in Lhasa, the publication was routinely serving as a teaching resource for the Tutors of Dalai Lama XIV who was still in the tender years of his childhood even by the time the war had been concluded. The young Tibetan ruler had been provided two official Tutors just before his basic religious studies were to commence at the Potala. At that time (1940) the Regent, Reting Rimpoche, began serving as his Senior Tutor, while Taktra Rimpoche had been appointed the Junior Tutor.

When in early 1941 Reting resigned from the Regency, Taktra Rimpoche was elevated to be his successor as both Regent and Senior Tutor;³⁰ simultaneously, Kyabje Ling Rimpoche, heretofore Assistant Tutor, was appointed Junior Tutor to His Holiness. However, because

it was necessary for this new but aged Regent to devote most of his time to State matters as head of the Tibetan government till such time as the Dalai Lama reached the age of maturity, the preponderance of Taktra's Senior tutoring devolved upon the Junior Tutor, Ling (who would not, however, be officially appointed Senior Tutor till 1953). Later that same year (1941) another Rimpoche, Kyabje Trijang, became an Assistant Tutor (who would much later, in 1950, become Junior Tutor), whose task—besides teaching the little Dalai Lama grammar and spelling—was to assist the child in reading and in memorizing the texts he would be required to recite in the practice of Dharma (Doctrine) and dialectics. It would be these two Tutors who would exert the most profound influence on the “god-boy” of Tibet both now and on into the future; indeed, the Dalai Lama would long afterwards assert that “Ling Rimpoche ... became my closest confidant right up until his death in 1983.” These two would also be the ones who would shortly introduce the Child-King to the pages of Gergan Tharchin's newspaper.³¹

Although this young Tibetan Priest-King gradually derived much satisfaction from his deepening involvement with religious studies, he had an abiding wish to know something about the outside world. By his own subsequent testimony, the Child-Ruler of the Great Closed Land had become quite “curious” about “the affairs of the world outside Tibet; but naturally,” he admitted, “much of that curiosity had to go unsatisfied.” Though the Boy-King's abiding interest, as he later revealed, lay “always ... in mechanical things, in science, and in Europe,” it was clear that such knowledge of the external world was not the easiest thing for him to come by in those early days of his kingship, given the remoteness of Tibet from the rest of the world and even his personal isolation from ordinary life in his very own land. Nevertheless, with resolute determination, the youngster decided that though he could not go out himself and explore the foreign realms around him, he might still be able to garner some knowledge—no matter how limited—right within the confines of the highly restricted environment which was now his lot in life.

For example, “in the rooms [of the Potala] containing some of my predecessor's belongings,” the current Dalai Lama confides in his later autobiography (1990), “I found ... piles of illustrated books in English about the First World War. These fascinated me and ... when I was older, I had parts of them translated into Tibetan.” The youngster would even come into possession of six volumes about the Second World War, all of which were eventually translated into Tibetan for him. Then, too, the Boy-King had access to his predecessor's extensive collection of old *National Geographic* and *Life* magazines which during his childhood days spent at the Jewel Park Palace he would constantly rummage through in quest of every scrap of knowledge he could extract about the external world of people, places, things and events.³²

Furthermore, one of the Dalai Lama's more recent biographers, Mary Craig, has written that the British Mission at Lhasa, upon learning of his enthusiastic interest in such matters, would now dispatch to him copies of the *Illustrated London News* and more current copies of *Life*. Whereupon the enterprising Boy-Ruler would have

their captions translated into Tibetan by the few Lhasa nobles who had been educated in India and knew English. These men were well-traveled and well-informed, but, because

of protocol, he could not speak to them directly, nor they to him, and any questions had to be put in writing and delivered by an intermediary.

It was because of this circuitous means of gaining knowledge he so desperately sought which in part would ultimately lead to the Boy-King's decision to learn English for himself (see below).

But the little Dalai Lama had also, to be sure, an atlas of the world, and in his spare time he "pored over maps of distant countries and wondered what life was like in them." "But I did not know anyone," His Holiness was later to lament, "who had ever seen them." Heinrich Harrer from Austria has shared a further and highly graphic picture of the young ruler's insatiable curiosity. Towards the end of the formative period in the Tibetan Boy-King's educational development, the Austrian, who only recently had been translating foreign news and articles and taking photographs of special events for the Lhasa government, had now become the youngster's first and only private Western tutor—assisting the lad in his study of English, mathematics, geography and current history. In describing his very first encounter with the adolescent Dalai Lama, which occurred at the Palace of Norbu Lingka in 1950, Harrer paints a pen-portrait of a pent-up fourteen-year-old lad whose mind was ready to explode with a barrage of inquiries about the world beyond Tibet:

He told me that he had long been planning this meeting as he had not been able to think of any other way of becoming acquainted with the outside world.... It seemed as if a dam had burst, so urgent and continuous was the flood of questions which he put to me. I was astounded to see how much disconnected knowledge he had acquired out of books and newspapers.... He knew how to distinguish between different types of aeroplanes, automobiles and tanks. The names of personages like Churchill, Eisenhower and Molotov were familiar to him, but as he had nobody to put questions to, he often did not know how persons and events were connected with each other. Now he was happy, because he had found someone to whom he could bring all the questions about which he had been puzzling for years.³³

Yet how had it happened that over this span of ten years since the inauguration of his education at the Potala all this knowledge—even all this "*disconnected* knowledge"—had been acquired by Tibet's Boy-King? There was not that much contemporary literature available to him, and even less that was in his language. Yes, there were the picture-magazines like the *Illustrated London News*, *Life* and *National Geographic*, which have already been discussed. And there was the aforementioned Atlas of the World at his fingertips, and a few other items which could be of help. It is not too much to say, however, that probably the most effective means available to him by which the larger world of the 1940s was brought into his much smaller one during this period turned out to be Gergan Tharchin's Tibetan newspaper that had by this time developed into a sizable source for news. Indeed, there is a substantial body of evidence to support such a conclusion.

It will be recalled that one of the regular subscribers to the *Tibet Mirror* had been the new Dalai Lama's predecessor on the Tibetan throne, the Great Thirteenth, from whom the newspaper publisher in far-off Kalimpong had received several congratulatory letters and even several monetary contributions in support of the newspaper. As mentioned in Chapter

17 of the present biography's second volume, according to one of the Fourteenth Dalai Lama's biographers, Michael Goodman, when the youthful successor on the Lion Throne had moved into the Potala in 1940, "the subscription to the newspaper was still in effect"—and would remain so "through 1959"! Moreover, Mary Craig carefully noted, "the Regents had kept up the payments." As a matter of fact, the Potala was not the only subscriber to the *Mirror*; according to Amaury de Riencourt, who visited the Tibetan capital in 1947, "the leading families" there were also subscribers to Tharchin's newspaper. It is to the credit of the new ruler's Tutors, Ling and Trijang Rimpoche, that their young charge began to be exposed to the pages of a monthly journalistic medium which in his own language was filled with news and photographs about a vast world beyond his kingdom's borders that was just waiting to be explored. Years later the Fourteenth Dalai Lama would explain how all this had come about: "My tutors read in a Tibetan newspaper, which was published in Kalimpong in India, of the progress of the Second World War, which started in the very year I was taken to Lhasa—and they told me about it. Before the end of the War, I was able to read such accounts myself." Indeed, writes Craig, "Kundun was fascinated by the publication and devoured its contents eagerly." But so too, was his Senior Tutor Ling. The story is told by Jamyang Norbu that long afterwards when both Ling and Norbu were living close by each other at Dharamsala in NW India, the latter came to learn that the Senior Tutor had become "a World War II buff" who would at times send a servant to Norbu's cottage to fetch books on the War, particularly those containing illustrations. Ling manifested an ability to identify nearly all of the top Nazis appearing in the books' photographs and told Norbu that during the Wartime at Lhasa he had kept himself well informed on the war news. Doubtless, one of the key sources which served to make him—like the Dalai Lama himself—so knowledgeable about the War and its key leaders had been Gergan Tharchin's newspaper.³⁴

Yet even before the Child-King of Tibet had learned to read, he on his own initiative had been drawn to the *Tibet Mirror's* back page. It was always filled with an assortment of puzzles he soon solved "by enlisting the aid of Lobsang Jimpa" (his attendant) "or his [monk-] brother Lobsang," who at that period was living at the Potala Palace with the young monarch. Michael Goodman tells how the latter was particularly fascinated by those issues of the paper which "featured dissecting animals and sticking them together again." But once the Boy-King commenced reading Tharchin's newspaper on his own, he followed the world's affairs with greater interest, particularly the accounts of World War Two. Goodman tells how the youngster "was especially impressed with the pictorial array of war vehicles—cars, trucks, jeeps, airplanes—splashed across its pages." He was also drawn to the paper's stories of world leaders and the roles they all played in the realm of international politics of that day. Indeed, his access to the *Tibet Mirror* during and immediately after the War may have greatly contributed to what his Western tutor has described as the Dalai Lama's unusual understanding (for one less than fifteen years old) of the dangers that confronted Tibet by 1950. "He was very naïve in some ways," Harrer had told Lowell Thomas, Jr. in Lhasa at that time, "but that was only to be expected of one so cut off from the rest of the world. On the other hand, he was not naïve about power politics. He knew the big powers from the little ones, and the dangerous ones from the peaceful ones."³⁵ And

doubtless this latter perception had been formed in his thinking largely if not entirely from his having eagerly digested the pages of Gergan Tharchin's informative if irregularly published news organ. As he himself acknowledged personally to the *Tibet Mirror's* publisher long afterwards, the Dalai Lama would write a letter in 1962 telling the Babu that he had been reading the newspaper "ever since my childhood."³⁶

Yet it was in large part because of his dissatisfaction "with the long gaps between issues of the *Tibet Mirror*" and because, further, the paper's news was already "several weeks out of date by the time it arrived" that impelled the young ruler of the Great Closed Land to commence learning English so that he could satiate his ever-increasing appetite to learn as much as possible and as currently as possible about the larger world beyond his country's frontiers. "Right from young age," he more recently remarked when interviewed, "I was very interested in the outside world. In 1947, I started to learn English even though my attendant was against the 'devil' language (laughing), what is called the language of the Enemy of the Faith in Tibetan."³⁷ Although he had access to the Great Thirteenth's small library of English works, many of which had been gifts from Sir Charles Bell, these were found to be far too sophisticated to be of any use at first to the new occupant of Tibet's throne. To learn the foreign tongue he needed simpler, more fundamental works, which, remarkably, were readily available in the form of basic English schoolbooks that were still gathering dust in one of the Potala's storerooms. These had been unceremoniously placed there upon the closing back in 1926 of Frank Ludlow's English school at Gyantse and which was briefly discussed in Volume II, Chapter 14 of the present narrative.³⁸ So proficient would he become in so short a time in understanding basic English that the Head of Lhasa's British Mission at that time, Hugh Richardson, who through Heinrich Harrer had been supplying the Boy-Ruler with films and newsreels for showing the Dalai Lama in the latter's newly-constructed cinema-room, could report that he was listening to the BBC's English-language radio broadcasts "at dictation speed."³⁹

All in all, it would be Harrer's judgment, after tutoring "his prized pupil" for about two years, that the Boy-King of Tibet was more intelligent and better informed on world affairs than any of his advisers. This he would convey to Loy Henderson, the U.S. Ambassador at New Delhi, in March of 1951, adding that the young Dalai Lama trusted America more than any other nation. As subsequent events would demonstrate, however, the intervention of Tibet's occult State Oracle at a crisis moment in Tibetan history would culminate, in the words of the then U.S. Assistant Secretary of State for Far Eastern Affairs, Dean Rusk, in "the gods" overruling critical "assurances" given to the Dalai Lama "by the most powerful country on Earth!"⁴⁰

Before leaving this subject of the significant role the *Tibet Mirror* had played in the early education of the Fourteenth Dalai Lama, reference ought to be made as to the possible impact one particular page of the famed newspaper might have had during the impressionable years of His Holiness. It should be pointed out that aside from his extremely brief encounter in 1939 at Kumbum Monastery with one or two missionaries like Frank Learner of the China Inland Mission, Gergan Tharchin's *Tibet Mirror* was without doubt the Buddhist Priest-King's first real exposure to the Christian gospel. For it will be recalled that the Christian editor would always devote one page of his Tibetan newspaper to Christian themes

in one manner or another. And hence, the truths of Christ were easily available to the young Pontiff of Tibetan Buddhism if he chose to read that page and if his Tutors chose not to censor his reading fare as he pored over the pages of this unwonted channel of knowledge from the outside world.

*

Returning now to the events at hand, from Delhi, where Tharchin would soon bade goodbye to Sir Basil who had taken the Babu along with him to the Indian capital in July 1942 with sample issues of his newspaper, the Tibetan publisher had intended going home via Allahabad where he wanted the manuscript of a book of his to be printed at the Mission Press there. The title of the volume to be printed was *The Tibetan Letter Writer*. He had earlier written to the Press that he would come there with some advance money since he had promised to pay it personally. But because the author failed to get the Rs. 100/- which he had hoped to obtain in Delhi, he did not go to Allahabad. Tharchin had brought with him to Delhi curios worth Rs. 500/-. But the people there with whom he proposed to deal presumed them to be stolen goods and would not pay more than Rs. 50/-. The Tibetan, however, felt he could not sell his curios for such a small sum. He had wanted to garner at least Rs. 100/-, which could then be given to the Press at Allahabad. He had had to resort to this measure because one of his friends employed in the Political Office had failed to help him with the necessary Rs. 100/- which had been the original idea of his for coming up with the money for Allahabad. Explained Tharchin later, "I felt ashamed to go there inasmuch as I did not have the money to pay the Press."

Sometime afterwards in Calcutta Sir Basil Gould happened to ask the Tibetan author, "How is your book proceeding at the printing press in Allahabad?" To which he reluctantly replied, "Sir, I did not go." In a displeased manner Gould responded, "You said you wanted to go and then you did not go." The anguished author answered, "Sir, I could not go as I felt ashamed, since I did not have the amount with me." Immediately the Political Officer shot back: "Then why did you not ask me for the necessary amount?"

This incident, it could be said, was quite indicative of two things: first, the respect which high British officials had for Gergan Tharchin, to the point where they were personally willing to advance financial help—especially for worthy enterprises of his in which they might have had a keen interest; and second, Tharchin's extreme reticence to express his wants to them, out of principle, perhaps, in not wishing to go into debt with them over a personal matter. There may also have been a tinge of pride in his reluctance to allow himself to become dependent upon any Britisher for his personal wants.

In any event, as a result of Tharchin's inability over the years to gather all the money required (the net sum still due as of February 1949 amounted to Rs. 468/-), the printing work for the *Letter Writer* had not been completed at the Allahabad Mission Press even by the year 1953. By April of that year, though, the author was in a position to clear off the entire outstanding bill and finally received "in good condition" all the printed loose forms from the

Mission Press. Thereafter, the running off and binding of the book in a thousand-copy quantity were performed at his own Press in Kalimpong where he at last was able to publish the volume by mid-May 1954.⁴¹



The year 1942 was notable for the Indo-Tibetan from a political, a religious and a journalistic viewpoint. In his end-of-life “memoirs,” in fact, Gergan Tharchin had gone out of his way to discuss this notable year and these three areas of interest in particular. *First of all*, he observed, it was the year when the “Quit India Movement” was sounding the death knell to the British Empire in India. Tharchin, a very strong nationalist, supported the patriotic cause of India because he “was convinced of the rightness of the demand of the masses for full-fledged independence.” It was his belief that “sovereignty in both internal and external affairs was a reasonable and legitimate demand of the Indian population.” The right to independence, Tharchin felt, “was the birthright of every citizen of India.” Indeed, in his view independence “was a God-given right which the British Imperialists had had no right to snatch away in the first place.”

Second, the year 1942 found the spiritual condition of the local Macfarlane Church—of which Gergan Tharchin was a part—to be in quite a sad state. Due to the influence of a visiting Christian sadhu from the plains, a split occurred that year in the mother church at Macfarlane, and as a result of this, the Pentecostal Church was separately organized in Kalimpong. Later, this Pentecostal group that had resulted from the split, together with another congregation, formed themselves into what popularly became known throughout the hill station as “the El Shaddai Group.” Reference has been made previously in the present narrative to the group that severed its membership from the same Macfarlane Church congregation years before (in 1931) and had joined the Roman Catholic Church in the hill town. To round out this dismal record of cleavages which unfortunately marked the history of Macfarlane Church, it was necessary to add, said Tharchin, that by 1972 a new division once again occurred, and that out of this new disunity the Presbyterian Free Church was formed. This division, he noted, was caused by disagreement over the practical application of ethical principles in Christian life and conduct as well as by controversy surrounding democratic policies within Macfarlane’s church polity. In all, therefore, three disuniting events have occurred in the Macfarlane Memorial Church—a local congregation in Kalimpong that had originally been founded by the Church of Scotland missionaries.

And *third*, Tharchin reported in his “memoirs” that he had resumed the publication of his Tibetan newspaper once again. This occurred, as noted a few pages earlier, in August of 1942. In addition, a few years later, certain circumstances caused the publisher to rethink his printing techniques. He decided to buy a proper printing press of his own instead of relying any longer on the old litho press and stone he had obtained in 1934 at Darjeeling or the small litho machine at the Mani Press discussed earlier and which he had later purchased from the owner. This decision in favor of acquiring a better printing apparatus became

possible to implement, the Babu could report, only because the British Government of India, through the Political Officer for Sikkim, had offered to buy a more proper press for him by means of extending to him a loan involving no interest—so long as payments were submitted on time. The Tibetan publisher was therefore required to sign an agreement which called for him to pay back the loan in fourteen semi-annual installments over a seven-year period. “By God’s grace,” he proudly declared some twenty years after the event, “I was able to clear off the Government loan within just five years!”⁴² Though this five-year time-frame assertion was grossly inaccurate,⁴³ the Babu actually needing the entire seven years to clear the loan, nonetheless the oftentimes financially-strapped publisher could still take solace in having paid back this huge loan in full within the allotted period. All this would take place in the latter 1940s and early ’50s as will be made clear in the chapter to follow.

C H A P T E R 23

The Growing Impact of Tharchin's Newspaper, Assisting Tibet's Social Reformers and Japan's Tibetologists, and Inauguration of the New Tibet Mirror Press

The Lord is my shepherd; I shall not want.
Let another man praise thee, and not thine own mouth;
a stranger, and not thine own lips.

Psalm 23:1; Proverbs 27:2

AN EARTHQUAKE OF GREAT MAGNITUDE shook the District of Darjeeling in early 1934. What happened in Gergan Tharchin's home area, however, was but a small manifestation of a far greater calamity which had occurred to the west in Bihar State of North India. It was, in fact, an awesomely destructive earthquake whose effects were distinctly felt as far away as 1300 miles; for it was actually felt, and even wrecked a few houses, in the extreme south of the Madras Presidency that great a distance away from its epicenter, an "extension for which," said the *Times* of London, "there can be few, if any, precedents." At its center in Bihar State alone, the quake affected an area the size of Scotland with a population five times as dense, in which over 10,000 people were killed, valuable crop land completely devastated, fertile land totally ruined by the ill-effects of smothering sand, and nearly one thousand miles of railway wrecked.

This was the second of three major earth tremors Tharchin was to experience in his lifetime, and, providentially for him, the specific place of his abode at the particular moment when each of the three disasters struck happened to be located at the fringes and not near or at the center of its gravest impact. The first of these three major quakes, called later the Kangra Valley Earthquake, he had experienced while he was still living in his home village of Poo at the northwestern end of the Indian Himalayas. He was but fifteen years old when on 4 April 1905 the western Himalayas were shaken to their foundations by an "appalling" earth tremor, whose vibration ran from west to east far down into the plains area. One of those who on that day was down in the plains and experienced the shock in a most unusual way was Charles F. Andrews, the future confidant of Tharchin's soon-to-be new friend Sadhu Sundar Singh. Ironically called upon decades later to compose a small volume that would describe the 1934 earthquake as a way of appealing for relief funds worldwide to assist the many victims of that sudden calamity, Andrews took the opportunity to recall in that volume what he himself had experienced on the morning of the earlier 1905 disaster:

... I was living in the heart of the old city of Delhi at the time, in an ancient building, which felt the shock at its maximum intensity. The one thing that remains in my mind, after all these years, is the sound of the terrified screaming of hundreds of birds on the trees outside my room when the earthquake shock occurred. The fear expressed in those screams haunted me for many days afterwards. It was this screaming of the birds

which made me realize more than anything else what was really happening. It seemed as if they were more susceptible, even from their comparative safety, to the earthquake "atmosphere," just as one often sees them strangely disturbed before the coming of a violent thunderstorm. At the time, we imagined we were at the center of the shock, but later on we found out that this was in the Kangra Valley, more than two hundred miles distant.

Tharchin's familiar missionary friends, the Schnabels, were with him at Poo, the station of all the Moravian centers which suffered the least effect from the quake. There, only a mild shaking of buildings was encountered. The experience was nonetheless unsettling enough to have most likely given rise in the mind and heart of the young lad thoughts and feelings of eternity, especially when word arrived from Kyelang of what had happened there. For this was the hardest hit of all the Mission stations, where a number of buildings were destroyed in the surrounding community, including enough damage having been inflicted upon the main mission building to require the construction of a new one-story edifice with a flat roof to more easily resist future quakes than the previous two-story structure.

With respect to the 1934 calamity, the total area of shock transmission has been estimated to have been 3,150,000 square miles, greatly dwarfing even the appalling Kangra Valley Quake of 1905 that Tharchin went through which was "felt" for only 2,000,000 square miles. The epicenter of the 1934 Bihar Quake was located near the Indian town of Darbhanga some sixty-five miles northeast of Bihar State's capital of Patna at the foot of the Himalayas on the border with Nepal.* And when it struck Calcutta at 2:40 p.m. on 15 January it lasted for an incredibly long eight minutes, accompanied by after tremors of two additional minutes followed by more violent shocks for another minute and a half, ending with four and one-half minutes of milder tremors. Yet on the night of the following day, the 16th, thirteen more shocks, all mild, were recorded on the Alipore seismograph just outside Calcutta, followed by one final shock of moderate intensity at 10:30 on the morning of the 17th. Only then did the stillness of earth return.

Closer to home where Tharchin lived, the damage inflicted by the quake upon Darjeeling meant that Government House and the house of the Police Superintendent were virtually destroyed, some other public and private buildings were damaged, and damage was done to the tea gardens. In terms of those killed, the count was surprisingly low: only five or six coolies lost their lives. But many other people were injured. Kalimpong itself went through the calamity almost totally unscathed.

* Interestingly, on the day in 1999—exactly 65 years afterwards—Nepal's Prime Minister, Girija Prasad Koirala, took the occasion to reminisce about what he himself had experienced during the 1934 Quake when but a little school child. "I still recall the deadly tremors," the septuagenarian Koirala said. When the quake hit his hometown of Biratnagar in southern Nepal not far from the Indian border, the Prime Minister and his schoolmates were inside the school ground. "All of a sudden," he continued, "crows started crowing even as dogs barked. The earth began to shake and the commotion kicked up dust that covered all of the sky." Then, he added, "buildings began to tumble down. There was heavy damage of life and property." The Nepali newspaper which reported the Prime Minister's remarks noted that the Great Earthquake of 1934 had registered an incredible 8.3 on the Richter scale, and "killed thousands and injured hundreds of thousands. Worse, it left an indelible impact on the minds of those who lived through it." See "Prime Minister Recalls 1934 Quake . . .," *Kathmandu Post*, 17 Jan. 1999, p. 8.

But that would not be the case with respect to the third major quake Gergan Tharchin was to experience in his lifetime. For this one—deemed afterwards to have been the fifth largest in world history—actually shook Kalimpong “for a full half-minute,” occurring as it did at 7:55 on the night of 15 August 1950. Even so, what Tharchin and the other citizens of this Himalayan hill station experienced “was nothing,” in the words of one eyewitness in Kalimpong, “to what was happening in North Assam and Tibet”—the general location of the quake’s epicenter. Describing the far less severe experience of the tremor in Kalimpong, missionary-journalist George Patterson wrote as follows: “I was in the Graham’s Homes School Assembly Hall at the time and the shock was severe enough to set lights swinging, beams creaking and water in the glasses splashing. In the town itself buildings swayed in the intensity of the shock and there was a time of panic as people rushed out of doors to get away from the dangers of falling masonry.”

The newspapers, of course, were full of reports of what was termed an “unprecedented catastrophe.” Calcutta’s *Statesman* of August 16th noted that “records available to the Meteorological Office in Poona show that the earthquake was of greater intensity than the Bihar earthquake of 1934 and much greater than the Quetta earthquake of 1935. Experts there suggested that it may be second only to the great Assam earthquake of 1897 ...” Even as far away as Lhasa and for long distances to the east (Chamdo, 400 miles) and southwest (Sakya, 300 miles) of the Tibetan capital, the quake was felt quite strongly. It was accompanied not only by many earth tremors but also by “thirty to forty explosions” in the atmosphere and by “a strange red glow in the [night] skies,” all of which had been seen and heard by Tibetans at Lhasa and throughout much of East and Southwest Tibet.*

Kalimpong felt this tremor more critically than the Bihar Quake sixteen years earlier simply because this time she was much closer to the epicenter, which was calculated to have been a point in the Eastern Himalayas about fifty miles from the northeast border of Assam. The tremors were described by meteorologists as having been “of very great intensity”; so severe were the shocks, in fact, that, according to the *Statesman*, at the Alipore Meteorological Office “the pen of one of the seismographs was thrown completely off the recording drum.” The *Statesman*’s front-page headline read: “Over 3000 Buildings Totally Wrecked in N.E. India Earthquake.” It went on to describe the near panic in Calcutta

* Indeed, the superstitious Tibetans at Lhasa believed that these terrible phenomena of nature heralded an unspeakable disaster that was soon to befall the nation. Even the fifteen-year-old Boy-King of Tibet, the Fourteenth Dalai Lama, who normally “set little store by popular superstition,” had been unconvinced by the assurance given him by Heinrich Harrer, his Western tutor at the time, that a purely scientific explanation accounted for what had happened. On the contrary, he—who had felt the earth shake beneath his feet inside his Summer Palace, who had heard many of the explosions which to him had sounded like “an artillery barrage,” and who had witnessed the huge red glow in Lhasa’s cloudless sky that evening—believed that all this was “beyond science, something truly mysterious.” In fact, with the Chinese Communist Army now gathering along the eastern border of the Land of Monks and Monasteries, people at the Tibetan capital had begun to “whisper about ‘Lhamak,’ a Tibetan *Götterdämmerung*” (signaling a twilight of the gods, as it were). To their superstitious minds it was as though “the gods of Tibet were doing battle with the demons of China, and the frightened Lhasa folk dared not speculate on the result.” See Mary Craig, *Kundun*, 142-3, 145 note 27, quoting from an unpublished manuscript shown to Craig by Jamyang Norbu.

itself: "Holiday crowds ... celebrating Independence Day ran for shelter as the city was rocked. Cinema house audiences shrieked and prayed while bewildered shopkeepers shut the doors and windows of their shops."

But this was insignificant compared to what took place in Upper Assam. There, wrote Patterson, "the imagination boggled at the chaotic devastation. Millions of tons of water, blocked in the upper reaches of the Brahmaputra River by landslides after the earthquake, burst through their barriers and swept over Upper Assam over hundreds of miles of country. The town of Sadiya began to sink, over two thousand villagers were swept away, other towns were damaged with six thousand people homeless in Jorhat, and over a hundred thousand cattle cut off." The journalist was then able to piece together an even more accurate picture of the damage from eyewitnesses: from Tibetans who happened to be there and subsequently came to Kalimpong, and more specifically from Jean Kingdon-Ward, the wife of the famed English botanist, who was in the area north of Sadiya in Southeast Tibet. In graphic terms Patterson wove together a report on the scene of what happened:

People were thrown to the ground in the violence of the shocks and with the succeeding paroxysms they could neither stand nor sit, clutching panic-stricken at the madly shuddering earth. After the first shock there was a deep rumbling from the bowels of the earth and then thunderous reverberations in the heavens, pealing through the valleys in unbelievably deafening salvos.

Throughout the night the earth continued to tremble every few seconds, and towards the north the distant crackle as of heavy gunfire continued to be heard. Mountains poured down an endless cascade of rocks and dust into the river valleys and raging rivers began to dry up. The stars of the early evening were blotted out by an impenetrable cloud of dust which rose higher and higher and then added to the horror of the night when it became shot through with bloody red from unseen and inexplicable fires or volcanic masses. Clear mountain rivers became chocolate-brown floods carrying countless tons of mud and rock and timber, and other valleys through which they had foamed their way became mere savage dry cuts on the ravaged face of the earth.

By comparison with this almost unimaginable devastation, suffering and death, Kalimpong's half-minute shock faded into insignificance, indeed. Truly, Gergan Tharchin once again had much for which to be thankful.¹



Now shortly after the quake that struck Darjeeling District in 1934 had subsided, the newspaper publisher traveled over from Kalimpong to visit Darjeeling Town, much of it having been leveled by the earthquake. In the debris he spotted a broken lithographic machine and a piece of stone lying at the front of the building to which he had gone to see

a printing press. The stone had been thrown across a small drain and was thus being used as a stepping-stone. Tharchin immediately recognized it as a litho stone of great value. The owner, either not knowing its value or not caring for the piece, sold it along with the litho machine to the Kalimpong publisher for Rs. 5/-. Tharchin, to say the least, got the better of this deal! To an ambitious and born printer like him, the stone was as valuable as a diamond. Having also purchased the machine, which was a demi-size litho handpress, he soon afterwards was able to get it repaired—and for the cost of Rs. 130/-. He brought it to Kalimpong and, in consultation with Dr. Knox, prepared the proper documents, being careful to reserve his own right and ownership to the litho press.

At the time, Tharchin had asked the missionary doctor for permission to keep the litho press in the Scottish Mission Press building. Permission was granted, although at first Knox had suggested that the printer sell his newly-acquired press to the Mission. The publisher reminded him of the difficulties in the past in connection with the Mission Press. In the event such difficulties were to arise again in the future, he observed, then he wanted to be sure he had his own press to use. Dr. Knox had laughed when he heard these things, but events of later years proved Tharchin's wisdom, for his worst fears came true.



Meanwhile, the impact of the newspaper was being felt in many quarters: in part because of its nationalistic editorial policy that strongly supported the maintenance of Tibetan independence and, by extension, because of the ever-widening reputation which accrued to its editor-publisher as a result of that policy; but also in part because of the scholarly tone of some of its articles dealing with Tibetan culture and history. This latter impact was due in large measure to one particular individual who eventually found his way to the doorstep of Gergan Tharchin's newspaper office. It all began sometime during the middle part of 1935 when the editor of the *Tibet Mirror* received a brief visit from one of the most learned and extraordinary of contemporary Tibetans, the Amdo monk Gedun Chopel (1903-51). It would prove to be far more significant than merely making a courtesy call on someone; rather, it would be the beginning of a long-term relationship that resulted in a collaboration between them in a number of scholarly areas of interest, including the contribution of a considerable number of excellent articles by the visiting scholar for inclusion in Tharchin Babu's Tibetan newspaper itself.

Termed by one of his Western biographers "one of the most brilliant and controversial figures of Tibet in the twentieth century," Gedun Chopel was a man of many talents: besides being a great scholar, he was a master debater, translator, historian, philosopher, poet, artist, wide-ranging traveler, and finally a political and social reformer. So brilliant was he that by the age of 4 he had already learned to read and write. Moreover, when only 13 years old he had composed two complex poetic structures that when placed within rectangles could be read from numerous directions. It still remains today "a superb masterpiece." In

a paper read before an international seminar on Tibetan studies at Oxford in 1979, the English biographer of the Amdowa, Heather [Stoddard] Karmay, described him further as an exceptionally gifted individual: “beside the mocking dialectician and iconoclastic teacher, beside the searching scholar and the idealistic revolutionary, there was a creative man, a poet and a painter,² a lover of wine and women. He is said to have had his own special way of singing, and stories about his eccentric behavior contribute to the legend that is growing up around his person. In his varying activities he combined a mastery of the Tibetan system or point of view with its sharply critical appraisal.”^{2a}

Gedun Chopel had been born Ringzin Namgyal, but when later ordained a monk at Amdo’s Dhi-Tsha district monastery he would receive the monkhood name of Gedun Chopel by which forever afterwards he would be known. It has been pointed out by one of his biographers that Gedun in Tibetan (*Dge ’dun*) is that language’s translation of sangha, the order of monks, and that *chos ’phel* signifies the “spreading of the dharma.” As will be seen in the pages to follow, this Amdo monk would experience throughout his life “a complicated relationship with the Buddhist sangha.” In fact, adds Donald Lopez Jr, “many would come to question whether he ... spread the dharma, although *dharma* is notoriously difficult to translate.” If, however, one accepts “truth” as a legitimate meaning of the term, then by all means, Gedun Chopel *had* spread the dharma in his own inimitable way.^{2b}

Brought up within the Nyingmapa monastic tradition of Tibetan Buddhism, Gecho, as he liked to call himself, whose first teacher—his father—had taught him poetry as well as the basic fundamentals of reading and writing, went on to study metaphysics for nearly six years at famed Labrang Monastery in Amdo, commencing in 1921. During this period, incidentally, he is known to have visited on a number of occasions in the home of American missionary M. Grant Griebenow who had his residence for nearly three decades just outside the western limits of Labrang Gompa.* It is quite conceivable that during these visits the Amdowa had experienced his first exposure not only to the Christian faith but to the English language as well. Eventually, at the age of 24, Gecho found his way to Lhasa in 1927, apparently with the aim to earn for himself the *lharampa* degree (the highest of four grades of *geshe*). There in the vast monastery of Drepung he studied at the feet of the most influential teacher of the time, Amdo-born Geshe Sherab Gyamtsho (1884-1968) of Do-Yul. A powerful personality in Tibet who during his long life experienced an unusually multifaceted career, Geshe Sherab was at one time close to the Great Thirteenth, would come under both Nationalist and Communist Chinese influence and ideas, would eventually become “bitterly opposed” to the Lhasa government and go off to China where he soon became a Government official and an agent of the Kuomintang establishment at Nanking, but would then go on much later to become the Chairman of the All China Buddhist Association of the People’s Republic and even Vice President of Communist China’s Chinghai Province (which since

* It will be of interest to the reader to learn that several years after Rev. Griebenow’s lengthy stay at Labrang, which extended from 1921 to 1949, he would make his way to Kalimpong where he would be involved temporarily with Gergan Tharchin and others in revising the Tibetan New Testament. See Chapter 28 for details. See also Paul K. Nietupski, *Labrang: a Tibetan Buddhist Monastery at the Crossroads of Four Civilizations* (Ithaca NY USA, 1999).

1928 had included Amdo within its borders). These were obviously positions of high honor but were of little power.

Much earlier during his years at the Tibetan capital, the Geshe had been responsible, as editor-in-chief, for producing the Lhasa revised edition of the *Kangyur* in close association at Norbu Lingka with the Great Thirteenth himself and which after twelve years of work was published in 1933. Nevertheless, in 1936 when either exiled (as claimed by David Snellgrove and Hugh Richardson) or having departed Tibet voluntarily (as suggested by Tharchin Babu in his *Tibet Mirror*), the Geshe went off to China—presumably at the invitation of that country's Kuomintang government "to occupy a high official post" (as Stoddard asserts). Apropos of all this, Tharchin, in a letter sent from Kalimpong to Sir Charles Bell on 16 February 1937, had informed him of the fact that the Geshe, in company with a "high Chinese official, [Major] Lee Oyon [Lu Wuyuan]," had arrived in the hill station recently and together had left for Calcutta and China two days previously. The Geshe, he added, had been called by the Chinese government to Nanking at a payment per month of 1000/- Chinese dollars and would be producing a Tibetan-Chinese dictionary. Over time the Geshe would assume various Nationalist government offices and much later a vast array of Communist government posts. In Per Kvaerne's opinion, however, rather than regard the Geshe, as some have done, as merely a Chinese collaborator, "a more convincing interpretation places him in the context of confrontation with the modern world which was not only his fate, but also the fate of . . . his disciple, Gedun Ch'omp'el."

But Stoddard sees the Geshe's later career in China as constituting "a synthesis" of the opinions both of the Indian Communist, Rahul Sankrityayana (1893-1963), who maintained that Geshe Sherab had been delighted with Mao's rise to power, and of the champion of Republicanism, Gergan Tharchin, who had placed the Geshe squarely in the Tibetan Buddhist "ship" and presented him as having attempted with all his power to prevent a shipwreck in the "red waters" of "atheistic" Communism—not only for himself but also on behalf of Tibet and her independence. For as Stoddard writes elsewhere: the "apparent ambiguity" of the Geshe's "political stance, in between communism and republicanism, is one of the constants amongst Tibetan progressivist intellectuals during this period. It reflects partly, no doubt, the fluctuating situation in China itself, but more probably a global attraction towards modern political systems, as possible alternatives to the ecclesiastical state that was Tibet." As will shortly be seen, the same could be said of the Geshe's illustrious disciple, Gedun Chopel.³

However, Amdo's renowned twosome at Drepung did not get along with each other very well, as was made clear by Stoddard in her Oxford seminar paper:

Gedun Chopel had already made a reputation for himself as a brilliant and unorthodox dialectician in Bla-brang [in Amdo], and the relationship between the two, master and disciple, was somewhat testy. Gedun Chopel claimed that he disputed whatever Geshe Sherab said and that Geshe Sherab always addressed him as the madman [and never by his actual name]. Both had a profound knowledge of the Dharma, both were artists and both were hot-tempered. But their views conflicted and after a while Gedun Chopel gave up attending Geshe Sherab's classes. Geshe Sherab was angry and sent someone to Gedun Chopel's cell to ask why. He looked up and said: "Everything he knows I know, everything I don't know he doesn't know," and went on with his drawing.

Now it was during this period in his life that Gecho was extended a personal invitation to travel to India. For in the summer of 1934 Pandit Rahul Sankrityayana, the famous Indian linguist, Buddhist scholar, writer, and unswerving Communist who labored tirelessly as an active partisan in the Indian independence movement, was visiting Tibet a second time (the first having been in 1929-30 and discussed two chapters earlier; he would do so again at least twice more). On this occasion he was in search of just the right kind of Tibetan scholar—knowledgeable and progressive—upon whom he could depend for guidance and assistance in cataloging and conducting research on an extensive collection of Tibetan works he had brought from Tibet on his previous visit and which he had deposited in the Library of the Patna Museum.⁴ These materials had primarily been ancient Sanskrit manuscripts that in the night of time had been lost in India but which now formed an important collection of Tibetan texts that thanks to the Pandit would remain housed at the Indian museum. But on this current expedition Pandit Rahul was also looking for someone to assist him in gaining access to Tibet's monastery libraries and making a further and more extensive search for additional palm-leaf manuscripts that were no longer extant in India.

Fortune now brought him into contact at Lhasa with Gedun Chopel; for one day he happened to meet the Amdo monk-scholar at Geshe Sherab's quarters where they quickly became very good friends. So much so, that in mid-summer of 1934 both scholars left Lhasa together on a new research expedition of the Pandit's, all thought of achieving the lharampa geshe degree having been cast to the winds by Gecho, who eschewed the vanity of high position and claimed that the degree was an empty name anyway. In fact, not long before his death he would explain to an intimate friend why it was that he never became a *geshe*. Commenting retrospectively on this period in his scholastic career at Drepung, the Amdo scholar had this to say: "I under[stood] the main points of all the scriptures taught by the Buddha and [their] commentaries. [But] if I [didn't] practice them, what good [was] it to claim a geshe degree in name only? And [so] I ran away from the lharampa [examination] debate"⁵ and off went Gecho to India.* (Later, he would even forfeit his vows as a monk as a consequence of his having engaged in particular vices while in India that were unacceptable to his homeland's monastic community.)

First, however, Gecho and Rahul traveled north to the renowned Reting Monastery, the ecclesiastical seat of the then ruling Tibetan Regent, Reting Rimpoche. Two months later, though, the Pandit and the Amdo monk returned in September to Lhasa briefly before they thereafter headed south for India through southern Tibet and Nepal. Visiting all the important Buddhist sites during what proved to be a very lengthy period of travels together, they copied, photographed and collected a vast assortment of old and rare manuscripts, both palm-leaf and blockprint. It was in the course of this ambitious project, by the way, that Gecho, in the words of Topden Tsering, "lament[ed] the disastrous face of Tibetan superstition as observed in the way in which local believers pocketed away . . . text leaves" taken from

* The fact that several of his essays which would later appear in *The Mahabodhi* journal were signed "Lama Geshe Chompell" may have been the way the journal editor had indicated the authorship and not that of Gecho himself; otherwise, there is a definite inconsistency on the part of the Amdo monk.

rare Sanskrit Buddhist scriptures with which to then "stuff amulets and adorn their altars."⁶ Incensed by all this, the monk-poet, in one of his poems he would write later, would continue to be critical of his countrymen's blind superstition: "All that is old is proclaimed as the work of gods / All that is new conjured by the devil / Wonders are thought to be bad omens / This is the tradition of the land of the Dharma."⁷

In the Nepal segment of their lengthy itinerary these two scholars remained for over six months (November 1934 to May 1935) in Kathmandu⁸ at the home of a well-to-do Nepalese wool merchant, by name Tiritna Man, whose family even then still maintained a shop in Lhasa that had been established more than 150 years before. Here the Amdo monk would learn Nepali and work with Rahul on scholarly projects before finally leaving for India in late May or early June 1935.⁹ Upon their arrival in India, the entire collection of copies made of various materials as well as numerous original ancient manuscripts and other books which these two scholars had amassed during their travels together were deposited at Patna in the Library of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society of the Patna Museum. This was where the many Tibetan wood-block materials and other rare artifacts from the Pandit's first journey into the Forbidden Land had previously been deposited.¹⁰ As it developed, Gedun Chopel was not to return to Lhasa for nearly eleven years, during which period he traveled, studied and read widely.

In her book-length biography of the Amdo scholar, Stoddard has provided an informative description of the "stunning" political and cultural environment into which Pandit Rahul would almost immediately thrust him, quoting as well a brief news note about these two from a contemporary issue of Tharchin Babu's newspaper (Vol. VIII, 1935, p. 3):

In India, not only did Rahul bring Gedun Chompel to the holy places of the Buddha, the only domain worthy of interest for traditional Tibetans, but he initiated him into the Hindu classical civilization as well. Through his own political activities, Rahul made Gedun Chompel enter the stunning current events which were marking the last years of British dominance in the Subcontinent. It was the India of Gandhi, Tagore, Nehru and S.C. Bose, the one where the cultural, spiritual and political life focused on the assertion of national identity: the India of meetings, discussions, demonstrations and innumerable political arrests [including those of Rahul himself]. Everywhere in universities, institutes and newly founded societies, the rehabilitation of the rich traditional civilization of India was present. The Mahabodhi Society, for example, founded in the IXth century, was pursuing since forty years earlier her own cultural and political battle against the obstructions of the British government. In Calcutta, Rahul introduced him to this sympathetic environment, open to Buddhist monks of all Asia. Gedun Chompel will return there several times, to work, and later, to publish a range of articles in its journal. Encouraged by Rahul's promises [but never kept], the Amdowa scholar was hoping to be sent to the West, under the sponsorship of the Society. In 1935, a short feature of the *Melong* [*Tibet Mirror*] pointed out:

The Indian *pandit* named Rahul, who went to Tibet last year, left for Japan. The Amdo *geshe* who came with him from Drepung, a very crude man and an excellent artist, went to Darjeeling, and he resides at Dotsug.¹¹

From this news note of Tharchin's about these two men one can assume that not long after their arrival in India the Pandit had taken Gedun Chopel to Darjeeling Town, more than likely by way of Kalimpong and on which occasion Gecho probably met briefly for the first time the *Tibet Mirror's* editor and publisher. According to Stoddard, it was the early part of July 1935. Rahul then left for East Asia and Moscow, from whence he would return to India two months later. Meanwhile and until late March of 1937, Gecho would remain for the most part in the Darjeeling District, continuing to study Sanskrit as well as probably commencing his study of English and engaging himself in some translation work.¹² It would be during the early part of this period that he would make his first *substantive* acquaintance with Babu Tharchin.

As best as can be determined from the available sources, it had all come about as follows. Upon his return to India from Russia in September (1935) the Pandit was reunited briefly with his Tibetan friend at Darjeeling, after which Sankrityayana that same month took the monk-scholar over to Kalimpong where he formally introduced the Amdowa to Gergan Tharchin. As a result of this encounter, and immediately recognizing the intellectual and scholarly qualities in Gedun Chopel, the newspaper publisher invited the latter to begin contributing poems, essays and articles for publication in the *Tibet Mirror*, the first appearing in August of 1936. The budding scholar/writer would continue maintaining his residence, though, over in Darjeeling, and he also lived for a while in Sikkim.¹³

But in April of 1937, having received an invitation from the Babu to come stay with him and his family, Gecho relocated himself from Darjeeling and commenced to live with the Babu. And according to one of the Amdowa's most recent biographers, he "stayed with Khunu Bhabu Tharchin for about eighteen months."¹⁴ During the latter part of this lengthy stay with the Babu, however, he would be absent for some five months accompanying Pandit Rahul into southern Tibet, they having departed together from Kalimpong on 4 May 1938 immediately after visiting earlier that same day the ailing Rabindranath Tagore.¹⁵

Now based on her interview with Tharchin Babu-la in 1975, Stoddard was able to provide for her readers a pen portrait of the initial relationship between the Babu and the Amdowa and Tharchin's early impressions of his erudite guest:

... In the following years Kalimpong became for Gedun Chompel his main reference point and his place of retreat during the warm season in India.

The Khunuwari missionary remembers Gedun Chompel upon his arrival, how he was passionate about Tibet's ancient history, fascinated particularly by the epoch of the *tsenpos*, the great kings of the Yarlung dynasty, and by the wars in Central Asia. In India he examined the ancient steles and pillars, searching examples of the writing from which Tibetan was created. . . .

From the start a mutual sympathy bonded these two men, originally from the border zones of the high plateau, born at the periphery of the Tibetan civilization, two thousand kilometers apart. Both were attracted by the new ideas, the evolution of the modern world. The future of Tibet was their essential preoccupation. Tharchin no doubt saw in Gedun Chompel a potential convert [to Christianity]. He, it was said, had become acquainted with the *Bible* [back in Amdo] and was already holding a critical discourse on Tibetan Buddhism. . . .

Tharchin's house was serving as a link between Gedun Chopel and his correspondents. He was communicating with several scholarly *geshe* in Tibet, informing them of the latest world events, carrying out with them epistolary discussions over the nature of religion, Buddhism, Christianity and Islam.¹⁶

Meanwhile, in consequence of his working with the already-mentioned international Buddhist missionary organization, the Mahabodhi Society of Calcutta, Gedun Chopel was able, under its auspices, to study Sanskrit further at Varanasi and Pali in Ceylon (now Sri Lanka). It was reported by his Sanskrit *munshi* at Varanasi, incidentally, that his student was so sharp that he could memorize in one day a text that would require the *munshi* weeks to accomplish the same feat. The Amdowa would also master Hindi in a relatively short time, and at Varanasi he would likewise study the English language further than what he had done elsewhere. In fact, Topden Tsering tells how Gecho, having been midway into learning Sanskrit back during his Lhasa days and "thinking it to be the spoken language in India," had quickly to switch to learning English when informed by Sankrityayana that Sanskrit had long since "disappeared from regular conversations"¹⁷

It can be said indisputably that many people had a hand in teaching Gecho both basic and advanced aspects of this highly difficult Western language—from an elderly Christian nun living in Northeast India to the Russian émigré George Roerich residing in far-off Kulu Valley of Northwest India, from possibly various *munshis* at Calcutta's Mahabodhi Society to those at Varanasi's Kashibidyabitha School. But as regards whoever was the very first person to have instructed Gedun Chopel in this language there have been many claimants. K. Dhondup, for one, has asserted that the first to instruct him was the Darjeeling Christian nun and this instruction had definitely occurred quite early on in his Indian stay. Let it be added here, though, that if the testimony of Gyamtsho Shempa can be accepted as trustworthy, Gergan Tharchin was one of the first, if not the first, to teach this Tibetan monk the rudiments of English.

Like Gedun Chopel, Shempa had been born in Amdo. Moreover, according to an interview he gave to the present writer, Gecho was first cousin to his wife, the scholar-monk having been the son of Mrs. Shempa's maternal aunt. Born in the mid- to late 1920s, Gyamtsho had fled with his family to India's Kalimpong during the abortive Tibetan Uprising of 1958-9, where he along with his wife became Christians and where they would sometimes attend Christian meetings in Tharchin's compound. Shempa recalls that the Babu had told him and his wife on one occasion that he "had taught Gedun Chopel the ABCs of English in the 1930s." Eventually, however, the brilliant Amdo language student had turned the tables on his tutor, evincing an incredible facility in the language. For, added the Babu, "within six months Gedun Chopel was teaching *me* the refinements of English and using the most proper grammar in doing so!"¹⁸

Having learned English well enough early on in his Indian experience, Gecho was able, shortly thereafter, to begin writing a number of poems and scholarly articles; those, for example, which would appear, as noted earlier, in the Babu's newspaper, but also in other journals. Furthermore, the Tibetan translated and composed a wide selection of texts, writing as was his wont, notes Hisao Kimura, "on everything from religion to politics, including

a treatise on love and sex.”¹⁹ But once having mastered a number of languages (he would eventually be able to speak over a dozen of them fluently!), Gedun Chophel would be off to engage himself further in scholarly wanderings in many places: throughout much of the vast Indian subcontinent, and in the process create guidebooks for Bodh Gaya and Sarnath, at the latter place of which he claimed to have pinpointed the exact spot where Gautama Buddha had first delivered the Dharma to five of his earlier disciples. But he would also travel to Nepal again, as well as to Sikkim, Bhutan, Ceylon and, as mentioned already, southern Tibet. For it was in this latter country that he accompanied Pandit Rahul one more time, in 1938. This expedition of the Pandit’s turned out to be his most ambitious of all into Tibet, where he and Gecho traveled together for five months. A year earlier, however, Rahul would propose to his Tibetan protégé that he establish a detailed catalog of the entire collection of diverse Tibetan texts at the Patna Museum Library which had been gathered during the Pandit’s three previous journeys into Tibet (1929-30, 1934, and 1936).^{19a} This meticulous project would most likely be carried on and ultimately completed over the next three years (within the period of 1937-40) between the Amdo scholar’s travels into Tibet, India, Sikkim, Nepal and Bhutan and/or between his short and longer stays at such places as Kalimpong, Calcutta and Ceylon.²⁰

Now it happened that within a few years of his initial arrival in India (in 1935) Gedun Chophel became known to the Indian academic circle that was interested in Tibetology and Buddhism, doubtless thanks in large part to his initial host in India, the renowned Pandit. For instance, the celebrated Indian poet and educator, Rabindranath Tagore, offered him a teaching position as Professor of Tibetan at his famed Santiniketan University, but it was said that Gecho turned down such a comfortable well-paid post, he prizing much more his freedom to wander, to see and to study. But the *Tibet Mirror*’s editor was also numbered among that esoteric circle in India at this time. And as was learned earlier, this had inevitably brought Gedun Chophel to Kalimpong and to Tharchin Babu’s home through the assistance of Sankrityayana. Needless to say, the Babu, besides having the joy of being this erudite Tibetan’s English tutor for a time, was also extremely happy to publish in his monthly newspaper a considerable number of articles and essays written by this rapidly rising versatile scholar. “In 1936,” notes Tashi Tsering, who not too long ago made an in-depth study of the *Tibet Mirror* for this period, “the quality of writing in the paper improved noticeably” with the addition of Gedun Chophel’s contributions to the Babu’s news journal.*²¹ These, in fact, were his first critical writings published especially between 1936 and 1939, and in which he would take legitimate scholarly exception to what had been received and long accepted as truth in the scholarly tradition of Tibet.

* Another prominent contributor to the *Tibet Mirror* whose work would add luster to the paper—in his case during the 1940s and ’50s—was the Ladakhi-born monk-scholar, Geshe Ye-shes-don-grup (1897-1980). One of the outstanding teachers of Tibetan Buddhism of his generation, the Geshe had studied for more than 20 years at Shigatse’s famed Trashilhunpo Monastery and other Tibetan centers of learning, and who, in the words of Peter Richardus, “did his utmost to preserve a [Tibetan] civilization caught in the most serious crisis of its history.” Recognized for his scholarship potential by the likes of the renowned Tibetologist Giuseppe Tucci and the well-known Dutch scholar Johan van Manen, the Ladakhi Geshe would make several lengthy visits (five months on one occasion) to Gergan Tharchin’s hill station during the 1940s and ’50s where he assisted the Babu in editing the general news for the *Mirror* and even more significantly contributed numerous

One of the earliest of these was an essay printed under the pseudonym of "Honest Dharma" (Drang Po Dharma) which appeared in the 28 June 1938 issue of the *Mirror* entitled, "Is the World Round Or Flat?"^{21a} and that was illustrated with what Stoddard has asserted "must be the first modern map of the globe by a Tibetan." Significantly, notes Donald Lopez Jr, Gedun Chopel "does not seek to *prove* that [the earth] is round; he simply declares that it is so. It is so because Europeans, who once believed that the world is flat, now all say it is round. Thus, everyone knows that it is round, including the inhabitants of the various Buddhist lands, who also once accepted the Mount Meru cosmology. It is only the narrow-minded and stubborn Tibetans who refuse to see the truth."^{21b} Yet what in part lay behind this essay of Gecho's forms a tale both fascinating and surprising in the extreme.

It will be recalled from Chapter 14 of the preceding volume that the traditional Tibetan Buddhist cosmological view of the world had for the longest time been that the earth is flat, a view which in the latter 1930s was still held by none other than Gedun Chopel's extraordinarily bright and otherwise modern-thinking master Geshe Sherab Gyamtsho! It would appear that the *Tibet Mirror* essay by the disciple had been issued by him in part as a literary response to his master with whom Gecho had had a violent argument on this matter. For Stoddard relates that a year earlier, in February 1937, and while the Geshe was in Calcutta en route to China to begin his presumed voluntary exile from Tibet, the monk master had made a point of inviting his former disciple to come down to the Bengali capital and call upon him at his Calcutta hotel. Accepting the invitation, Gecho traveled south to Calcutta and put himself up at the Mahabodhi Society headquarters. "As was his wont," went one version of this meeting, these two fiery debaters began to dispute about this and that; and as things got more heated, the conversation turned to the subject of the earth's shape. The former student did not hesitate to declare it was spherical, but his erstwhile *guru* retorted emphatically with: "Then I shall make it flat!" Whereupon Gedun Chopel spat on the ground and shouted back: "If you say such things in China, not even a dog will come to see you, let alone a man!" Someone then asked these two to cease their argument, but the Geshe replied, "Don't worry, he's my pupil; we are always like this!"²²

Nevertheless, Stoddard has discerned in this confrontation between these two antagonists a much deeper confrontation of which this dispute over cosmology served to point up a significant cultural development between the Tibetan and non-Tibetan worlds which had been gathering momentum for some time. She writes:

. . . the anecdote is reduced to the symbolic status of the violent confrontation . . . between tradition and scientific representation. On the other hand, Gedun Chompel's article and map pushed the dispute into the domain of events actually lived. Once

scholarly articles—in both prose and poetry—on various aspects of Tibetan and Ladakhi history and culture. Additionally, the monk-scholar edited a Tibetan dictionary of the Babu's for eventual publication by Tharchin's Press.

For more details, see Nawang Tsering Shakspo, "The Life and Times of Geshe Ye-shes-don-grup," in John Bray, ed., *Ladakhi Histories* (Leiden/Boston, 2005), 335-52, especially pp. 344-5, 346, and 351 (Richardus quote).

more Gedun Chompel had touched a crucial point. . . . This article . . . , and his writings in general, provide an outline of the discussions which began to animate this [Tibetan] society at the very beginning of the confrontation between two totally different systems of thought. [At this moment] the edifice of the traditional society [as represented by the Geshe] had remained as is in its entirety, obstinate in ignoring the events developing beyond its walls. Hardly two years after his [initial] contact with the non-Tibetan world, Gedun Chompel, who had become this critical mind, had irrevocably departed from his own tradition.²³

That master and disciple soon afterwards resumed a cordial relationship is made clear by what happened a few days later. Surprisingly, it involved the presence of Sir Francis Younghusband. The latter had been invited, several months before this, to represent the League of Nations Union at the week-long Parliament of Religions to be convoked in Calcutta during the first days of March 1937. Returning to India after a 27-year absence, Sir Francis—after landing by ship at Bombay—was whisked away to Calcutta in a single-engine plane by none other than the celebrated aviator Charles Lindbergh. The famous American airman was desirous, he had cabled to Sir Francis, “of meeting a few Indian mystics” and “squatting with a yogi” as a way of coping better with the loss of his beloved murdered son, and he now sought Younghusband’s help in finding these religious men while both he and Younghusband were on the Subcontinent. The Englishman dutifully aided the American in the latter’s quest for an avatar; meanwhile, however, just two days after his arrival in Calcutta, Sir Francis would have lunch with a monk he had met when in Lhasa in 1904. And while dining together, the monk just happened to introduce Younghusband to Geshe Sherab and Gedun Chophel, both of whom were dining there as well and were by this time conducting themselves on more friendly terms with one another.

Now in view of his anticipated departure a few days hence by boat to China with Chinese Major Lu (or Li) Wu-yuan, the Geshe during this brief encounter was somehow able to persuade the famed Expedition leader to make a speech at the Calcutta docks! And according to the account of the event given in Tharchin’s newspaper, the Invader of Tibet did indeed show up at the docks, as well as, of course, Gedun Chophel. “The Tibetan and Chinese communities of Calcutta held a farewell celebration,” read the news item in the *Tibet Mirror*’s issue of 13 March 1937. “On this occasion Sir Francis Younghusband addressed them.” Unfortunately, writes Patrick French, “there is no record of what he said, or of his opinions on this pair of notorious Tibetan revolutionaries.” This would be the last time Gecho would ever see his disputatious master, who would be imprisoned for upholding the right to speak the Tibetan language and would be tortured to death by the Chinese some thirty years later in Chinghai Province during the infamous Cultural Revolution.²⁴ A little over a year later “Honest Dharma” would publish in the Babu’s newspaper his essay on cosmology that was clearly critical of those Tibetans like the Geshe whose narrow-minded and stubborn attitude prevented them from seeing the truth.

Another example of Gedun Chophel’s contributions to the Babu’s newspaper was an article entitled, “The Evolution of *U’med* from *U’chen* Script,” which appeared in Tibetan in the 2d of January 1938 issue of the *Mirror*.²⁵ In this quite scholarly article, he set forth the argument that the cursive Tibetan script known as *U’med* had evolved from *U’chen* or

block script, which thus challenged the belief, widely held, that these two systems had been established separately on, respectively, another ancient Indian script and Sanskrit. In fact, notes Tibetan scholar Samten Norboo, in the *Mirror* article the Amdowa had explained that the *U'med* or headless Tibetan script "was the outcome of an effort to write [rapidly] the *U'chen* characters [which had heads], and gave convincing illustrations to substantiate his arguments."²⁶

Still other articles, numbering well over a dozen in all and appearing in the *Tibet Mirror* between 1936 and 1943, covered such diverse topics of academic interest as the following: "Honest Acrostic in Current Language," "A New Understanding after Seeing India" (two articles), "Lhasa and Rasa: La and Ra," "The Importance of the Political History of Tibet" (two articles, and considered to be one of his most significant contributions to Tibetan scholarship, and is briefly discussed later), "How the Names and Borders of a Country Change," and "The Manner of Taking Oath between Tibetans and Chinese, and How Tibetans Seized the Capital of the Emperor of China" (three articles). There even appeared in the 1 January 1951 issue of the *Mirror* "A Letter to the Editor, Babu Tharchin" sent from the Amdo scholar and written at Lhasa in 1950 less than a year before his untimely death and a year following his release from prison.²⁷ It was a brief letter of congratulation in recognition of the 25th anniversary of the Babu's inauguration of his now-famous Tibetan newspaper.

But besides collaborating with Tharchin in his newspaper, the two of them also did so on the compilation of the Babu's ongoing and expansive Tibetan-Tibetan dictionary (details about the dictionary itself having been discussed two chapters earlier and will be so again near the end of the present chapter). However, the Buddhist scholar Jeffrey Hopkins, in his biographical essay on Gedun Chopel, has made the assertion that the Amdo monk "had worked in Kalimpong with Tharchin Babu-la to compile a Tibetan-English dictionary that includes a little Hindi." Where Hopkins got this information is not indicated, but it is highly unlikely that such a dictionary collaboration had taken place, since the closest dictionary publication similar to this in content which the Babu had printed was his *English-Tibetan-Hindi Pocket Dictionary* that came out in 1965, several decades following Gecho's period of collaborative activity with the Babu in the 1930s at Kalimpong. Furthermore, if the Amdo scholar had indeed contributed to this *Pocket Dictionary*, no credit was given him in Tharchin's preface to the work, whereas in the same preface he did give credit to others. Additionally, in none of those sources consulted by the present author in preparing this discussion on Gedun Chopel's relationship with Babu Tharchin is there any indication of when or *if* this presumed collaboratively-produced dictionary was ever completed or where it was finally printed and published.

With respect to Samten Norboo's brief mention about a dictionary collaboration between Gecho and the Babu, he has left the impression in his article on the life and works of the Amdo monk that it was the *latter's* dictionary which was being compiled and that Tharchin was merely collaborating with Gedun Chopel ("After his arrival in India, Rev. Chopel compiled a Tibetan dictionary in collaboration with the late Rev. G. Tharchin"); whereas the truth of the matter is just the opposite, with Tharchin having begun the creation of the aforesaid Tibetan-Tibetan dictionary years earlier. Indeed, it is the belief of the present writer that the Babu, immediately recognizing the linguistic talents of Gedun Chopel, had

provided some much needed employment to the Amdowa visitor by way of having invited the latter to collaborate with him on the newspaper editor's monumental dictionary project. On the other hand, the Tibetan historian K. Dhondup, in his comment on the matter, has been less definitive on whose original creation it was which later involved Gecho's collaborative labor on the project ("In Kalimpong, he [GC] worked on the compilation of a dictionary with G. Tharchin of the Mirror Press").²⁸ Heather Stoddard, though entirely silent on this particular joint enterprise, has made it clear in several places in her biography of Gedun Chopel that he and the Babu had labored together on various other endeavors of mutual literary, linguistic and scholarly interest.

Two of these other joint endeavors which she specifically identifies involved the two of them translating into English from the Tibetan language portions of a treatise on the new Fourteenth Dalai Lama as well as parts of an official biography of the latter's predecessor on Tibet's Lion Throne, the Great Thirteenth.²⁹ Both projects were undertaken at the behest and for the benefit of Basil Gould, British India's Political Officer in Sikkim at the time. It would appear, in fact, that Gould had personally commissioned Tharchin to perform these tasks, and the latter in turn had apparently requested Gecho to assist him. "For three hours every day," explains Stoddard regarding the second of these two joint translation efforts (and probably deriving her information from an interview with the Babu in 1975), the Amdowa and the Khunuwari "were working together, Gedun Chompel mastering the condensed and difficult language of this official biography, and Tharchin more at ease in English than his friend."³⁰

But Stoddard would discuss still another, and far more significant joint linguistic endeavor which would ultimately catapult Gedun Chopel into the front rank of Tibetan historiographers. "It was through Tharchin Babu," she began, that the Amdo scholar "came into contact with Jacques Bacot"^{30a} or, to put it more unambiguously, the monk-scholar came into contact with the *results* of Bacot's labors in linguistic Tibetology; for these two—the Frenchman and the Tibetan—never met. Bacot, it will be recalled, was the highly respected French Orientalist whom Tharchin several years earlier had served as a paid scholar-assistant during the last half of 1931 when the Frenchman had been in Kalimpong (see again Volume II, Chapter 19 for details). The Amdo monk, Stoddard explained, would hereafter render significant linguistic assistance to the Babu and through him to Bacot (who long before this had returned to Paris) in helping the learned Frenchman to read the famed but difficult-to-decipher Tun-Huang Documents relating to Tibetan dynastic history,^{30b} a collection of unique records to which for the first time Gecho had been introduced by Tharchin Babu himself. The year was 1937, a year prior to the lengthy journey Gecho would make accompanying Rahul Sankrityayana into southern Tibet. Here is how the Babu has described the way this interesting episode in his life and in that of the Amdowa had all come about and its aftermath, explaining it in detail in two letters he wrote years later. The first one was written to an unidentified correspondent of Tharchin's in Lhasa in 1948, and the second to Hugh Richardson, also in Lhasa, a year later, both found among the Tharchin Papers. In the earlier letter Tharchin wrote:

Yes, I have some photographs of some history of Tibet [the Tun-Huang Documents],

which I got from Prof. Bacot of France in 1931. He left the photos with me [at the end of that year] so that I might be able to translate them, inasmuch as the French government invited three [Tibetan] Lamas to do some [of the] Tibetan translation; but part of the history [they] were not able to do. So Gedun Chopel made [photographic] copies from my photos, he not having had any knowledge of them [i.e., of the Documents' existence and discovery] until he saw my copies in 1937, which I left with him when [in May of that year] I came up [to Tibet and Lhasa] with Mr. Bernard. In 1931, I was not able to read it [the Tibet history photographs] properly, but gradually, now I can read and also understand almost more than half. Lately, I heard from Prof. Bacot and I wrote him about it but no reply has yet been received.

And in the later letter, addressed to Richardson, the Babu provided additional information that brought the episode up-to-date*:

As regards the documents of ancient Tibetan history . . . I was told that half the documents are in the London [possibly he ment the British] Museum [they may have been moved subsequently from the India Office Library in London where they had been housed originally] and more are in France [at the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris]. The three Lamas for translation of them . . . could not do some parts, which were [then] photographed and brought by Prof. Bacot [to Kalimpong] and left with me. But now I heard that all of them have been translated. [This was probably per Bacot's letter which the Babu had been waiting to receive and apparently did receive during the intervening year since the earlier letter to Lhasa. This now full translation was obviously due in part to not only Tharchin's but also Gedun Chopel's translation labors.] . . . Now I can read and understand three-fourths of [the photographs, of which a year before he could only read a bit over half]. Lately the photographic mss. had been taken by Tibetan officials who are here . . . I had shown them to Kusho Shakabpa [W.D. Shakabpa, the well-known Tibetan scholar-author who published *Tibet, a Political History* (New Haven, 1967), and close friend of the Babu's] and others, and they said that they had seen the same copies with Gedun Chopel [doubtless in Lhasa, to where Gecho had returned in early 1946, and found among his possessions after his arrest] but that now they have come to know that he had [photo-] copied them from my copies. . . . I could not send them [to you] sooner, as . . . I could not get them back [from Shakabpa et al.] in time [to answer your letter earlier]. But now I got them and I am sending them to you. If [they be of] any use to you, then kindly let me have them back when finished with them.

Heather Stoddard, who interviewed Gergan Tharchin in 1975, has been able to supply some additional information about the collaboration between the Babu and Gecho in translating these particular Cave Documents; but she has also been able to provide further details about the Documents themselves.

At Kalimpong J. Bacot . . . brought to Tharchin some copies of Tibetan manuscripts, which came from Dunhuang and [these] were considered to be among the most important ones. For several months Tharchin helped him in reviewing his translations. The archaic language of these texts, dating from the IXth to Xth centuries, is often

* What follows is a composite rendering of the contents of two drafts, similarly worded, of Tharchin's follow-up explanation of how he and Gedun Chopel had come into possession of certain photographic portions of the famed Tun-Huang Cave Documents. The first of these two drafts, typewritten, is dated September 1949, the other is handwritten and undated, but obviously written at about the same time.

obscure, even to a scholar versed in the Tibetan classical language. Tharchin confidentially sought the collaboration of Gedun Chompel who was then residing at Darjeeling, [requesting] some clarifications on these extremely difficult texts, in order to respond to Bacot, who would himself have asked Tharchin to maintain all discretion regarding these texts.

Hence it was that Gedun Chompel could work on these documents [which were] contemporaneous with the Tibetan Empire Epoch (VIIth-IXth centuries) [and likewise] contemporaneous with the *doring* [pillar monuments] of Lhasa, which narrated the political history of Tibet. Gedun Chompel read and re-read them until he caught the sense, transmitting through Tharchin numerous explanations to Bacot who [was] very satisfied by his competence . . . Gedun Chompel examined them in detail for several years and used them as a basis in writing his own political history of ancient Tibet, *Debther Karpo* [*The White Annals*; see below], and took them with him to Kulu [for consultation with George Roerich; see also below].³¹

As can be discerned from Stoddard's discussion quoted above, it would not be long after being introduced to the Tun-Huang Documents by Tharchin in early 1937 that the Amdo scholar would come to realize the rare and authentic historical and cultural information about his country and people which was to be found in these ancient manuscripts. This is reflected, for example, in the fact that a mere eighteen months or so following his initial introduction to these unique but difficult-to-read documents, Gedun Chophel would publish an article in Tharchin's *Tibet Mirror* (25 November 1938) entitled, "The Importance of the History of Tibet,"^{31a} in which he makes allusion to the most important of these Tun-Huang manuscripts. For in the article he expresses deep regret over the abandonment of the "exact and detailed chronicles [the allusion] to the advantage of [i.e., in favor of] legends where the marvelous is so dominant that the historical documents evaporated like particles of a rainbow."³² It can therefore be said that other than the three Tibetan Lamas at Paris who in any case were unable to decipher the photographed text portions that were made available to the Babu and Gecho for translating, Gedun Chophel was the first indigenous Tibetan ever to recognize, in Stoddard's words, the "capital importance" of these documents for the history of Tibet. In fact, he was the first to have discerned that a revision of the historical order—perhaps even a deliberate falsification—had begun to take place in Tibet in the tenth century. (As a result, incidentally, the Amdo scholar's corrected version is today accepted by Tibetologists as the valid one.³³) One therefore need not doubt that Gedun Chophel perfectly understood both the sense and the significance of what was to be learned from these Cave Documents. All this in turn impelled him to seek out the advice of various Tibetologists and Orientalists then present in India—those like Pandit Rahul, the Russian émigré George N. Roerich,³⁴ and of course the latter's friend, and now his, Gergan Tharchin himself.

By this time in 1937 (and even much earlier) the Babu had become a frequent correspondent with Roerich on a variety of questions dealing with Tibetan research. And although it is not certain, Babu Tharchin may even have had a hand in effecting the relocation of Gecho over to the Roerich family's Urusvati Institute for Himalayan Studies in Northwest India to where he had been "invited" by George Roerich "to come stay" for the purpose of undertaking some joint labor with him on the translation of an important work of Tibetan historiography (*The Blue Annals*; see below).^{34a} Not only had there been considerable correspondence between Roerich and the Babu, but also, according to Stoddard, the monk-scholar had been staying in Kalimpong when the relocation occurred, which, again according

to Stoddard, was "in February 1940 at the time [that Tharchin] was away assisting at the enthronement of the young Fourteenth Dalai Lama" up in Lhasa.^{34b} Furthermore, as was mentioned much earlier in the present discussion, Gecho had lodged for some eighteen months in the Tharchin home. For all these reasons, it could very well be that the Babu had served as a facilitator if not an initiator in bringing about what proved to be a lengthy period of collaboration between these two scholars in Tibetology that would be conducted in the Roerich home at the Urusvati Institute.

This unusual intellectual center the elder Roerich, Nicholas, had founded in 1929 at Naggar in the Kulu Valley in what is today the Indian State of Himachal Pradesh, and done so upon the conclusion the year before of this family's remarkable four-year Central Asian Research Expedition. The elder Roerich's son George, in fact, would be installed as this Institute's Director. Here at Naggar, then, the entire Roerich family—Nicholas, his wife Helena, and his two sons George and Sviatoslav—would live and work till the death of the father in late 1947, immediately after which George and his mother would themselves relocate over to Kalimpong. Indeed, it was through the indispensable assistance of Babu Tharchin, as requested from George by letter, that the latter, with his mother, was able to take up rental residence for a decade at "Crookety"—the spacious Kalimpong home for years of Tharchin's good friends, Major George Sherriff, one-time Head of Lhasa's British Mission, and his wife, the former Elizabeth (Betty) Graham, the youngest daughter of Rev. Dr. John Graham. Moreover, once George and Helena Roerich had resettled in Kalimpong, he and the Babu would become "very good friends."*

* This description is according to Gyan Jyoti, the son of the prominent Jyoti business and commercial family of Kalimpong, in an interview he gave to the present author in February 1993. Being a staunch Buddhist, Gyan would become Treasurer of the hill station's chapter of the Young Men's Buddhist Association, to which Roerich would frequently be invited to speak. And thus over nearly a seven-year period Jyoti had gotten to know the Russian, whom he described as "a great scholar and a *genius*." Making an interesting comparison between this scholar and his other close friend the Babu, Jyoti had observed that "George Roerich was more interested in Buddhism than Christianity, similar—but in the opposite sense—to Gergan Tharchin's being more interested in Christianity than Buddhism. These two, though pursuing opposite religious interests, were nonetheless very good friends." For additional details on the Roerich-Tharchin relationship, see the lengthy end-note indicated for George Roerich in one of the preceding Text paragraphs above.

But these two men also had differing *political* sympathies, both of which would impact differently upon the relationship which each had with their mutual friend, Gedun Chopel. This development Stoddard has explained in her biographical volume on the Amdowa intellectual. According to her interviews with Tharchin long afterwards, the latter, she writes, had by the 1940s been "observing with anxiety the political development of his protégé." Gedun Chopel, who had been "experiencing the influence of three friends during his stay in India: Rahul, G. Roerich and Rabga Pangdatshang." The influence of the third person among this trio of friends would not trouble the Babu that much. That of the other two, however, would do so considerably. The Pandit, Stoddard continued, "worried Tharchin because he was a Communist," whereas the Babu was a Republican of the Sun Yat-sen variety; and Roerich worried Tharchin "because, despite his noble origin and his great culture, he was receiving at least three newspapers a month from the Soviet Union. Tharchin, who openly supported Tchiang Kaishek [the Nationalist Chinese nation's leader, Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek], mistrusted [Roerich's] political sympathies." (It will be learned two chapters hence that one of the reasons the Christian Babu opposed the advance of Communism into Tibet—besides the fact that it would greatly offend his deep-seated republican sensibilities—was his belief that such an event would totally preclude the possibility of the wider and unhindered entrance, finally, of the Christian gospel into the Great Closed Land.)

Stoddard went on to suggest that eventually a strain would arise in the relationship between the Khunuwari Christian and the "theologically agnostic-oriented" Amdowa (to borrow K. Dhondup's description of the ex-monk). Explained Stoddard: "It was especially Tharchin's dogmatic political and religious intransigence which repelled Gedun Chompel. Later, he told his Muslim disciple, Abdul Wahid, whose intellectual generosity he praised: 'When I address Christians and Muslims, their dogmatism weighs so heavily that I have the impression that they could kill me.'" *Le mendiant de l'Amdo*, 208-9. This was perhaps one of the reasons why Gedun Chopel refused to be comforted by Tharchin's letter of sympathy sent him by the hand of Hisao Kimura during Gecho's subsequent political incarceration at Lhasa. See later in the present narrative for the details.

Now the scholarly, linguistic collaboration which would be carried on between the Amdo Tibetan and the Russian at Naggar would extend, according to Stoddard, over some four years, 1940 to 1944³⁵ (and perhaps further by correspondence). In fact, from Roerich's Introduction to *The Blue Annals* (signed "1946, Naggar, Kulu" and quoted in the next footnote below) it is known that the Russian scholar had been able to discuss at Naggar that work's entire translation with the brilliant Tibetan. This particular collaboration would in itself require three long years to complete. A voluminous work that when translated and published in English in two parts would run to 1,275 pages, the *Blue Annals* (*Debther Ngonpo*) traces the origin and development of Buddhism in Tibet and the patronage it received at the hands of various early Tibetan rulers. It derived its chief sources from the biographies of religious teachers, from a chronicle that contains histories of the reigns of two of the early Tibetan kings, from an ancient list and brief account of the kings of Tibet and Mongolia, as well as from the well-known work on the history of Buddhism written by the celebrated late medieval Tibetan religious historian, Bu-ston.

Apart from the *Blue Annals*, however, there eventuated an equally significant achievement from their joint labors. For out of their many discussions together came the inspiration for this would-be monk-historian to write what is probably his most famous work, *The White Annals*. An unfinished composition in the form extant today, it is a political history of early Tibet that treats in detail the Royal Dynastic period down to the ninth century and covers the reigns of three Tibetan kings: Namri Songtsan, Songtsan Gampo and Mangsong Mangtsen. Drawing heavily upon eighth- and ninth-century manuscripts numbered among the Tun-Huang Documents, Gedun Chopel also drew upon data to be found in various T'ang historical records of China which had likewise been sealed away for centuries within the Tun-Huang Caves.* And thus this learned ex-monk from Amdo, in the opinion of Per Kvaerne, ranks as the first modern Tibetan to have made use of original texts dating from the Dynastic period in Tibetan history. As Hugh Richardson has observed, this historian's *White Annals* "was the result of his discovery during travels abroad that Western scholars possessed evidence about the early history of Tibet which was unknown to his contemporaries . . ."

* From the above descriptions of both these *Annals*, therefore, it may be discerned that *The White Annals* serves as a complementary *political* work to George Roerich's more *religious* treatise, *The Blue Annals*, since both cover approximately the same period of early Tibetan history. *The White Annals* would be worked on further by the Andowa scholar beginning shortly after his return to Lhasa in early 1946 but would never be completed by him, it consisting—in its unfinished state—of only twelve sections of less than 100 pages and that took the narrative down just to the accession of 'Dus-srong. Gescho would conduct this scholarly labor and most likely bring it to a close just before his imprisonment of 28 months at the Tibetan capital. Indeed, Heinrich Harrer, present in Lhasa at the time, has an entry in his unpublished diaries for 13 Feb. 1946 which lends some credence to this assertion. He writes in part for that date: "At . . . [Lhasa] I met a . . . Lama who spoke English . . . His name is Chompel. . . . He himself is now writing a history of Tibet, which should be finished [in] the next months. Of course, it is written in Tibetan. . . . It seems as if he is permanently living in Lhasa. . . ." (Translated from the original German for the present author by Dr. Isrun Engelhardt and sent to him by email, 21 Mar. 2007.) "Though [the *White Annals*] is a brief work," writes Samten Norboo, Gedun Chopel "had plans to complete an exhaustive and detailed volume devoted to Tibetan history covering a period up to the recent past"—i.e., from King-Emperor Songtsan Gampo up to the present. It has been claimed by some that he may even have completed it, adds Norboo; but if so, the manuscript has not surfaced, and scholars must therefore be content with having only the unfinished document that was completed at Lhasa. See Norboo, "Introduction," in his English translation of *The White Annals* (Dharamsala, 1978), 11.

According to Stoddard, the *White Annals* would be published at the Tibetan capital by his aristocrat patron Horkhang Sonam Pelbar on xylographic (wood-block) plates in the traditional Tibetan format. Interestingly, Gedun Chopel's faithful disciple Sherab Gyamtsho (aka: Lachung Apo, a Nyingmapa master, poet and merchant) has reported that during his master's very early period of incarceration the latter had sent a message to his noble patron instructing him to write at the end of the incomplete History the following statement: "The

Furthermore, adds Richardson, his several years' intimate association with Roerich at Kulu had in all probability provided him access to a good working library whose use could have made his "questing mind" even more aware of the "considerable contributions" which non-Tibetan scholars and writers had made to the world's knowledge about Tibet, her history, and her culture. Indeed, writes Kvaerne, Gedun Chopel "was probably the first Tibetan to fully realize the fact that Tibet's history is . . . but a part of world history." Through the study of Tibet's ancient times, writes Stoddard perceptively, Gedun Chopel "discovered the principle of historical evolution. . . . While studying [Tibet's] ancient history, he discovered, beyond the Buddhist myths, the Tibetan specificity, which enabled him to approach the non-Buddhist civilizations." And she suggests that this unusual "intellectual openness" on his part might have been attributable "to his Buddhist dialective training," of which he had become a brilliant master. In any case, the publication of *The White Annals* indisputably established its author among those who stood in the front rank of modern Tibetan historiographers.³⁶

The magnitude of its author's accomplishment and his triumph over incredible obstacles which lay in his pathway in achieving this unique volume of historiography cannot be overestimated. As Stoddard has observed, it should not be overlooked that until age 29 Gedun Chopel had lived entirely within Tibet's traditional monastic system, even though

unfinished composition of the Tibetan history is concluded for the time being!" This statement was indeed placed at the end of the work, immediately following a few lines of appropriate verse Gecho had provided by which to conclude his unfinished History. See Stoddard, *Le mendiant de l'Amdo*, 247; Irmgard Mengelc, *dGe-'dun-chos-'phel: a Biography* . . . , 74; and cf. the latter with Dejin Zangmo (pseudonym for Heather Stoddard), "More on Gedun Choephel," *TR* (Dec. 1978):23.

But well prior to his return to Lhasa, Gedun Chopel would render invaluable and substantial translating and reviewing assistance to Roerich in the preparation of the *Blue Annals* for publication. In reality, this outstanding learned Tibetan—in the opinion of some—should have been acknowledged as its co-author rather than merely given the meager credit shown him by Roerich in the brief one-sentence reference he makes to the Tibetan in his Introduction to the work (" . . . I was able to discuss the entire translation with the Rev. dGe-'dun Chos-'phel, the well-known Tibetan scholar, and I gratefully acknowledge here his very helpful guidance"). See Kvaerne, "The Beggar from Amdo," *TJ* (Autumn 1987):73 and Stoddard, 179; and see also Donald Lopez Jr, *The Madman's Middle Way*, 33, who has cogently observed there that the *Blue Annals* is "filled with the names of persons, places and texts that would have been impossible to identify without the assistance of an erudite Tibetan scholar" and the Amdo monk "provided such assistance" but was not really given his due.

However, this apparent slighting by Roerich did not bother Gecho at all. As it happened, Part One of the *Blue Annals* was published at Calcutta in 1949 at the very time that the Tibetan scholar was living under supervised residence at Lhasa following his release from prison. Stoddard reports that one of his disciples (Sherab Gyamtsho?) had "found it unjust" that the name of his master had not appeared on the book's title page. Upon asking his master if this did not irritate him, the disciple described Gecho's reaction: "He laughed without saying anything. He deeply didn't care. Having neither ambition nor vanity, he held no grudge against anyone." A little saddened, the disciple continued his comment about his master: "He was too large-minded. Instead of [simply?] accomplishing the task assigned to him [by Roerich?], he was playing with the universe." Stoddard, 209.

One final facet, intriguing in the extreme, to this apparent slighting of Gedun Chopel by Roerich revolves around the identity of the person at whom the Amdo scholar-poet, by means of veiled allusions, had aimed his poem of lament, "Sad Song" (*skyo glu*). Both Stoddard, in her biography, pp. 198-200, and Benjamin Bogin and Hubert Decler, in their article in *TJ* (Autumn 1997):67-78, have explored the possibility of it being either Pandit Rahul or George Roerich. Some of the poem's disguised references are: "this evil friend," "the dog," "the fool," and "the tyrant"; and whose Stanza 5 concludes with, "At long last, three years of miserable toil have come to an end." The continuing question which has intrigued scholars and critics has been: three years of what, where, and in the service of whom? As Stoddard has stated the issue: Does this line of verse refer to the three years of collaboration with Roerich on the translation of the *Blue Annals* or to the three years spent cataloging the many rare and ancient Tibetan works at the Patna Museum Library? Stoddard has inclined to place the blame on the Pandit, but Bogin and Decler have opted for Roerich. In the present author's mind, the latter have put forth a much stronger and more convincing case against Roerich than Stoddard's case against Sankrityayana.

gifted with a remarkably sharp analytical mind and unquenchable thirst for knowledge. The *White Annals*, after all, had been composed following a mere decade of Gecho's exposure to the non-Tibetan world down in the Subcontinent. Moreover, most of its composition had probably been done at Lhasa in 1946 without access to a large Western library, and at a time when its author "was profoundly preoccupied" with political crises in his homeland—"indeed, he was shortly to die because of this preoccupation." Nevertheless, adds Stoddard, during this period but bereft of "any precedent in his own tradition" or "benefit of any formal Western education and practically penniless," this talented scholar had been able to "bridge the gap between traditional Tibetan scholarship and the modern scientific 'objective' approach." Had Gedun Chopel been given the opportunity to live another quarter century or so, concludes Stoddard, "what a fat and well annotated *Deb-ther dkar-po* it might have been," rather than the unfinished version extant today that is admittedly marred by a few errors here and there and by the absence of the modern academic "paraphernalia of footnotes and bibliographies" and flawed further by an inaccurate knowledge, though excusable, of Arab history. Despite these flaws and inadequacies, what an achievement it unquestionably turned out to be.³⁷

Yet it must additionally be observed that there was a cultural and even political purpose behind this scholar's desire to compose his history of Tibet. He wished to write the *White Annals* as a means of helping the Tibetan people to become aware of their ancient customs and ways of thought, of their identity, and above all, of their *independence* as a nation. In the words of Stoddard again, this highly nationalistic Tibetan had come to deplore "his people's ignorance of their early culture and the powerful military empire in the time of the great kings." Having himself discovered, while still at Drepung, the eighth- and ninth-century inscriptions on Lhasa's famed stone pillars which thus indicated that historical treaties had been consummated between Tibet and China, Gedun Chopel had realized even then, notes his biographer, that these ancient monuments clearly demonstrated "Tibet's equality in the face of the mighty T'ang empire" of China. But to his grief, adds Stoddard, no one in Lhasa "knew of their significance." To rectify this ignorance, therefore, he set about creating the *White Annals* as his "little service . . . for the people of my country," the pages of which prove, he would declare, the origin and independent status of Tibet.³⁸

Yet Gecho would not sit idly by and limit himself to merely this one historiographical undertaking. For by 1945, not yet having completed his writing of the *White Annals*, he had already launched the composition of a related work of criticism: this time a critique of both Tibetan Buddhist historiography and also the practice of the Buddhadharma itself in Tibet. Tharchin, when told about it by Gedun Chopel himself, had offered to publish it for his friend; but this "most brilliant and original Tibetan of his era"³⁹ not only refused the gracious offer but also would not even show the manuscript to the Babu, explaining to the latter that the book would be banned in Tibet and that he wished to send it to his sympathetic, progressive-minded Lama friend, Jamyang Zheba, a spiritual leader who resided at the famed Labrang Gompa in Amdo. Unfortunately, the manuscript has yet to surface to this day.⁴⁰

"But for all his brilliance," declared historian Melvyn Goldstein, "Gedun Chopel was hopelessly degenerate for a monk. He was a womanizer, a chain smoker, a user of opium and liquor, and physically unkempt."⁴¹ In fact, as Topden Tsering tells it, he was to spend his days while in Calcutta "in utter lasciviousness, a part of him looking for that experience with which to flesh out his Treatise on Passion, a book inspired by the *Kamasutra*." This Treatise, when later translated into English by Jeffrey Hopkins and D.Y. Yuthok, would be

entitled, *Tibetan Arts of Love: Sex, Orgasm and Spiritual Healings*, a book which according to Donald Lopez Jr would circulate widely among Lhasa society "in manuscript form." Despite the supposed ennobling aim of the book's contents, however, much of Lhasan society was scandalized by its pages. Nevertheless, according to Hopkins, the volume's underlying theme is "the compatibility of sexual pleasure with spiritual insight" which when fully developed, he explains, can provide a "level of consciousness" so powerful that it "can reveal the nature of reality" with such force that it holds "dynamic import for the spiritual path." Apparently, though, the sexual pleasure side of the equation had gotten the better of Gecho, for this erstwhile monk, unashamedly acknowledging his bent towards sexual license, gave poetic expression to this inclination in the pages of the Treatise itself, as follows:

With small shame for myself and great faith in women
I am the kind who chooses evil and abandons good,
For some time I have not had the vows in my head
But recently I stopped the pretense in my bowels.⁴²

But besides womanizing, there was a further—and most peculiar, though perhaps understandable—twist to his sexuality that possessed, to borrow Tibetan historian K. Dhondup's apt phrase, "a curious and lively history to it." For there came a time in his intellectual and scholarly career when Gedun Chopel felt the need to have on hand—it was rumored—a life-sized inflatable female rubber doll that had been fashioned "with perfectly made sexual organs" (Scott Berry). Dhondup records the fact that it had the beautiful face of a *drok-mo* (nomad woman) which Gecho, artist that he was, had himself painted. Wherever he now lived—whether abroad or back up in Lhasa—he would keep the doll, when not in use, in a large cloth bag out of sight. The day came, however, when he would be confronted with the embarrassing task of having to confess possession of the doll. For as Dhondup tells the story, when summoned to appear before the two Lhasa magistrates who had been ordered by the Tibetan *Kashag* to arrest and incarcerate him then and there, Gedun Chopel now felt he had to acknowledge—though thankfully indirectly to these magistrates through the kind favor of an assistant—that they would find the doll in his Lhasa home; though adding the following explanation: Since he no longer was a monk, he needed female companionship now and then; but that because a wife would be too distracting and too demanding on his time, he had obtained and kept a rubber-wife instead so as to save time and allow him to focus on his studies and writing. And although he would request of these two somewhat sympathetic Lhasa officials to keep this matter a secret, the fact of the doll's existence at his residence ultimately came out, generating even more lively interest in the man behind the legend.*

* Dhondup, "Gedun Chopel . . .," *TR* (Oct. 1978):15. Apparently, the story is more than rumor. For historian Melvyn Goldstein, whose research and published writing on the matter post-date Dhondup, has provided what appears to be rather reliable circumstantial evidence that Gecho did indeed keep a rubber-wife. And this, despite Surkhang Shape's later interview denial to Heather Stoddard that no rubber doll had been discovered among the Amdo scholar's confiscated house possessions at the time of his arrest. In an interview Goldstein conducted with a former Lhasa lay official, Rimshi Sambo, the latter reported that on one occasion after Gedun Chopel's release from prison, the Rimshi's wife, with Sambo himself present, had asked Gecho if it were true that the authorities "had found a life-size female rubber doll in his house" at the Tibetan capital. Gecho's reaction was that he "turned away and did not reply," thus indicating, according to "Tibetan style," that "it

Yet there was another facet to the life and career of this “somewhat wild Amdo monk” which, only briefly touched upon earlier, needs to be explored here to some extent. While in India Gedun Chopel became, in the words of Goldstein, “enamored of Marxist-Leninist political philosophy and anti-colonialist ideology.”⁴³ Having experienced a period of deep awakening during his expatriate years in the Land of Buddha’s Birth, Gecho had gradually but inexorably distanced himself considerably from the teachings and practices of his ancestral religious community which effected in him, in Stoddard’s view, “a remarkable mind-opening to the new world of the twentieth century.” His many years in and out of the non-Tibetan world, explains Stoddard further, had “put him in contact with not only Western scholars and the scientific approach but also the realities and ideals of twentieth-century political turmoil. He was deeply influenced by the independence movement in India.”⁴⁴ Indeed, given the unparalleled opportunity this increasingly free-thinking Tibetan intellectual had of being able to observe firsthand and up close the final dozen years of British colonial rule in India and the growing hostility it engendered among the diverse Indian population, Gedun Chopel could not help but be influenced profoundly by the anti-imperialist, anti-colonialist sentiment then emanating from various intellectuals and independence-minded political leaders on the Subcontinent, and by the Nationalist and Socialist ideologies which by this time had commenced to dominate much of Asia. And as a result of his exposure to these thinkers and their ideas and to the political and social ferment he witnessed all about him, the heretofore insulated monk from Tibet came to believe while abroad that major reforms within his own land, too, were necessary—even, perhaps, a revolution.

It should be commented upon just here, though, that while still in Tibet Gecho had probably not been so insulated from the socio-political and cultural realities of the outside world after

was true, since he did not deny it.” Goldstein, *History of Modern Tibet*, 463 note 108.

Nevertheless, opinion differs among scholars and writers on the life of this Tibetan as to the truth or falsity of this story about the rubber-wife. Heather Stoddard has dismissed the anecdote as but one among other gossipy stories which were then circulating about the ex-monk, reflecting as the story did, she writes, “the frivolous atmosphere of the Lhasa society, where those who were seeking to discredit Gedun Chompel would easily find tattlers ready to tell any kind of sidesplitting story.” She went on to say that “among the stories [the ex-monk] mentioned so humorously, he had undoubtedly mentioned the existence of these dolls imported to India by the British. From there the gossip flowed swiftly.” *Le mendiant de l’Amdo* (1985), 232; cf. her earlier writing under the pseudonym of Dejin Zangmo, “More on Gedun Choephel,” *TR* (Dec. 1978):21, 23. On the other hand, Jeffrey Hopkins, who lauds Stoddard’s biography as “an excellent book-length treatment” on the Amdowa, accepts the story at face value without in the least questioning its veracity, basing his brief narration of this facet of the Amdo monk’s life on Dhondup’s account. See his introductory essay in *Tibetan Arts of Love*, 27.

Frankly, the present writer has had little, if any, difficulty in accepting as essentially genuine the basic outline of the story as reported by Dhondup. This is because it is very much in keeping with the eccentric, highly unorthodox lifestyle of Gedun Chopel. Especially does the explanation attributed to him for why he needed the rubber-wife possess the ring of authenticity when one takes into account that during the latter period of his Indian stay and the final period back in Lhasa prior to his arrest, Gecho had been greatly desirous of completing the *White Annals*, a scholarly endeavor that would require considerable devotion of time and intense concentration of mind. Furthermore, Stoddard/Zangmo is perhaps guilty of exaggeration in having asserted that allusions to “rubber ladies” and “opium smoking” by later writers and historians on Gedun Chopel are “not so subtle means to defame the Amdo beggar.” One can hardly accuse Dhondup (who published his views in the *Tibetan Review* a few months earlier than Stoddard/Zangmo) or Hopkins, both of whom accept as true these behaviors in his life, of seeking to defame his character.

all. Stoddard implies as much in her monograph on the Amdo monk's one-time master at Drepung, Geshe Sherab Gyamtsho, and referenced earlier. In it she quotes a revealing entry from Pandit Rahul Sankrityayana's diary for the summer of 1934. At that time the Indian Communist and scholar-explorer had engaged in frequent dialogue with the Geshe at Lhasa. And if one can accept the testimony of Pandit Rahul, then the Geshe, notes Stoddard, can already be seen to be expressing sympathy for the Chinese proletarian revolution and to have continuously sought to advance a reformist polity for Tibet which would establish a new era in the Snowy Land. Wrote the Pandit:

I met and conversed frequently with Geshe Sherab. He was not only learned in the scriptures, but also understood matters concerning the world. It was he who first (amongst the Tibetan clergy) welcomed the success of Mao Tse-tung and the Communist Party of China, and it had always been his desire that Tibet should accept the new age.

It is inconceivable that Gecho was not privy to these external events and to the radical opinions of his teacher which flowed from them, since master and disciple, as was shown earlier, were on the most intimate—if often fiery and discordant—of terms with each other. Living in the same monastery, college and residence at Lhasa, and given their extremely inquiring minds, these two must have discussed and passionately debated these events and their consequences for Tibet and the rest of Asia again and again.

In addition, Tibetan intellectuals at the Tibetan capital—if they had a mind to, and certainly these two extraordinary ecclesiastics were predisposed to—could learn about the outside world through reports from visiting pilgrims, lamas, traders and other travelers who continually streamed into the Holy City from India, Ladakh, Nepal, China, Mongolia and other areas beyond the Land of Snows. And even though, as Stoddard correctly observes, there were no radios, and no newspapers indigenous to Tibet, in the Snowy Land during both the 1920s and the period of the 1930s immediately prior to Gecho's self-imposed exile from the country, this monk and other inmates at Drepung had a degree of access to Gergan Tharchin's newspaper during all the years the Amdowa was at Lhasa (1927-34). It would do well to recall from Chapter 17 of the preceding volume of the present work an excerpt from Tashi Tsering's analysis of this newspaper's contents for the 1920s, '30s and '40s:

Inspired by the British press style, the *Mirror* published articles on world events and especially reported what was taking place in India, Tibet and [elsewhere] and . . . was a rich source of information of the world of High Asia of the time. It reported the movements and diplomatic activities of the functionaries of the governments of Bhutan, China, Britain, Sikkim and so on, as well as . . . the endeavors of Tibetan scholars. . . . Some reports in the paper presented contemporary political personalities such as Stalin, Hitler and Gandhi, as well as some modern Tibetans, who had been educated in China and India. They also described the great military powers, the latest war machines . . . etc.

So that by the summer of 1937 Tharchin, it may be remembered, could write to Sir Charles Bell about the growing impact his news organ was exerting upon various classes of people at Lhasa:

Some of the officials are very much interested in modern ideas and they are keen to know and learn more and more but at the same time, still, they are afraid of the monks and lamas [in the ruling circles]. But I met many educated and high class monks and they are also interested. They all asked me to write something [in the *Mirror*] on the present development of the world or on different countries, and specially about our [Indian] government, about the Sciences and laws.

Hence, far from being totally uninformed of the changing situation beyond the borders of their homeland, the Geshe, Gedun Chopel and others of their ilk did have the opportunity—through personal contacts with travelers and by means of the *Tibet Mirror*—to increase their awareness of outside developments in political thought, social polity, government, science, technology and law.

Moreover, it must not be forgotten that both of these monks hailed from ethnographic East Tibet; in fact, from the same area thereof: Amdo. And like a number of other “dissident” Tibetans of the time, points out Stoddard, those who hailed “from the periphery areas of the Tibetan world” as did these two “had a greater grasp of what the world beyond the snowy mountain ranges might be like”—particularly in neighboring China. For just two years before the Pandit’s conversations with the Geshe, the Chinese Communist Party, following the lead of Communist Russia, had promulgated a new draft constitution (called the *Soviet Constitution of China*) which included provisions that—in imitation of the USSR model—would guarantee freedom, self-determination and equal rights for all nationalities and ethnic peoples within a new People’s Republic of China. It is therefore not too much to imagine, Stoddard opines, that for Geshe Sherab—and by extension, it could be added, for his Drepung disciple Gedun Chopel—the stated intentions of Mao’s 1932 revolutionary document “must have sounded sweetly” in the Geshe’s ears, but so, too, in those of his student as well.

So sweeping and devoid of any taint of imperialism-colonialism was this document’s provision regarding self-determination that it allowed, as that early Communist constitution stated, for “complete separation from China and to the formation of an independent State for each national minority.” As though to remove all ambiguity as to what this meant, and for whom, Mao’s liberating-sounding document had gone on to declare: “All Mongolians, Tibetans, Miao, Yao, Koreans and others living on the territory of China shall enjoy the full right of self-determination, i.e., they may either join the Union of Chinese Soviets or secede from it and form their own State as they may prefer.” This was a decided improvement over the Manifesto adopted at the Chinese Communist Party’s Second National Congress held in 1922. That document had merely advocated that China be a federated State, with Tibet and other minority areas like Mongolia and Turkestan having only the status of republics patterned on the Soviet model of the USSR.^{44a} With this latest development one decade later, it was no wonder that the Geshe had “welcomed the success” of Chairman Mao and his Communist Party in China!*

Especially might this be true, Stoddard observes, to those forward-thinking intellectuals from the particular peripheral sector of the Snowy Land known as Amdo-Kham who had witnessed firsthand the Manchu dynasty’s aggressive colonialist policy towards this Tibetan ethnographic sector, the despotic warlords of Nationalist China in this same region of

* There would be a most disappointing sequel to all this, however. For Mao would commence retreating from

ethnographic Tibet, and the Central Tibetan government's near-total indifference. The desire for reform of the Lhasan governmental polity, if not a wholesale revolution against it, had therefore most likely already taken root in the thinking of Gedun Chopel (as it definitely had in that of his monkish master) by the time Gecho, in company with Pandit Rahul, had departed the Tibetan capital for India. In fact, like his Amdo teacher, the Amdo student may have already been predisposed to "accepting the new age" which the ongoing Chinese revolution was even then spawning upon Central and East Asia.⁴⁵

It may thus have only needed Gedun Chopel's Indian experience—beginning not least with his lengthy, unhurried travel association with the staunch Indian nationalist and Communist, Sankrityayana—to crystallize and more clearly define for him his increasingly unorthodox political and social thought that in character was, for most Tibetan ecclesiastics at this time, quite progressive. For example, according to Stoddard, this Amdowa free-thinker had once put forth the notion, part seriously, part in jest, of removing the Jowo Buddha image—Tibetan Buddhism's most sacred object of veneration—from Lhasa's Jokhang Cathedral and relocating it within a totally new sanctuary at the distant town of Jyekundo, the junction point where the three territories of U-Tsang, Kham and Amdo connect, as a way of resolving the profound regional divisions which had plagued his national homeland for far too long. But he is reported to have next proposed that having united Tibet "by means

the relevant provision of the 1932 Constitution. In 1936, for example, he gave an interview in which he declared that the "Tibetan peoples ... will form autonomous republics attached to the Chinese federation." Two years later he failed to mention autonomy at all and claimed instead that a unified Chinese state would grant the Tibetans and other minority groups "full equality" with the Chinese while respecting and preserving the culture and languages of these minority peoples. These changes in his thinking and approach to the minorities issue would eventually be included in policy documents issued much later by the new Communist regime at Beijing as well as be enshrined in Communist China's new Constitution of 1954. For as Stoddard has pointed out, in 1952, just one year after the signing of the controversial Seventeen-Point Agreement between Tibet and Red China, there was promulgated and published in Chinese at Beijing and dutifully translated and printed in Tibetan at Lhasa the *Text of the Policy for the National Minorities* published by the Nationalities Affairs Commission of the People's Republic of China (PRC) in which, explains Stoddard, "the earlier provision for the right of secession from the PRC that Mao had included in his draft constitution [for example, the one of 1932] has disappeared"! This significant change would be reflected in China's new constitution adopted two years later in 1954 at the Chinese National People's Congress convened in Beijing and at which, ironically, the 14th Dalai Lama would be a voting participant, along with nine or ten other Tibetan delegates, including the Panchen Lama. Because this latest constitution specifically considered China to be a multi-national and unitary State with Tibetans as but one of many of her nationalities, it automatically ruled out any opportunity for national minorities to secede from the PRC. Its Article 4, in fact, only made provision for those "areas where people of minority nationalities live in concentrated communities" to exercise "Regional Autonomy;" and underscored the new reality that these "Autonomous Regions" were "an integral part of the People's Republic of China." Though the different nationalities in the PRC still retained, on paper, their right to autonomy and to their specific regions' development, gone forever was any right of self-determination and total freedom to separate and form one's own independent State.

See Lee Feigon, *Demystifying Tibet* (1996), 142 for the Mao retreat, and Stoddard, "Tibetan Publications and National Identity," in R. Barnett and S. Akiner, eds., *Resistance and Reform in Tibet*, 130-1 (emphasis added). But cf. also two other works for further discussion on this matter and which may provide a more accurate dating of relevant meetings and documents: Dawa Norbu, "Chinese Communist View on National Self-Determination, 1922-1956: Origins of China's National Minorities Policy," *IS* (1988):317-42; and Tsering Shakya, *The Dragon in the Land of Snows*, 122-3. And for a comprehensive analysis regarding the issue of Tibetan self-determination, consult Warren Smith Jr, *Tibetan Nation: a History of Tibetan Nationalism and Sino-Tibetan Relations* (1996).

of religion, we shall then set about and destroy religion.” For in his eyes, notes Stoddard, “Buddhism had destroyed Tibetan national identity.”*⁴⁶

But Gedun Chopel was also in favor of providing monks with salaries rather than being permitted to own estates and of requiring them to study rather than to engage in business and commerce. Land and legal reforms were also a part of his political and social agenda, as well as democracy. For in the final analysis, Gecho was first and foremost a democratic reformer. Critical of the way Buddhism had been applied to government in his own land, this socio-political iconoclast, though he indeed had had specific inclinations towards Communism and Socialism, “was too much of an individual to have been a good party member”; and furthermore, adds Hisao Kimura, he was “too much of a Tibetan to be pro-Chinese. Like all the best Tibetan reformers of the time he believed simply that Tibet must put its own house in order before it was too late.”^{46a} Profoundly nationalistic, Gedun Chopel would in time be heard warning his friends repeatedly that “the Chinese Communists will come. The State of Tibet has reached the point where there is danger of its being lost. Take care of our written and spoken language. A time may come when Tibetans no longer speak Tibetan in their own land and when they no longer wear Tibetan robes.”⁴⁷ How prophetically accurate in the extreme he in truth would turn out to be!

Being one of a small group of younger politically conscious Tibetans hailing “mostly from the peripheral areas” of cultural Tibet, and whom Stoddard believes were inspired by the prophetic warnings of oncoming disaster for the Land of Snows which were enshrined in the Great Thirteenth’s farewell political Testament that was issued and disseminated just before his death in 1933, Gedun Chopel would now be found making plans with various compatriots down in India for a new Tibet able to hold her own against both a colonialist India and a future radicalized China. This he would endeavor to do while living and working in District Darjeeling—especially at Tharchin’s hill station—during much of 1944 and all of 1945, the final period of his Indian sojourn.⁴⁸

In due course, then, this ecclesiastical scholar-turned-political reformer met up with three other close Tibetan acquaintances of Tharchin’s in Kalimpong, and discovered that he had much in common with all three: the Khampa intellectual Rapga Pangdatsang, the Lhasa aristocrat and eloquent poet and orator Changlo Chen Gung, and the Great Thirteenth’s former favorite Thupten Kunphela. In fact, if one compares the reformist content and agenda for Tibet espoused by both Gecho and Rapga, one can clearly discern great similarity in ideas, aims and intentions. This more than likely can be explained by the fact that all four men participated together in socio-political discussions about Tibet’s future quite often and regularly during 1944-45 when all four were in residence at Kalimpong. And thus it should not be surprising at all that echoes of Rapga’s thoughts and intentions for Tibet’s transformation (see Chapter 24 for the details) were very much present in those of Gedun Chopel and vice versa. “Seeing themselves as advanced Tibetan intellectuals,” writes Goldstein, “they discussed the movement to oust the British from India and the need to bring about reforms

* This seemingly mystifying statement has best been explained by Warren Smith, who, incidentally, quotes Stoddard’s Tibetan husband, scholar Samten G. Karmay, in the course of his discussion of this topic. See the end-note indicated here for Smith’s explanation.

in Tibet."⁴⁹ According to Kimura, who at one time was employed at Tharchin's Tibetan Press, Gecho even "issued revolutionary pamphlets calling for radical change in the Tibetan government" that were "printed at the Tibet Mirror Press"—thus indicating the Babu's tacit approval though not necessarily his agreement with their contents entirely.⁵⁰ Not surprisingly, Tharchin, his home and his Press had become one of the meeting grounds and discussion centers outside Tibet for quite a few young nationalistic Tibetans eager but restless to see a transformation of Tibetan society at all levels and in all fields of endeavor.

In the end Gedun Chopel, as one of its more prominent participants (but *not*, according to Rapga, as a member),^{50a} lent his assistance to the Tibet Improvement Party which the Khampa had founded at Kalimpong in 1939 but which did not realize its fuller though still incomplete organization till 1945. In fact, so great was the Amdowa's involvement in the Party that, according to Goldstein as verified by several Tibetan officials who knew him and whom the historian had later interviewed, Gecho ultimately ended up in the substantial monthly pay of Rapga (as much as 400 to 500 Indian rupees per payment) as compensation for services rendered to the Party, with Rapga himself having been in the extremely generous pay of the Chinese Kuomintang government.⁵¹ Gecho had even designed the logo or emblem for the Party. Moreover, in the latter part of 1945, having decided to soon quit India, the Amdowa was asked by the younger Pangdatsang brother to make an extensive clandestine trip through Bhutan and Tawang for the Party founder on his contemplated return journey to Lhasa, to where he had been deceitfully "invited" back by a member of the Regent's *Kashag*.⁵²

In reality, almost from the inception of his self-imposed exile in India, Gecho knew in his heart of hearts that there would come a time when he would feel impelled, out of deep concern for his native land, to return to Tibet and Lhasa. For had he not confided long afterwards to his disciples back in Lhasa what at this earlier time down in India he had imposed on himself?—that "I was bearing a load heavier than a mountain . . . nourishing a great hope [of] being in some way useful to Tibet"?^{52a} Sharing in common between the two of them by that earlier time much the same political ideology, this serious-minded Tibetan and his Indian benefactor Sankrityayana had, in the words of Pheni Moukherji, "sacrificed themselves to the revolution"—to the one which Gecho increasingly felt must soon occur in Tibet if she were to survive, and to the other which the Pandit had been actively seeking to effect in India against British colonial rule. Moukherji had been present when these two intellectuals had carried on a serious conversation together in southern Tibet in the summer of 1938 during Pandit Rahul's fourth and final expedition through the Snowy Land. As reported later by the photographer Moukherji, Rahul had indicated his wish that his Tibetan friend remain in Tibet to establish "a popular movement" among her villages, with the Pandit declaring he would do the same down in India. The Amdo reformer had responded by agreeing to the principle that the only avenue by which to advance a needful change in his homeland was to organize the populace against the Lamas; the implication to be drawn from this principle meant, however, that a movement must be created in each and every village. Yet, reported Moukherji, Gedun Chopel deemed himself "ill-prepared, isolated and reluctant to the idea of living among the orthodox and dogmatic Lamas, [the latter] reticent to any idea of reform."

Already, reported Moukherji, this Tibetan intellectual's primary concern was Tibet's future, the possibility of a social and political change there, and the role which he and his like-minded associates could play. Yet even before the above-described conversation had occurred, noted the photographer, and as the expedition had been trekking here and there to this place and that, the Tibetan reformer had been busy making contact with all sorts of scholars, high civil servants and other officials for the purpose of convincing them of the urgent need of reform so as "to avoid a great upset in [the Tibetan] society which was running the risk of disappearing." In essence, added Moukherji, "he wanted to establish a Socialist government in Tibet." Nevertheless, the time for him to return to Tibet for good, Gecho had indicated in his talk with Rahul, had not yet arrived, and that meanwhile he could serve his people better from the outside. In conclusion, reported Moukherji, Gedun Chopel "was feeling the fear of all reformers: the danger of imprisonment and of death. . . . I admired the pleasing face imprinted with the pride of this man who had sacrificed himself for the revolution."⁵³

That was in early 1938. By 1944, however, Gecho had begun to believe that his time in India was rapidly coming to a close and that his place was in his homeland. As a matter of fact, while still with George Roerich at Naggar in the Kulu Valley, he had made up his mind to return to Lhasa, and was apparently only waiting for a propitious moment to implement his decision. His current state of mind and the decision he had now made had all come about in the following manner, as dramatically recounted by Stoddard:

Gedun Chopel . . . had discovered that his people had inherited a glorious military past, that his country had been an empire which spread its power over a large part of Central Asia, rivaling China. He felt attracted to a military option in which he saw a concrete way to unify his fragmented country. He felt keenly the urgent need that Tibet arm herself, define and defend her territory, recognize herself as [constituting a] people with their own proper past. Ideally, history was a means to unify her as a cultural entity. This rising nationalism [in him] was joined by an acute consciousness of the traditional reigning elite's undermining role. The government had to be changed, the power of the clergy reduced, the people educated, the wealth redistributed, thus asserting the country's position. Yet at the same time, as far as possible, one had to make a choice: reject that which the old society had as negative, [but] keep the traditions and the spiritual values useful in the reconstruction of a new Tibet.

Profoundly disappointed by the failure of [going on] his [Pandit-promised, Mahabodhi Society-sponsored] journey to the West, Gedun Chompel was considering to return to his country. Now, with his knowledge of English and Sanskrit and very much informed about the world's political events, he felt ready to act within his own society. In May 1943 [it should indisputably read 1944], the Nyingmapa yogi Chime Rigdzin, who had accepted the position of Professor of Tibetan at Santiniketan, formerly offered to Gedun Chompel, made a pilgrimage to Tsho Pema (Rewalsar, near Kulu), one of the highly sacred places of the Nyingmapa, where, it is said, their second Buddha, Guru Padma Sambhava, was born. Gedun Chompel, then in Kulu, came to meet him. They talked together for three days, then wrote to each other and met again a few months later in Kalimpong. Chime Rigdzin advised Gedun Chompel to refrain from returning to Tibet.

The Roerichs were of the same opinion. When he announced to them his plans to return to Lhasa, they attempted to prevent him by telling him that if he went, all his life would be spoiled. Showing him a Western book, Mrs. Roerich said to him: "If you

proceed to go there, you will never again see a book like this one." But he responded: "I must go."⁵⁴

And so to Tibet and Lhasa Gedun Chopel went, departing Kalimpong in November or December of 1945 (most likely, it was the latter month).

He would be disguised, however, as a monk-beggar on pilgrimage, but he would in reality be engaged in making maps of the land, especially of the northern border regions where many Tibetans dwelt. Said Rapga later, speaking of Gecho's talent for map-making, "He was such a skilled cartographer that his maps seemed like [they were] printed." Being the only Tibetan who could draw modern maps, and do so "perfectly well," continued Rapga, "we had therefore asked him to draw a map of the border region located between India and Tibet."⁵⁵ Being the scholar and Tibetan nationalist that he was, Gecho must also have relished the opportunity given him, while traveling along and meticulously observing this border area, to undertake a search for physical historical evidence of the early Tibetan empire. For instance, he is reported by Stoddard to have discovered a white *stupa* at Despor (Assam) that possessed writings on it in both Tibetan and Indian scripts which stated that to the north is Tibet and to the south is India.⁵⁶

Needless to say, the disguised pilgrim had been successful in this intelligence-gathering and researching task, even though he had been confronted with winter conditions most of the way. In fact, a witness who was residing at this time at the Tibetan *dzong* or fortress of Tsona would later report that the so-called monk-pilgrim had crossed the border into Tibet by the most direct pass from Tawang to Tsona in the dead of winter and had lived for two weeks of his four-weeks' stay in the area at the hermitage which overhangs the dzong, where he was engaged in writing.⁵⁷ Conceivably, he may have been setting down all his findings regarding both the Sino-Tibetan and Indo-Tibetan frontiers, physical traces of the ancient Tibetan empire, as well as creating final drafts of his map-making assignment (not realizing, though, that these maps were destined to be dispatched by Rapga to China's Kuomintang government⁵⁸). He may even have been engaged in incorporating into his *White Annals* some of the information gleaned from this latest research travel of his.

From Tsona he had then journeyed on to Lhasa presumably of his own accord. On the other hand, some writers have claimed that while at Tsona Gedun Chopel had been met and taken into custody by authorities sent from Lhasa (Stoddard reports it may have been "a detachment sent to arrest him") and escorted up to the Tibetan capital,⁵⁹ where he definitely had arrived by 4 January 1946.* This is known from a letter with that date sent by

* A.W. Radhu, who was in Kalimpong at the time and had had numerous conversations with Rapga, Kunphela, Changlo Chen, and the Amdo scholar himself, has claimed that Rapga, "whose association with the Kuomintang was notorious," had included in his instructions to Gecho that he not only carry out the intelligence mission in the Bhutan-Tawang area but also "in Lhasa." *Islam in Tibet*, 185. This is confirmed by what Rapga had himself later related to Stoddard in her 1975 interview with the Khampa intellectual: "I met Gedun Chompel for the first time in 1945, at Kalimpong. At that time I was trying to gather the highest number possible of intelligent men, and I contacted him, inviting him to help us organize the [Tibet Improvement] Party at Lhasa. It was a question of a clandestine movement, uniting three to four hundred persons in Kalimpong and Lhasa." See Stoddard, *Le mendiant de l'Amdo*, 102. And it is further confirmed by what the British Mission at Lhasa in October 1946 had reported Rapga as having at that time written to Gecho, now a resident at the Tibetan capital, in a letter addressed

Lhasa's British Mission staff (read: Hugh Richardson) to superiors at Gangtok. Regardless the circumstances surrounding his return to Lhasa, it is known that thereafter Gecho was left to himself for quite some time—for at least nine or ten months—and was engaged, reported Richardson and staff in the same letter, in “writing a treatise about Tibetan history in Tibetan” (i.e., the *White Annals*).⁶⁰ Having arrived at the Tibetan capital “with a stated desire to work for the benefit of his country,” notes Kimura, he had nothing with him beyond “a bedroll, a stove, a cooking pot, and a large black metal box full of books and manuscripts,” not having been in Lhasa for some eleven years.⁶¹

Interestingly, his most intimate friend for the remaining few years of his life at Lhasa, Sherab Gyamtsho (aka: Lachung Apo), tells of his impressions upon meeting Gedun Chopel for the first time ever shortly after his return to the Tibetan capital:

I had been thinking that because he was someone who had come to Tibet after staying in India for many years, [he] might be wealthy, dignified and elegant. But [he] wasn't like that. [He had a] face appearing slightly discouraged, very white enamel on two [of his] incisors, a charming smile, [and] was wearing a *phyu pa* [or *chuba*, Tibetan layman's dress] of brown cotton-cloth. . . .

It is then that we became acquainted. Little by little he became indispensable to me, as well as me to him, and we became great friends.

The black trunk was filled with books. He showed them to no one but me. . . .⁶²

Now because his growing reputation as an intellectual, scholar, writer and artist had preceded his arrival, he was invited to the homes of various Lhasan noble families and Government leaders; but apparently their guest was entirely unaware that these invitations were primarily intended as opportunities to collect evidence against him regarding his “subversive” ideas and activities,^{62a} matters which had begun to be related to the Lhasa government by the British. Meanwhile, authorities in Kalimpong had eventually discovered documents which revealed the existence of the Reform Party, the names of its members, and its goals and activities. Somehow, word had gotten back to the Tibetan government of Gecho's involvement.

to the Amdowa (and whose contents were doubtless conveyed to the Lhasa government). As summarized by the British, Rapga wrote that he “estimates that the time is not yet propitious for the introduction of the Communist movement, and that, for the moment, the activities of the Party [at Lhasa] should be carried on.” *Ibid.*, 222-3.

Interestingly, the future wife of Kunphela (he would relinquish his monkhood vows in 1954 and marry) would provide a somewhat different version of this entire episode (based as her account of his life is, she explains, “on what my husband told me and what I have heard from others”):

... when Kunphela heard that the British were encroaching on Tibetan territory around the border of Mon Tawang, he discussed the matter with Tibetan scholar Gedun Chopel, Changchen Gung Sonam Gyalpo [Changlo Chen Gung] and Pomda Yarphel [Yangpel or Yarpel Pangdatsang, Rapga's elder brother and head of the Pangdatsang clan]. They discussed and sent Gedun Chopel, disguised as a beggar on pilgrimage, to Mon Tawang to observe and prepare a map of the territories illegally encroached [upon] by the British. Later Kunphela sent an anonymous letter to the Tibetan government on the border situation.

See Lhazom Tseten Dolkar, “Kuchar Thupten Kunphela,” in Appendices of K. Dhondup, *The Water-Bird and other Years*, 215. For a fuller understanding of the strategic significance to the British of the Tawang frontier tract, see Warren Smith Jr, *Tibetan Nation*, 180, 201, 239, 247; cf. also Alastair Lamb, *The McMahon Line*, 2 vols (London, 1966) and Lamb, *Tibet, China and India 1914-1950* (Hertingfordbury UK, 1989).

In fact, in July of 1946 Hugh Richardson, British Mission Head at Lhasa, could report to Political Officer Basil Gould at Gangtok, who in turn by memorandum informed Central Intelligence Officer Eric Lambert at Shillong (Assam) that "the [Tibetan government's] Foreign [Affairs] Bureau know all about Chomphel-La." But Richardson went on to include in his report (and documented by historian Goldstein) what Tibetan officials had recently been saying about this reformer which they interpreted as being either odd, eccentric or downright subversive and hence dangerous, necessitating that Gedun Chophel be placed under surveillance:

They say he is always demanding interviews with the Shapas, decrying Tibetan Buddhism as corrupt, praising the "New Wisdom" (which seems to emanate from India), speaking in favor of Nazism and generally conducting himself in an eccentric way. For these reasons, the Tibetan Government have [already] had him watched. They say he is corresponding regularly with [George] Roerich.⁶³

Immediately placed under more intensive surveillance, Gedun Chophel—unquestionably one of Tibet's leading intellectual figures of all time—was ultimately arrested in the autumn of 1946, his few possessions were confiscated, he was subsequently interrogated frequently over the next several months, flogged at least once and most likely more than once, was finally charged with forging Tibetan currency (which was a deliberate cover-up by the Tibetan authorities to keep the real reason—his involvement with the Tibet Improvement Party—a secret from the public), placed on trial, and found guilty by a governmental committee that was headed up by the then most powerful person in Tibet, Surkhang Shape. His sentence: three years' imprisonment.

The question needs to be raised, however, whether or not those in authority at Lhasa had legitimate grounds to believe that Gedun Chophel was indeed bent on subverting the socio-political and religious system of Tibet. Were the growing suspicions surrounding this man well-founded which the elites in the ruling circles—both Government and Buddhist Church—had begun having about him, thanks to their British informants and their own recent observations? Were they justified in fearing that this ex-monk from Amdo, if left alone and free to conduct himself in whatever manner he wished, could pose a real threat to Tibet's current way of life? Was this reformist thinker, in fact, as was now widely rumored, a revolutionary intent on regime change, destruction of the Tibetan aristocracy, and dilution of the Buddhist Church's power and influence? Was he a Communist or at least a genuine sympathizer of Marxist ideology and in favor of radical social change in the Land of Monks and Monasteries? And had this ex-monk, so uncharacteristic of his station in life, become an extreme libertine who indulged in and advocated free and unrestrained sex as well as one who had heavily indulged in the use of tobacco, opium and alcohol?

Any objective observer, upon carefully reviewing all the available evidence, including statements and viewpoints expressed orally and in writing by Gedun Chophel as well as the various activities he had engaged in throughout his career, would have to conclude that all the above was essentially true of him, and this, despite the varying, often contradictory, opinions which since his demise have been offered up about him by scholars, writers and critics. Furthermore, given the deeply entrenched conservative, even reactionary, mindset

of the ruling secular and religious elite at Lhasa, one would also have to conclude that there was considerable justification in the minds of Government leaders of that day for viewing Gedun Chopel as a subversive whose known past and present influence and continued activity, if not checked, could, in concert with others of like outlook and intent, possibly effect tremendous change in both government and society.

But one must also acknowledge that when viewed against the backdrop of the Great Thirteenth's parting warnings just prior to his death in 1933 about the oncoming threat of the "Red Enemy" to Tibet from *within* as well as from without the country (see the following two chapters for more on this), it is quite understandable why, *from their perspective*. Surkhang Shape and his colleagues took the action they did against this brilliant intellectual. For had he not hailed from the eastern periphery of Tibet's cultural world that had already witnessed the emergence of other current and earlier revolutionaries who espoused similar new ideas of "representative," "democratic," and even "socialistic" forms of government? "Frightened" as they were, writes Stoddard, over the troubling rumors emanating from Kalimpong concerning Rapga's Improvement Party and "unwilling," for fear of causing panic, "to reveal anything to the Tibetan populace about this clandestine Party whose scope of activity in Lhasa was unknown" but which nonetheless "seemed to be infiltrating the core of Government itself,"⁶⁴ it should not come as any surprise that the Kashag Ministers, for the good of the country, they believed, should isolate from the body politic this particular citizen whose thinking and activities they considered to be highly inimical to Tibet's best interests. Ergo, the trumped-up charge of counterfeiting provided a convenient cover by which to rid the Government (and the Church, for that matter) of a potential radical troublemaker.*

All this having been said, however, one cannot discount the undeniable fact that Gedun Chopel was a genuine and profound Tibetan nationalist. As but one significant sign of his strong nationalistic feeling, the Amdo reformer was heard to declare, following his release from prison in 1949, that "when the Chinese [Communists] come [to Tibet] they will ask me to work with them, be an administrator or a teacher, but I shall refuse." True to his word, this stalwart Tibetan patriot, upon being approached by Phuntsog Wangyal, who had guided the first contingent of Red Chinese troops into Lhasa in 1951, would refuse the offer made to him by this Tibetan Communist to work for the new regime. For according to his intimate friend and disciple, Gaylong Lama, who was by Gecho's side when the offer was made.

* Jeffrey Hopkins has explained what accounted for the near-obsessive fear the Lhasan leadership had of Gedun Chopel because of his connection with Rapga's Party. He writes: "... Rapga ... had formed a political movement known as the Association for Improvement of Western Tibet. [This] translation of the [Party] name is based on Ruegg ... in order to emphasize the difficulties the name itself had for the Tibetan government. Indeed, the very name of the organization speaks of 'Western Tibet,' a strange term in Tibetan that mimics the Chinese word used for Tibet, 'Xizang,' which literally means 'western provinces.' Since the term reflects the Chinese claim that the two eastern provinces of Tibet, Amdo and Kham, were already separate from Tibet, the entire movement must have been offensive to many in the Tibetan government. [And] the fact that Gedun Chopel indicated his agreement with this progressive political movement by designing an emblem for it—a sickle, a sword, and a loom—must have particularly grated upon the more traditional and conservative members of the Tibetan government." Hopkins, "Gedun Chopel: Provocative Iconoclast," in Gedun Chopel, *Tibetan Arts of Love*, 25-6.

reported later that though "his friends [meaning, though not mentioned, Tshatrul Rimpoche, Kuchar Kunphela and Changlo Chen Gung, among others] and his master [meaning Geshe Sherab Gyamtsho] did bend [in acquiescence] before the Chinese . . . , he refused categorically. He was for Tibet, up to the end."⁶⁵ Indeed, far from harboring pro-Chinese sentiments—whether Nationalist or Communist—as opposed to having deep sympathy for Communist ideas, which this reformer in fact had, Stoddard has cogently reasoned that had there been any suspicion of sympathy with the Chinese on his part during the latter 1940s, Gedun Chopel would have been expelled from Tibet by the Lhasa government in 1949 along with the many others who *were* deported, or else he would simply have been kept in prison rather than having been released from his incarceration that same year.⁶⁶

Despite his negative critical assessment of his country's governmental, religious and social system, Gecho greatly loved Tibet and was deeply concerned about her future. In various ways he had tried his best to forewarn his countrymen of the danger to the nation he saw looming on the horizon. His overriding desire, which he asserted time and again, had been to serve and benefit the Snowy Land, which, as noted earlier, he sincerely believed was doomed to disappear if radical changes were not introduced in the very near term. But for the most part, Government, Church and people were not open to the urgency of coming to terms with the modern world. So that with his rejection by the ruling elites as demonstrated by their arrest and imprisonment of him, he realized that his country's future well-being was now hopeless. As he himself would prophetically declare to one of his last disciples not long following his release from prison:

It is too late now; however, if we wished to take care of our country and practice socialism, it would be necessary to decapitate some of the grand nobles. The members of our Government would need to meet, invite to a banquet all the representatives present here [presumably those from India, Nepal, China, Sikkim, etc.], announce to them the independence of the country, and explain our program of socialist reforms. They would have to engage in conferences in order to sign international agreements. That is what should have been done. But now it is too late.⁶⁷

In the words of Heather Stoddard, Gedun Chopel reluctantly had to acknowledge to himself the futility of the struggle for change, "that he had no power to move the men who ran the Government, occupied [as they were] with jolly picnics, mahjong games and scandals. All but a tiny minority sensed nothing of the impending storm. Gedun Chompell knew it was coming and he had made a desperate effort to let his people know. In return he was whipped, accused of being a [Communist] spy and thrown in jail . . ."⁶⁸

According to Kimura, the condemned man was soon "locked away in the damp darkness of Sho Prison below the Potala along with murderers and thieves."^{68a} This had probably occurred in either May or June of 1947. Here he established an illicit relationship with an illiterate female Khampa prisoner of Avaho origin. (Subsequently, upon the release from prison of both of them, she would live with the ex-prisoner for two months before he sent her back to her Khampa homeland after buying for her whatever she needed and wanted. He would secure the services of another Khampa woman, Yu-dron by name, whom he would eventually marry and with whom he would live until his death two years later.) But it was in Sho Prison also, again according to Kimura, that this rare Tibetan intellectual

“succumbed to both alcohol and opium addiction,” the Japanese adding that “the Government seems to have seen that he was supplied with every vice to further discredit him.”^{68b}

Though this political prisoner would be released somewhat earlier from his incarceration, he nonetheless was to languish in Sho Prison for some two years and four months, not gaining his freedom till probably February or March of 1949. This foreshortened sentence apparently came about through the intervention of several people. It has been reliably reported that sometime in the very early part of 1949 both Pandit Rahul and George Roerich together had met in Kalimpong with Minister Surkhang’s brother, a general, when he was on a visit to India. Urging him to see to it that Gedun Chopel resume writing his History of Tibet, they declared to the general that treating the Tibetan scholar better would greatly benefit Tibet, adding—though most inaccurately about Gecho himself—that this learned Amdowa’s “friendship with China could profitably be used by the Tibetan government when the inevitable takeover by the Communist Chinese occurred.” Roerich, who by this time had relocated his residence to Kalimpong, would anxiously wait, along with the Pandit, for news from Lhasa about the Tibetan scholar. One day several months later at the hill station, these two together would hear from the general himself that the controversial prisoner had been released.⁶⁹

The foreshortening of Gecho’s three-year sentence had apparently also come about through the intervention of a sympathetic and progressive noble family in Lhasa, the Tendons (Tethongs). They had effected this turn of fortune, Tharchin reported to Kimura, “by claiming that he went mad in prison.” “I can only hope,” he added, “that it was nothing but a ploy. Men of genius often have fragile minds.” And they also develop weakened and wasted bodies, if harshly incarcerated for too long a time. In fact, Gecho’s intimate friend and disciple Sherab Gyamtsho has reported in his biography of his master what he had looked and behaved like upon his release, he now refusing to wear anything but his prison rags:

I saw [him] as soon as he was released from prison. I became speechless for a while as if I had fainted; this was because his hair had grown neck-long, his clothes were tattered, and his flesh had become wasted.

When I offered a maroon-brown flannel-sleeved robe (*phyu pa*) to him, he said, “It is too big,” and wouldn’t wear it. He said, “This robe itself is okay,” and kept on wearing the old one for about a month and a half. On my asking him, “How about having that long hair cut?” he said, “Leave this also as it is for the time being.” . . .

From the time of [Gedun Chopel’s] release from prison, all his behavior became absolutely unreliable. He wouldn’t act happy even when there were some [visiting] donors [with offerings of food, money, clothing]. He drank alcohol without limit, smoked cigarettes, and didn’t take care of his money and things.

One day [after his release, he] said to me, “Aren’t you fed up with me?” I replied, “I am not fed up. But, wouldn’t it be better to improve this behavior of yours a little?” To which [he] said, “Well, then, don’t get fed up! . . . Happen what may, I will continue this way.”⁷⁰

Kimura, who himself had opportunity shortly after Gecho’s release from prison to visit him several times in the Tibetan capital, wrote later that the Tendons “had secured his release and were supporting him in a nearby house where he was being encouraged . . . to continue the history of Tibet that his arrest and the destruction of his notes [of research and tentative drafts] had interrupted.” There is, in fact, what appears to be circumstantial evidence

among the Tharchin Papers that the Tendons and others had provided the Amdo scholar their support specifically that he might resume his historical writing. This evidence—though undated and not mentioning any benefactors by name—is in the form of a news note of sorts handwritten in Tibetan, and probably meant to appear in the *Tibet Mirror*. It was to the effect that “500 rupees and 60 bales [*sic*] of barley and living quarters” had been given “to Gedun Chopel to write [his] Tibetan History.”

Now it so happened that earlier in Kalimpong Kimura had been commissioned by Gergan Tharchin to deliver a personal letter to his harassed friend at the Tibetan capital. “I’d like you to take a letter to him for me; and to let me know how you find him. Crucial times are ahead for Tibet. The entire face of Asia is changing all around us, and we can’t afford to lose men like him.”^{70a} One can only speculate what may have been the contents of this letter, aside from an obvious expression of sympathy and concern. This was the late spring of 1948, still in the midst of Gecho’s incarceration, and perhaps rumors had already begun to spread among leading circles in Lhasa that the reason Gedun Chopel had been arrested and imprisoned was because of Tharchin. Certainly by the spring of 1949 these stories were quite commonly being bruited about and believed. One of the Babu’s key informants at the Tibetan capital, Sonam Topgay Kazi, whose family, ironically, had at one time been patrons of Gedun Chopel,^{70b} wrote him at least twice in this regard. The Kazi, a young Sikkimese nobleman on the staff of the Indian Mission in Lhasa, was almost like a son to Tharchin; and therefore one can accept as true that such stories existed; though young Sonam realized that his reporting of them would pain his surrogate father extremely much. He felt, however, that he must include this information along with all the other intelligence he regularly reported in what became a voluminous correspondence which he carried on continually with Tharchin from Lhasa for quite a few years. In the first letter, dated 22 April 1949, and only a month or so after Gecho’s release, the Kazi wrote:

The majority [of Lhasan readers] like your newspaper and the Geshe Chodak [the “Bad” Mongolian Lama discussed earlier in Chapter 21] also likes it. . . . Chodak is now trying to finish his book [his Tibetan-Tibetan dictionary]. He heard news that you were against Gedun Chomphel. But he fell into doubt when he read a praising article on him in your recent paper.

And in a subsequent letter, dated 12 May 1949, Tharchin’s young informant wrote in even greater detail:

The Zinpen Khemboo is said to be very fond of Gedun Chomphel and so is the Regent [Taktra]. They send for him and make a long conversation. The Regent had said [to the Khemboo?] to tell him [Chomphel] that he was not aware of the reasons why he (G.C.) was imprisoned. Zinpen Khemboo had pointed out [to Chomphel? to others?] the reason as [being due to] lots of letters and reports against him from Mr. Tharchin. This belief is greatly accepted commonly, for Geshe Chodak also said that Mr. T. is against G.C. Some people believe that it’s due to Mr. Richardson’s trick.

First of all, if the stories reported by the Kazi are credible, then it was highly disingenuous on Regent Taktra’s part to have claimed total ignorance as to the reasons for the political reformer’s imprisonment. For had he not been the one who, upon receiving the report of his

Kashag Investigation Committee's accusers that had found Gedun Chophel guilty as charged, had proceeded to pronounce the sentence of a three-year imprisonment in Sho? Moreover, it was well known that Taktra Rimpoche could be as conniving, tyrannical and corrupt as was his immediate predecessor, Reting.* Nothing would have escaped this Regent's notice, since he had his finger on the pulse of all that went on in his domain.

As for the incarcerated Tibetan himself, it had seemed clear to him as to the reason why, and the person who lay behind, his imprisonment. For left on the mattress (others say inscribed on the wall) of his prison cell was found, immediately after his release, the following verse composition that freely translated reads:

The obstinate tiger,
 Mad with the blood of jealousy,
 Is roaring and roaming fiercely in the dense forest,
 Where this guiltless, honest little boy is left all alone.
 Let him be judged with compassionate consideration by those with the eye of wisdom.

Many Tibetans believe that the Tiger described here is a not so subtle reference to Regent Taktra (Dak-drak), since the first syllable of his name in Tibetan is Tag (*stag*), meaning tiger. It would appear, then, that the iconoclastic scholar and socio-political reformer blamed the Regent, among others, for his incarceration and subsequent ill-treatment.†⁷¹

Second, the idea that Tharchin Babu was responsible for Gedun Chophel's misfortune is the furthest thing from the truth, and the Kazi, of course, knew this. The record of Tharchin's relationship with the esteemed Tibetan intellectual validates this beyond any doubt. If such *had* been true, the Babu would certainly not have published in his newspaper the praising article which the Kazi had referenced. The article had appeared in the *Mirror's* 1 May 1949 issue under the heading, "News from Tibet," and was a brief report by the Editor on what others were saying about Gecho's unfinished *White Annals* that had just then been published at Lhasa. Noted the *Mirror* in part: Gedun Chophel's "recently published history of ancient Tibet is [being] praised as an in-depth study of the history of Tibet with sources translated from even the Chinese and Indian languages. And it is [further] said that it discusses [its contents] in a very scholarly manner and renders a great service [to the Tibetan people]."^{71a}

* For example, in a letter written to Tharchin just two months earlier the Kazi had reported the following: "It is heard that Tak Tak's [i.e., Regent Taktra's] tyranny is no less than that of Reting for which he [the latter] was killed." S. T. Kazi to Tharchin, [Lhasa], 6 March 1949, ThPaK. And Hisao Kimura could write similarly: "... while Reting's own administration had been marked by corruption and greed, that of his successor, Taktra Rimpoche, was characterized by even worse corruption, negligence and incompetence." *Japanese Agent in Tibet*, 172.

How greatly at variance with these assessments of Taktra are those of historian Warren Smith, writing in 1996: "Reting ... named Taktra Rimpoche, a lama as unambitious and ethical as Reting was the opposite, as Regent [in 1940-41] ..." And again: "... Taktra's high ethical standards had slipped [by 1947], but he was still far superior in that regard to Reting." *Tibetan Nation*, 242, 256.

† It needs to be pointed out, however, that Gecho had written a slightly variant version of this quatrain nearly a decade earlier, by 1941 at the latest, it having appeared in Chapter 8 of his travel journals. And thus, in the view of Donald Lopez Jr, this fact "casts doubt" on the Amdowa's prison-cell inscription having been "a spontaneous expression of rage against the regent." *Madman's Middle Way*, 44n. (emphasis added)

Yet what also gives the lie to the Kazi's report concerning Tharchin's supposed complicity in Gecho's misfortune is the fact that had the latter been indeed true the Babu would not have gone to the trouble of dispatching a letter to Lhasa inquiring after Gecho's physical and psychological condition. On the other hand, one can speculate that aside from expressing his grief over the scholar's terrible plight, Tharchin's letter may have been an attempt to controvert the untrue stories then making the rounds; to reassure his friend of his continuing appreciation, respect and friendship; to encourage him to resume his historical research and writing as best he could under the circumstances; and last but not least, to tell him not to lose hope in the future of Tibet because of what had unfortunately happened to him at the hands of the present Government. Certain it is that this bona fide Tibetan patriot from West Tibet bore no ill will towards his fellow patriot from East Tibet (as is abundantly reflected in his obituary lament on the death of Gecho he would publish in the *Mirror* several years later; see below), and despite the disparity which obviously existed between them in regard to each other's moral and religious convictions and, to some extent, each other's political sympathies. Tharchin always looked for the positive in people, especially in those whose convictions regarding the welfare of his beloved Tibet were essentially consonant with his own.

And, finally, the allusion made by the Kazi to the British Mission Head's possible involvement may have had more validity, since Goldstein in his scholarly study of these events intimates that the British Government of India, in its ongoing determination to safeguard Tibet as a stable buffer entity on the Subcontinent's northern border, had alerted the Lhasan authorities of what had been happening in Kalimpong with respect to the emergence of the Tibet Improvement Party and the activities of some of its key participants.⁷² This assessment is certainly shared by "a large section of Tibetans," including the Tibetan historian Dhondup whose descriptive phrase this is; it was likewise shared by Gedun Chopel himself; but it is also shared by Stoddard, who like Dhondup has not hesitated to lay part of the blame for the reformer's arrest and imprisonment squarely on the shoulders of Richardson; she having done so with full knowledge of the Britisher's strong and repeated published denials which had appeared before her biography of the Amdo monk was published in 1985.^{72a}

Stoddard writes: "[At Lhasa] Richardson was not unacquainted with it ["Gedun Chompel's condemnation"], since he was even partly responsible for it. . . . [He] had little by little let on to the members of the [Tibetan] government that an intellectual was working in Lhasa in collaboration with a subversive group located outside of Tibet." And there is this further unambiguous statement of hers about Richardson's involvement which she elaborated upon in her biography of Gedun Chopel as a result of her research into the matter: "He played a role in the arrest of Gedun Chompel."⁷³ With respect to Dhondup, he has asserted that the "British Government was involved in his arrest to the extent that the British representative at Dekyi Lingka [Richardson] informed the Kashag of Rapga, Changlochen and Gedun Chopel's political activities in Kalimpong [and] because of which they were forbidden to reside in India . . ." Moreover, states Dhondup, copies of pamphlets which these same three Tibetans had been circulating in British India that were "highly critical of the Tibetan government" ultimately "reached Lhasa through the British Liaison office in Dekyi Lingka [and] were handed over" to the Tibetan government.⁷⁴ And, finally, the scholar/translator

Samten Norboo has opined that Gedun Chopel “was put in prison possibly due to pressure exerted by the British representatives [at Lhasa].”⁷⁵

As for Gecho himself, Dhondup has also written that the ex-monk, upon release from his imprisonment, had told one of the two arresting magistrates of Lhasa, Tashi Pehrey, that he “himself believed that the British Government had a hand in his arrest and imprisonment.”⁷⁶ As regards the “large section of Tibetans” who also came to believe in British complicity, it is their firm opinion, again according to Dhondup, that the British Indian government had conspired to have Gedun Chopel arrested because they did not wish to see published his historical writings on Tibet since these would clearly demarcate that country’s boundaries and “prove Tibet’s independent status”; whereas London, these Tibetans well knew, had officially recognized Chinese suzerainty over Tibet as a means of safeguarding the borders of the British Empire on the one hand and the latter’s trade interests on the other.⁷⁷

Richardson’s printed denials—in response to Norboo and Dhondup—are categorical: “My recollection is,” he has written,

that it was reported over a considerable period that [Gedun Chopel] was associating with certain other Tibetans in Kalimpong who were circulating propaganda hostile to the Tibetan government. Eventually, in order to stop their territory being used for dubious activities against a Government with which they were in friendly relations, the Indian government served notices on Gedun Chopel and two others forbidding them to reside in Kalimpong. The Tibetan government were informed why those persons had been excluded from Kalimpong; but it is quite untrue that any pressure was exerted on them by British representatives to imprison Gedun Chopel. . . .

The Indian government acted simply to stop Gedun Chopel and others using the Darjeeling District as a base for subversive activities against the Tibetan government with which the British and the Indian governments were in friendly relations. Gedun Chopel could have gone wherever else he pleased and it was immaterial to the Indian government whether the Tibetans arrested him or not. Some Tibetan officials may have tried to evade popular criticism by laying the blame on others: but responsibility for the arrest and imprisonment of Gedun Chopel was solely that of the Tibetan government.⁷⁸

Richardson continued to maintain his innocence in the whole affair right up till shortly before his death. This he did by means of a lengthy passage which he included in his unpublished memoirs that date from around 1999 or 2000 (he would pass away in the spring of the latter year). In the passage in question Richardson discussed afresh the entire episode surrounding Gedun Chopel and the leaders of the Tibet Improvement Party, and in the process took strong exception to Stoddard’s accusations of complicity in the arrest and imprisonment of Gecho. He even invoked the claim that the published results of Melvyn Goldstein’s research into the British records of the time demonstrate that her attack on him was totally uncalled for (although in the opinion of the present author, Goldstein’s account does no such thing one way or the other with regard to whatever role Richardson may have played in Gedun Chopel’s misfortunes at Lhasa). Here, then, is this former British official’s apparently final written word on the matter under discussion:

Much of the business at that time was concerned with the activities of a curious "revolutionary" group of Tibetan exiles and eastern Tibetan mischief-makers in Kalimpong where they discussed the overthrow of the Tibetan Government. The most active politically was Rapga, a brother of the great Lhasa businessman Panga Tsang; but the most interesting was Gedun Chopel, a scholar, linguist, the only Tibetan to take a constructive interest in the early social and historical documents from Dunhuang, a rebel against religious orthodoxy and established government, an artist, and something of a libertine. He was perhaps misled into the communistic ideology of the eastern Tibetan group. When these activities were too obvious the Indian Government ordered the eviction of the leaders; most went to China, but G. C. returned to Lhasa where he was quickly imprisoned by the government which had been aware of his doings [the above narration of events by the present writer do not support either of these statements: Gecho was not arrested till nearly a year following his return to Lhasa; nor was the Tibetan government aware, prior to his return, of *much* "of his doings" down in India till subsequently informed of them by the British]. In *Le mendiant de l'Amdo* Heather [Stoddard] Karmay attacks me bitterly in having, as she thought, brought all the trouble on Gedun Chopel, but Melvyn Goldstein in his monumental *History of Modern Tibet* shows from the records that the attack is unjustified. I met Gedun Chopel at Lhasa after his release from prison and could see sparks of his intellect but by then it was dimmed by opium.^{78a}

It would appear on the surface that Richardson's strong denials of any responsibility on his and his colleagues' part in the tragic events surrounding Gedun Chopel are impervious to any legitimate criticism. But when one reviews more closely the central argument in his denials, one cannot be so sure. This is because he had grossly erred in stating that Gedun Chopel had been one of the three "subversives" at Kalimpong who had been served a notice (in mid-1946) to quit the territory of India. As was learned earlier, however, the truth of the matter is that Gecho had departed Kalimpong and India some six months previously by his own will and decision and not as a result of any eviction order or other pressure from the Government of British India. The three individuals deemed *persona non grata* in this episode had *not* included the Amdowa but had included besides the Improvement Party's founder Rapga Pangdatsang, two other bona fide leaders of this Party (both were Officers of the Party serving in the capacity as Secretaries): Changlo Chen Gung and the Kuchar Kunphela—the latter at one time, be it recalled, having been the most powerful man in Tibet next to the Thirteenth Dalai Lama himself. It is extremely puzzling, therefore, why Richardson had not cited Kunphela but why he did cite Gedun Chopel.

Moreover, it is equally puzzling that this clear-headed, well-informed former British official could have perpetrated such an egregious mistake and have done so *twice* in the printed denials he issued (and in his end-of-life memoirs, for that matter): once in 1977 and again a year later. Granted that one's memory can play tricks on one's ability to recall accurately events and situations from a bygone era. And hence this error could quite naturally be attributable to the possibility that senility had overtaken Richardson more than three decades after the events in question. One finds that explanation difficult to entertain, however, for generally speaking, elderly individuals (Richardson was by now well over 70 years of age) are usually apt to recall *vivid* experiences of long ago more clearly and accurately than ordinary ones from a more recent period in their lives. And certainly the episode under

discussion could be classed as a vivid one, indeed! Furthermore, it must be noted that Richardson, who lived to reach the age of 95, had continued to work and write most actively and lucidly for some 20 to 25 years more following the issuance of his published denials, he having remained mentally sharp to the very end of his days, as is quite evident in the extract quoted above from his late memoirs. Why, then, this exceptional error? Why, specifically, did Richardson continually insist on lumping Gedun Chopel in with the other Party participants who had definitely been issued deportation orders when the Amdo reformer had himself not been issued one? Indeed, one can legitimately inquire that if this was not an accidental error on Richardson's part, why was it an intentional act?

Perhaps in Richardson's mind, this was the only way he could convincingly argue and defend himself against the charge of complicity in Gedun Chopel's arrest. And perhaps, also, he may have thought no one would detect the error anyway; Dhondup, for one, had himself not detected it; see above again; nor, apparently, had Stoddard. By incorrectly identifying the Amdowa as one of the Kalimpong "subversives" ordered to leave, Richardson's denial of involvement and the reasons given to support that denial could thus be made to appear quite reasonable, legitimate, and very much in keeping with the understandings which had been reached between Lhasa and Delhi over the previous half-century. Failure, however, to include the Amdo reformer as one of the three deportees, though it would be factually in error to include him, would in his mind have perhaps made it impossible for him to put forward a convincing enough denial of a British role in the Tibetan reformer's arrest. As can be discerned from Richardson's various writings on the subject, he would consistently maintain this line of argument, though faulty, right through till the time of his death.

Most interestingly concerning this entire affair, Dhondup has additionally written that it is "clear" and undeniable that "British involvement in [Gedun Chopel's] arrest and imprisonment was 'reported' to him after his release by the same Tibetan officials [Surkhang and the other Kashag members] who themselves had initially ordered his arrest."⁷⁹ One implication to be drawn from this particular assertion is that these officials had been unduly influenced to take the action they ultimately took against Gecho by what the British had informed them about concerning his activities and his writings undertaken during his lengthy Indian exile. For one of them—Surkhang himself—admitted long afterwards to Heather Stoddard and perhaps others that after numerous lengthy interrogations of Gedun Chopel, after taking the testimony of many witnesses, and having searched through all his confiscated possessions, writings, books, manuscripts, and even notes and scribblings on scraps of paper, they essentially found no incriminating evidence to justify the sentence of punishment meted out.⁸⁰ They nonetheless had sent him to prison, anyway, interjecting a false charge of counterfeiting as a way to cover their suspicions they had of him that he was a Communist, a religious subversive, and a revolutionary bent on bringing down the Tibetan aristocracy, Government and Buddhist Church. And it would appear that these suspicions by Lhasa government leaders, if not having originally been raised in their minds by the information which Richardson and other British officials had fed to them bit by bit over a period of a year, had at least been consolidated in their thinking by the intelligence fed to them by their

British informants.*

Hence, in the light of all the above, one can understand how it might be that the Kazi could report to Tharchin from Lhasa that some people there had attributed the social reformer's arrest and incarceration to the British, and more specifically and personally, to "Mr. Richardson's trick." Given the tandem relationship and understandings which over many decades had developed between Lhasa on the one hand and Delhi/London on the other in behalf of their mutual interests, and despite Richardson's categorical denials, it is difficult *not* to believe that the British, and in particular their representative at Lhasa, *did* have a significant part to play—though perhaps not intentional—in Gedun Chopel's tragic circumstances. The employment of the word "trick," however, is possibly too pejorative a term to accept as valid when used by others in describing Richardson's assumed involvement, especially when one considers that the latter would soon be consulting Gedun Chopel on an area of scholarly inquiry needing his expert assistance (see below). One would like to think that Richardson would not have been so two-faced.†

Now on his first visit to Gecho's living quarters in Lhasa, which were rooms in the house that had been provided by the noble Tendons, the Japanese courier carried the Tharchin letter with him. The meeting, which occurred in 1949 during early springtime, had been arranged by Kimura's new-found friend at the Tibetan capital, Phuntsog Wangyal, another

* Their assessment of this information was subsequently reinforced by what the Kashag members had then heard being bandied about on the streets of Lhasa in the form of various satirical verses that had been composed by Gecho himself and which had exerted considerable influence on the thinking of not only Surkhang and the other leaders in the Government but also on the minds of the general populace. In fact, in an interview Surkhang Shape would give Stoddard in 1975, this former powerful Minister had cited one particular ditty in which the Amdo poet had in mocking tones called for the beheading of those in power. Reported the irritated Shape as recorded by Stoddard (but writing under the pseudonym of Dejin Zangmo): Gedun Chopel had "wanted to do what the French had done in the time of Louis XVI—make revolution and get rid of the aristocrats." Speaking of Surkhang, Stoddard/Zangmo later commented: "He gave me the impression" that the Amdowa had gotten "what he deserved for his attitude towards the aristocracy." Stoddard/Zangmo, "More on Gedun Choephel," *TR* (Dec. 1978):22. He spoke further in the interview about Gedun Chopel, but in even stronger terms: "He ... wanted to launch a revolution like that which brought an end to Louis XVIth's reign. It was he himself who decided to return to Tibet in order to establish there a popular government.... He ... deserved his destiny, because he wanted to annihilate the noble class and destroy the government." See Stoddard, *Le mendiant de l'Amdo*, 226.

† Nevertheless, it must be acknowledged that Richardson had not been above conducting himself in a duplicitous fashion in other circumstances if, from his perspective, the paramount prestige and influence of the British *vis-à-vis* the Tibetan government might be in jeopardy. His behavior in this regard has been documented to have occurred as is reflected in the research which Irun Engelhardt has recently accomplished dealing with the German Expedition to Tibet in the late 1930s. The results of Dr. Engelhardt's work appear in her published scholarly monograph, "Tibetan Triangle: German, Tibetan and British Relations in the Context of Ernst Schäfer's Expedition, 1938-1939," *Asiatische Studien Études Asiatiques* (LVIII, 1, 2004):57-113. There she describes in some detail one or two instances of duplicity Richardson had perpetrated on Schaefer and his fellow Germans. See especially pp. 96-102 of the monograph for an unflattering discussion of some of Richardson's conduct during the course of the Expedition's travels in both India and Tibet. Indeed, her discussion underscores the fact that this British diplomat did not always conduct himself in a fair manner towards those he did not like, and did not always, for that matter, speak the truth. All this, however, is not to imply that Schaefer was totally innocent himself; for he and his German colleagues had cleverly, surreptitiously and repeatedly violated some of the conditions which the *Kashag* had laid down for allowing, finally, the Expedition to enter Tibet after much negotiation.

of Tibet's social reformers and a Khampa revolutionary whose own reformist and revolutionary career is narrated next in the present chapter. Phuntsog, in fact, accompanied the Japanese visitor. "We found him dressed in a dirty and ragged layman's *chuba*," reported Kimura long afterwards, "and sitting on the floor with his lady friend [the one he had met in prison]. When I handed him Tharchin's letter ["of sympathy"], he muttered, 'I don't want it, *Mogo, mogo*.' A few words of thanks followed. Hardly reading the letter, he just mumbled to his woman, telling her to go out and fetch quickly some liquor. . . . It was not long after his release, and those who came to see him were few. They were no doubt scared, for people had said he was mad. There was not a single book in the room, which was completely empty. He was unable to write. The last time I went to see him was in July or August 1949 [just before Kimura and Phuntsog Wangyal would be deported as undesirables], and I was accompanied by Sonam Tobgyal Kazi . . ." "This was the man," added Kimura, referring to the ex-prisoner, "who spoke thirteen languages, and who had once debated with nine different scholars at once, listening to their questions one after another before going back to answer them all in turn."*⁸¹

His condition, both mental, emotional and physical, had apparently deteriorated to such a point by this time that even a letter of sympathy from his former Kalimpong benefactor, could not to any degree lift Gecho out of the wretched state of futility into which he had so rapidly descended. Kimura was right in stating that this remarkable twentieth-century intellectual's tragic ordeal had left him "a shell of a man sustained only by opium and liquor." In fact, this frail little man, who could not deny to himself his extraordinary talents and his rapid rise to great stature in learning, scholarship and the arts, now imagined himself reduced to the state of a beautiful but broken lapis-lazuli vase. Confessed this unique human being dejectedly to his bosom friend Sherab not long following his release: "A Vaidurya vase, rare in this world, has been crashed against a stone."⁸² What, then, was the use in trying to achieve anything further?

For the rest of his life the State's ex-prisoner would remain under house surveillance in Lhasa pursuing a nondescript existence and making a feeble but in the end unsuccessful attempt to resume in some kind of consistent fashion the writing of his History of Tibet.^{82a} It was reported further that when requested by the Tibetan Military Headquarters at Lhasa to translate into Tibetan an English-language volume of drill and other military exercises, this nearly totally shattered man most "unwillingly . . . made a mediocre translation of the big book that had been sent him."⁸³ Clearly, Gedun Chopel had little, if any, incentive left in him to do anything. (It was during this twilight of his life, by the way, that the great scholar was consulted at Lhasa by Hugh Richardson regarding the several *rdo-ring* (stone pillar)

* Tharchin was by now conversant with many facets to the life of his Amdowa friend, including his debating skills. The Babu would make reference to another of his remarkable debates when talking with Kimura about the Amdo monk back in Kalimpong at the time that he had commissioned his Japanese friend to deliver the letter of sympathy. "If you know Gedun Chopel's reputation," explained the Babu, "then you may know that . . . his religious ideas are just as unorthodox as his political views, . . . and that is quite as bad as far as the conservatives are concerned. He once actually won a debate against a panel of learned *geshes* in which he argued against the possibility of Buddhahood. In fact, a crowd of monks went so far as to beat him up after that to make him admit that Buddhahood might exist." Quoted in Kimura, *Japanese Agent*, 189.

inscriptions to be found in the Tibetan capital and about which the Britisher had been preparing a treatise that would in time be published under the title, *Ancient Historical Edicts at Lhasa*.*)

Nevertheless, there would still be flashes of lucidity and brilliance which visitors to his quarters would now and then observe in Gedun Chopel. For instance, on Kimura's last visit, the one alluded to earlier, he and S. T. Kazi went together one day to Gecho's residence where the Japanese was soon treated to an exquisite example of this gifted intellectual's linguistic ability; for the ex-prisoner, much more lucid than on the earlier visit, now fell into conversation with the young Kazi "in beautiful English."⁸⁴ Or consider the instance in which his still considerable abilities in debate were manifested on one occasion during this same closing period of his life. One day four monk scholars from Drepung, together with the foremost dialectic scholar in Lhasa, paid Gecho a visit. Soon a debate ensued among the five visitors and the ex-monk which focused on the issue of whether a Buddha experiences actual feelings of pleasure and pain. The debate had been prompted by their famous host when, after having cast the ashes and blown the smoke of his cigarettes over his own painting of Sakyamuni Buddha, he had then snapped his fingers indicating his readiness for a dialectic debate—behavior which both amazed and appalled his visitors. Upon their requesting him to cease such anathemic and outlandish conduct in relation to Lord Buddha, the ex-monk had proceeded to inquire of them whether any Buddha was capable of

* The full title and bibliographic details of this published work are: *Ancient Historical Edicts at Lhasa and the Mu Tsung/Khri Gtsug Lde Brtsan Treaty of A.D. 821-822 from the Inscription at Lhasa* (London: Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, 1952; Prize Publication Fund, Vol. 19). A copy of the book, by the way, was presented as a gift to Babu Tharchin by its author.

Now as noted a Text page or two earlier, Gedun Chopel had firmly believed that the British (and therefore by implication Hugh Richardson personally) had been partly responsible for his arrest and incarceration. His experience in India for eleven years had taught him that the British could be oppressive and hypocritical. So writes Heather Stoddard, who has asserted further that at the time that Richardson was researching the *rdoring* inscriptions of Lhasa, Gecho had feigned severe illness when the British representative at the Tibetan capital had invited him to come see him about rendering some scholarly assistance. Could this have been a case of tit for tat on the Amdowa's part?

According to Stoddard still further, he purposely avoided all contact with the British official from the time of his prison release thereafter except on the occasion in 1949 of a celebration held at the British Mission's Dekyi Lingka compound in honor of one of Lhasa's noble families. Yet she apparently forgot what she had earlier written in the same volume and what she had mentioned in her 1979 Oxford Seminar paper about the fact, as explained by Richardson himself, that during the summer of 1950 the two had met, with the British official having received from Gedun Chopel, among other Tibetan scholars at the Tibetan capital, "much help and advice in interpreting the inscriptions" on one particular Lhasa *rdoring*, the Sho Pillar Monument. Perhaps the Tibetan had altered his attitude towards the British—at least in the case of Richardson. But so, too, Richardson must have himself temporarily undergone a change in attitude—in his case, towards the brilliant Tibetan scholar—since the time of the event a year earlier held at Dekyi Lingka. For at that time he had considered Gedun Chopel as one no longer able to function, having described him as a "broken man, already drowned in alcohol and opium." Gecho had proved in this instance, however, that during the closing period of his life he could still function as before in a lucid, scholarly manner—at least for a brief moment in time. But there were a few other instances of this capacity to revert back to his former self, as is described next in the Text above. See Stoddard, *Le mendiant de l'Amdo*, 125, 260; Richardson, "Last Days of Gedun Chopel," *TR* (Aug. 1977):26; Richardson's unpublished memoirs housed at the Bodleian Library quoted from earlier; and Richardson, *Ancient Historical Edicts*, 1, 13-14.

experiencing such earthly feelings of pleasure flowing from flattery or anger flowing from a show of disrespect. And thus the debate had begun. Easily defeating all five of them together, Gedun Chophel's phenomenal knowledge of the Buddhist scriptures and his dialectic mastery had compelled his guests to retreat from his rooms in total silence. It was subsequently reported that one of the five had been so impressed by the brilliant debater's arguments that upon realizing how little knowledge of the scriptures he had himself been able to bring to the debate, even after twenty years of studying them, he was left in a terrible state of depression.⁸⁵

Such flashes of his old self, however, would soon desert this exceptionally gifted Tibetan, whose life of genius, it seemed, had been blighted beyond hope of reversal. As a matter of fact, on the very evening of his death, Gedun Chophel had sensed that the end was quite near. For in the course of referring to himself as "the madman Gecho," he had announced to Sherab Gyamtsho what most likely were his last words ever uttered:

. . . The madman dGe-chos has finished seeing all the intriguing sights of this world. Now, I have heard that there is a famous land down below. How might it be to go there to take a look? [he sardonically suggesting here that he was about to go to a hell].

Having uttered this, Gedun Chophel next said to his disciple: "Dusk has now fallen. You must go home! Look in on me tomorrow, early in the morning." His faithful assistant did so next day, before sunrise, and learned to his sorrow that the Amdo-Tibetan genius had died almost immediately after Sherab had departed from his presence the evening before. "It was in the Western year 1951," recorded Sherab Gyamtsho later; "the 12th day of the eighth month of the iron-hare year . . . [dGe-'dun-chos-'phel] didn't have any possessions."⁸⁶

In just a short two years following his release from prison, and bereft of all earthly possessions, Gedun Chophel had passed into the Buddhist heavenly fields at the premature age of but 48. Per Kvaerne, echoing Heather Stoddard somewhat, has provided what may be the definitive explanation for why this Tibetan died at so early an age. This Tibetologist has pointed out that as one of those young modernist reformers from ethnographic East Tibet who had for so long harbored the vision of a united, independent, and secular national homeland, the Amdowa, "when he understood that it could not be realized, renounced, or so Stoddard suggests, the will to live." In the final analysis, this incredibly talented, sensitive and intelligent man's tragedy, Kvaerne adds, "was to have been born several generations too early. His life, full of suffering and disappointments, was, perhaps, in vain . . ."^{86a}

Gedun Chophel's death at the Tibetan capital had occurred on or about the 14th of October 1951,^{86b} ironically just a little over a month following the arrival in Lhasa of the first Communist troops from the People's Republic of China, guided into the city, as noted earlier, by Phuntsog Wangyal. He had lived just long enough to witness the fulfillment of what he and others had foreseen would be the inevitable consequence of an obstinate unwillingness on the part of those in authority to effect crucial changes in Tibetan governmental and social polity. He who had hoped to see his country transformed from within before it would be violently overtaken by the irreversible trends of the twentieth century had sadly seen his views and forebodings go completely unheeded by those who had the power to make a difference.

Without question, therefore, Gedun Chophel's latter years can be regarded as a rank

misfortune for Tibet. His haunting and ignominious experience in Sho Prison, writes Dhondup, "had changed him so much that he was never the same person again. What was once a fountainhead of original and critical scholarship was now an alcoholic, chain-smoking opium addict. Entirely broken and dissipated, closest among his friends and students did not succeed in piecing together the fragments of his genius."⁸⁷ Indeed, it was the opinion of Hisao Kimura that Gedun Chopel had been "a genius drowned in his own genius," and the tragedy of this extraordinary personality was in reality "part of the greater Tibetan tragedy of the time: that true Tibetan patriots were not recognized for what they were." Added the Japanese explorer-pundit of High Asia, "Had he been born in a noble family of Central Tibet, he would have become a skilled politician. Yet this was not the case."⁸⁸

Prophetically, Tharchin Babu had been right in the pronouncement he had made over Tibet's future uttered in the spring of 1948: crucial times indisputably lay ahead for the Land of Monks and Monasteries, an essentially backward-looking nation that could ill afford "to lose men like [Gedun Chopel]."⁸⁹ In fact, in his newspaper's obituary on the passing of his "renowned spiritual friend," the Babu grievously lamented the loss to the Tibetan cultural world and to himself personally of the humble Amdowa whom he declared had been "skilled in [both] the outer and inner sciences." Nowadays, he went on to say, "if one needed to acquire the learning of the likes of this excellent spiritual friend, even if one spent several hundred thousand coins, it would be difficult for such a scholar to appear. Alas, such a loss, such a loss."^{89a} Amazingly versatile and profoundly human, this brilliant Tibetan, notes Dhondup, had been "a man of the people, humble in his needs, having no ambition for himself"; and though "perhaps politically naïve," he had been "totally sincere in his love for his country and, if only there had been ears to listen, a man most urgently needed."⁹⁰

Yet, this fervent Tibetan nationalist and socialist reformer, born generations ahead of his time and taken hostage by his mostly unappreciative society, was lost to an indifferent Tibetan nation, brought down, in the end, by "the egoism" of her aristocracy, by "the imposing religious edifice" of her Buddhist Church, and by the "blind resistance" of her Government.⁹¹ Not long following the untimely death of Gedun Chopel, a few Tibetans had approached Pandit Rahul Sankrityayana at Kalimpong one day with the intent of claiming from him some of the Amdo scholar's writings which the Pandit possessed. The enraged Rahul shouted back his rejection of their claims, declaring: "You will not have his books! You will never see another man as he in the next thousand years, and you have destroyed him!"⁹²

It is not at all surprising to learn, then, that even before the end of the twentieth century this illustrious Tibetan's Amdo birthplace had already become a center of pilgrimage and that according to Kimura writing in 1989 "he is remembered today as a saint by many Tibetans, both among those remaining in Tibet and those in exile."⁹³ Moreover, there is one other evidence of the high esteem with which Tibetans continue to hold Gedun Chopel which can be mentioned. Tibetan scholar Samten Karmay tells of an experience he had in Lhasa in 1991 when on a visit there. He had wanted to purchase a copy of the learned Amdowa's three-volume set of writings which had only been published posthumously for the first time the year before. He was told, however, that all copies had been sold out within three days of publication. "I felt much encouraged," remarked Karmay, "by the continuing popularity of this great author."⁹⁴



But Tharchin Babu was to have two other fascinating visitors from Tibet show up unexpectedly on his doorstep: and again the link between visitor and visited was the *Tibet Mirror*—although as will shortly be learned, neither the Babu nor his paper was apparently the catalyst that prompted these visitors to journey to India in the first place. In fact, when all now-known factual information surrounding both their preceding time at Lhasa and their subsequent journey to the Subcontinent is brought together into a coherent chronological account, one must conclude that their encounter with the newspaper editor turned out to be merely an afterthought triggered by the circumstances of the moment. Nevertheless, in an interview which he gave just a few months before his death, the retired news publisher dwelt at some length on these two travelers and their visit. In 1944,^{*95} began Tharchin,

I had two visitors from [eastern] Kham: Bawa Phuntsog Wangyal [b. 1922] and his friend Ngawang Kalsang [b. 1913]. They said they came across a copy of the *Tibet Mirror* and heard a lot about me in Lhasa. So they came to see me. They were both educated in China and were the most modern-minded Tibetans I met in those days. They did not share my religious convictions, and though they did not say in so many words, they were Communist in their thinking.^{†96}

As a matter of fact, Phuntsog Wangyal had joined the Communist Party by way of the Kuomintang (Nationalist) Party during the years of his higher education in China. Having in 1935 left his East Khampa hometown of Batang (that was then and still is a part of China's Szechuan Province) to pursue higher studies at the Kuomintang capital of Nanking, Phunwang—as he was affectionately known by his family and friends—diligently imbibed

* Tharchin's memory erred when he had stated that their visit with him had occurred in 1946. From internal evidence contained in the interview itself, and as corroborated by two other writings that are cited elsewhere in the present discussion—one by Hisao Kimura, the other by T. N. Takla—it can be stated without any doubt that the visit with the Babu did indeed take place in 1944. Furthermore, putting together several scattered statements made by one of these two visitors, Phuntsog Wangyal, in his recently published political autobiography, it becomes clear that the time in India and visit with Gergan Tharchin by these two men could not possibly have occurred in 1946 but had occurred within the time-frame late 1943 to late 1944. See Phuntsog Wangyal's personal account in M. C. Goldstein et al., eds., *A Tibetan Revolutionary* (Berkeley, 2004), 70, 78. photo and caption on 81, 83, 86-7, 88, 168 (hereinafter cited as Phuntsog). Though Phuntsog Wangyal is inconsistent on dating from page to page, when all pertinent pages are placed together, and alongside Takla's Kimura, it is certain that the year of the visit with Tharchin was not 1946, nor even 1943 (very late 1943 being the time of travel from Lhasa into India via Sikkim—cf. Heather Stoddard, *Le mendiant de l'Amdo*, 91), but 1944.

† When but twenty years old, Phuntsog—already steeped in Marxism/Leninism/Communism—had been asked by a Lhasa aristocrat somewhat sympathetic to this young Khampa's reformist ideas for Tibet if he were at all religious. Reported Phuntsog much later: "I answered him honestly that, though I did not practice religion, I had not turned against it either. When I studied Communism, I had not really paid much attention to Marx's ideas about religion. My friends and I concentrated on questions of nationality, equality and democracy. I saw no contradiction between Communism as I understood it then and religion." Phuntsog, 70.

the contents of leftist newspapers and also read the Marxist works of V. I. Lenin. Many decades later, in fact, he would confide to a journalist what he had learned from his reading of the Russian Communist: "Lenin wrote that in conflict between nationalities, the larger is always the aggressor" but "that individual nationalities should have the right to their own identity and freedom." He therefore remarked in overly-optimistic fashion, "I saw that Lenin's writings could save Tibet."⁹⁷

Having now secretly become a member of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP), young Phuntsog was soon dispatching letters to Soviet Russia's dictator Josef Stalin (whose articles and books he had also read) and the Chinese revolutionary Mao Tse-tung, in which he boldly requested support in taking Communism to his homeland, even though he was still officially a member of the Kuomintang (KMT) Party of Chiang Kai-shek. Moreover, his future close friend, Ngawang Kalsang—"smart," and knowing Tibetan, Chinese and some English—joined the CCP at the same time young Phuntsog did. And in 1939 Phuntsog and his friends even founded a secret Tibetan Communist party of their own at Chungking. This they had done within the student body of the KMT's Mongolian and Tibetan Affairs Commission school known as the Central Political Institute where they had enrolled as students back in 1935 at the time when the school had still been located at Nanking before it was shifted westward to Chiang's wartime capital of Chungking.⁹⁸

This secretly established party had been called the Tibetan Communist Revolutionary Group, but it had also had associated with it a more public "peripheral organization," the Student Association of Tibetan Youth, which Phunwang had also founded. The Communist Group's five original members, including Phuntsog and Ngawang, had "pledged," in the words of the former, that "for the rest of our lives we would work together for socialist causes and especially for issues specifically related to questions of Tibetan nationality and self-rule," and that the main purpose of the Group was "to bring democracy and revolution to Kham and Tibet" against the Chinese Nationalists and those in Tibet opposed to needful change. And to this end, Phuntsog and Ngawang had even gone to the Soviet Embassy in Chungking to seek help for their party's socialist revolutionary efforts in Kham; but before that could happen, recalled Phuntsog Wangyal, they had first wished "to get to Moscow to study and train." He had even submitted a report, requested by the Embassy for forwarding to Moscow, in which among other things he had described the situation in Kham and his hopes for establishing a guerrilla base there after receiving training at Moscow, he having already studied guerrilla warfare from various books whose tactics learned, he thought, "would be perfect for use in Kham and Tibet." Phuntsog and his party comrades had even translated the *Internationale* and the CCP's chief songs into Tibetan.⁹⁹

But upon being expelled in 1940 from the Political Institute for "indiscipline" stemming from his clandestine activities deemed inimical to the Nationalist Party, Phunwang, together with his friend, returned to Kham by early 1942, having received no word from Moscow to his proposal for training. Writes the journalist, Matt Forney, of this period in Phuntsog's young career, the Tibetan progressive had, however, received "vague orders from China's Communist leaders to foment revolution." Presumably these orders calling for revolution were aimed first against the Nationalists, whose appointed provincial governor-warlords like Mapufang in Chinghai and Liu Wen-hui in Szechuan held nearly total unchallenged

sway throughout the entire region of West China. It was a region whose considerable territory included the heretofore Tibetan-controlled and still largely Tibetan-populated areas of Amdo and eastern Kham, both having been absorbed into the Chinese empire several centuries earlier by Manchu intervention of one sort or another (see two chapters hence for the details). But in attempting to carry out these “vague orders” of the Red Chinese, Phuntsog and his companions eventually realized that from the perspective of both security considerations and personal circumstances, it was best to relocate themselves to Lhasa—to where by the summer of 1943 Phunwang would go, followed a few months later by Ngawang. From here, they thought, it might be possible someday for the two of them to make their way to the USSR by going first to India.¹⁰⁰

Here in Lhasa these two now arranged for the importation of crate-loads of selected Chinese-language editions of Lenin’s works from a publishing house in Moscow,* and secretly began to recruit disciples in the cause of promoting Tibetan social and political reform that would transform the Tibetan nation at all levels. Indeed, well before his arrival at the Tibetan capital, Phunwang had become convinced that he must come to Lhasa and, in his own words, “try to influence the leaders of the Tibetan government, because if things were going to change, it would have to begin at Lhasa.”¹⁰¹

Now one of these disciples, who would become Phuntsog Wangyal’s first ally among the Lhasa aristocrats, was Tomjor Wangchuk, otherwise known as Tendong Sey (“son of the Tendong family”), the same family, incidentally, that just a few years hence would come to the aid of another social reformer, Gedun Chopel, as was narrated earlier in the present chapter. Only a year older than Phuntsog, Tendong took to the Khampa intellectual’s ideas quite seriously from the outset, grasping hold of the key ones quickly. “He had democratic and reformist instincts,” recalled Wangyal, “and told us right away that there were a lot of things he deplored about the old Tibetan system.”

Meeting secretly “often” at Tendong Sey’s house, the inner circle of Phuntsog’s “revolutionary organization” at Lhasa, whose public name was the Tibetan People’s Unified Alliance but whose name among its inner circle was the Tibetan Snowland Communist Revolutionary Association, would converse “late into the night about Tibetan society and the country’s future,” talking “frankly [and] holding nothing back.” Although Tendong was living the privileged life, observed Phuntsog long afterwards, this Lhasa aristocrat had no difficulty believing the accounts the Khampa reformers shared with him about the hard lives of the ordinary Tibetans nor accepting that they suffered under terrible oppression. He also acknowledged that there was great danger to Tibet from without and within: outwardly from the British and Nationalist Chinese, both of whom were just “waiting for a chance to increase their presence, power and influence”; inside, because Tibet lacked unity, there being no sense of a common Tibetan people since the Khampas and Amdowas distrusted

* These he would subsequently bury for safekeeping in the ground of his father’s vegetable garden back in eastern Kham, from whence some seven years later, following his expulsion from the Tibetan capital, he would unearth them and carry them back with him in triumph to Lhasa, now intent upon translating them into Tibetan. See Matt Forney, “Lunatic Notions?” *Far Eastern Economic Review* (19 Dec. 1996):51, and Heather Stoddard, “Tibetan Publications and National Identity,” in Barnett and Akiner, eds., *Resistance and Reform in Tibet*, 130.

the Tibetan government at Lhasa that in turn mistrusted the Panchen Lama's officials. On all these points there was a meeting of minds between this young aristocrat and Phuntsog Wangyal. In fact, the two became very close friends.

Now because Tendong and his Khampa guest genuinely thought very much alike in many ways, the latter felt it safe to lay before this younger generation Lhasa nobleman a more specific three-part plan of action for Tibet: (1) the reform of the current Tibetan government that called for a more diverse representation of all the Tibetan people than merely the aristocrats and of all regions of Tibet than presently Ü Province where Lhasa lay. Social and economic polity must also be reformed, it was made clear, thus ending high taxation and "the requirement of free corvée labor." (2) Guerilla warfare in eastern Kham and the military strategy which had been devised to achieve this for the purpose of ridding the area of the oppressive Nationalists. And (3) the establishment of a new government: first in Batang, next in all of Kham, and finally the merging of the new Kham with Tibet proper now reformed, thus "creating a single Tibet ready to join the modern world."

But without economic and military support from the current Tibetan government, explained this young Khampa revolutionary to Tendong, nothing could be accomplished. Such support would specifically have to include some 500 British rifles and the bullets to go with them, also some wireless equipment, as well as economic aid. And hence, an approach had to be made to the Government—to none other than the ruling *Kashag* or Cabinet of Ministers. Recognizing the overwhelming conservative makeup of the *Kashag* and other ministers in the current Government and who were quite comfortable with the present governmental system and therefore not likely to be receptive to any appeal for reform, the inner circle of Phuntsog Wangyal's newly constituted Lhasan revolutionary organization, including Tendong Sey, opted to approach Surkhang Shape, the elder son of Tibet's Foreign Minister at that time, Surkhang Dzasa, as the best choice to whom to impart their concerns. This choice, if in fact the reformers had any other viable approachable alternative, which is doubtful, would prove in the end, unfortunately, to have been an extremely bad one on many counts. This, however, they could not have anticipated.

Young (just thirty-two years old), a Shape for only two years thus far, "educated and more aware than his colleagues of what the outside world was like," Surkhang, it was hoped, just might be open to their ideas as shared with him by their spokesman Phuntsog Wangyal both verbally and in writing (a summary petition, personally submitted by Phuntsog and Ngawang jointly, was entitled simply, "To the *Kashag*"). In their first meeting together at the Shape's home, Surkhang appeared most accommodating, even being moved to tears at one point after listening to Phunwang sing the lyrics to one of his group's revolutionary songs (which called on Tibetans to unite and rise up against the Chinese) while Ngawang accompanied him on the Surkhang home's organ!* All points which these reform-minded

* Both these men were quite musically inclined. Back in their Khampa home village of Batang, American missionaries had established both a school and orphanage, and they had translated into Tibetan many Christian hymns and songs. Ngawang himself had stayed at the missionary orphanage a number of years and had learned in its school many of these songs and hymns by heart, and because he was to become one of Phuntsog's closest friends, Phunwang himself learned them from Ngawang. Both had also learned to play the organ. Phuntsog would even go on to teach music in a school at Derge in Kham in 1941 and later on in the Chinese government

Khampas had shared with Tendong they now reiterated to Surkhang Shape, even acknowledging to him their recognition of the possibility that the Tibetan government “might be nervous about giving 500 rifles to relative strangers who were so young” and therefore declaring, reported Phuntsog later, that “we were willing to have our parents brought to Lhasa to serve as hostages to ensure we kept our word”! But they also warned that “if things continued as they were, Tibet would be the cause of its own destruction,” not “needing the British or the Nationalist Chinese or anyone else” to bring Tibet down but that “we would do it ourselves.” Appealing to Surkhang’s sense of national pride, these two dedicated nationalists from the periphery of the country reminded him that “Tibet had been a powerful and respected nation in the time of King Songtsan Gampo ... We could be so again, ... but only if we changed our ways.”

After three hours of nearly non-stop talking, Surkhang reacted by saying, “Your thoughts about the need for reform in Tibet are very interesting. I agree with much of what you say. But I will have to explore it with the other members.” Giving him their written statement, the two Khampas departed, only to have a second meeting a few days later, at which the Shape appeared somewhat cooler though still quite cordial. Talks ranged over much of what had been discussed during the first conversation. Surkhang, however, acknowledged that he could not make things happen by himself and that because the majority of ministers were very conservative, it would be impossible to respond to the reformers’ petition so quickly. It was important, he said, to place all this within the context of the World War that was then raging everywhere; for if Germany and Japan were victors, he observed, Britain would have to withdraw from India (thus removing one external danger to Tibet) and the greatest threat—from China—would automatically be resolved as well, since distant Japan, a Buddhist nation, would leave Tibet alone.

Phuntsog Wangyal, believing strongly as he did that on the contrary the Allies would win, could not convince Surkhang of his point of view on the War’s outcome; and so, the Shape declared again that the Kashag wished to await the final outcome of the worldwide conflict. The third and final meeting proved to have the same conclusion: the Cabinet would have to think more about it, and the petitioners for reform would have to wait. Frustrated, the growing circle of leftists at Lhasa privately decided among themselves to return to an earlier plan of Phunwang’s of the two Khampa comrades going to India to learn if the Communist Party there could help in getting them to the Soviet Union for training and the securing of military and economic assistance from the Communists there in support of their Kham revolutionary cause. And so to India went both Phuntsog and Ngawang, using the latter’s trading business with its branch stores in Kalimpong and Calcutta as a cover, since the Communist Party of India (CPI) was an illegal organization in British India at the time and hence any association with the Party could be dangerous for these two Tibetans.¹⁰²

By far the more fascinating of these two men was Phuntsog Wangyal, described by Forney as “one of modern Tibet’s most extraordinary figures.”¹⁰³ The Tibetan community is indebted to Tharchin’s Japanese friend and fellow intelligence agent for the British Government of India, Hisao Kimura, for providing a most revealing portrait of this young Tibetan revolutionary whom he had come to know most intimately on nearly a daily basis

school which had been established at Lhasa during the 1940s. In addition, he would also write many revolutionary songs. See Phuntsog, 8-9, 31, 48, 75-6, 87-8, 232, 251-2.

over a period of well over a year in Lhasa before both were deported from Tibet in the early summer of 1949. In his published memoirs of the period Kimura—whose year of birth was the same as Phunwang's—observed that “even at first glance it was easy to imagine this tall, good-looking and strongly built young man in command of Khampa nationalists. He had an easy and friendly manner, and immediately invited me to dinner.” Kimura then described Phuntsog's uncle who had been on the liaison staff of the National Defense Ministry of China's Kuomintang government. Though an able man, he having graduated near the top of his class at China's famed Paoting Military Academy, the uncle's career had been held back because he was Tibetan and not Han (ethnic Chinese). Considering the fate of the KMT at the hands of the eventually victorious Communists, noted Kimura, it “was probably a good thing”; nevertheless, Phuntsog's uncle had remained bitter about his aborted career. Indeed, “it was this bitterness,” added Kimura, which “explained the apparent contradiction of a Kuomintang officer harboring his rebel nephew under his roof.”

In continuing with his pen portrait of this rebel nephew and his unusual family from West China's ethnic Tibetan area of Kham, Tharchin's Japanese friend described in some detail Phuntsog Wangyal's personal history but more importantly his intellectual development, all of which is helpful in better understanding what motivated him and his Khampa companion to seek out the assistance of the Babu in far-off Kalimpong. And though some of what the ex-Japanese spy related regarding Phunwang is more relevant to what happened after the two men's visit with Tharchin in 1944, the reader is given to see clearly the place which these and other young Tibetan intellectuals occupied within the context of the political, military and social forces that were then at play in China and Tibet. Continuing, then, with his riveting description of Phuntsog Wangyal and his Batang family from eastern Kham, Kimura writes:

This was the first family from Batang I had met, and I found them a little different from most Tibetans. Batang lies between Chamdo and Tatsienlu [the latter place also known later as Dartsendo and Kanting], has a very distinctive dialect, and a history of rebellion. In spite of their rebellious nature, each member of the family had a Chinese as well as a Tibetan name, and all were bilingual.... Phuntsog Wangyal and I quickly formed a close friendship, and through him I got to know the rest of the family, as well as the Batang community [in Lhasa] whose dialect was so different from even the usual Khampa speech. We were to remain friends ... until we were both deported from Tibet.

We arranged to meet every morning in a nearby park at 7 a.m. and as our friendship grew our conversation began to range over many topics here where we could easily tell if we were being watched. Once he had heard of my experience in Kham [as a spy the previous year in the pay of the British whose mission had been secretly arranged personally by Gergan Tharchin himself], he was eager to tell me of his analysis of what he called the contradictions of Tibet's feudal society.... My friend found attractive [my ideas of how the Japanese reform movement of 1867 known as the Meiji Restoration] could be useful in showing Tibet how to transform its government from a feudal to a modern parliamentary system, with the Dalai Lama in the place of the Meiji Emperor.... Eventually our discussions led to a draft constitution for Tibet based on the Japanese constitution of 1889. As I later discovered, however, this was to him only a step along the way. He was a sincere and dedicated Marxist-Leninist who realized that a revolution could not be pushed too fast, but had to be approached step by step.

While a few influential noblemen in Lhasa, particularly the younger generation, were liberally inclined and supported Phuntsog Wangyal's plans for changing Tibet's medieval politics, they unfortunately did little more than whisper among themselves. Some may have looked at him as realistic and progressive, but others criticized him as romantically idealistic and radical. Being an outspoken reformer had its dangers in the Lhasa of the late 1940s, even if one were fairly moderate. The sad fate of Gedun Chopel ... made this all too obvious ...

That Phuntsog Wangyal was able to avoid a similar fate was quite remarkable, for he made no effort to hide his own views and had on several occasions submitted his reform plans to ... the Tibetan Cabinet.... But while the Tibetan government thought of Phuntsog Wangyal as subversive, it is doubtful if they realized that he was a dedicated Marxist and a member of the Chinese Communist Party, or nothing could have saved him [note: not until late 1948/early '49 did the Cabinet learn that he was definitely a Communist and head of the Tibetan Communist Party; this, according to Phuntsog Wangyal himself—present author].... The Chinese Communist Party attracted many young people from minority groups at the time, because Article 14 of their 1931 Constitution [actually, 1932, to be accurate] gave minority nationalities the rights of both independence and secession: rights that were never actually allowed after 1949 [again, to be most accurate, after 1951].

... But although he was an active Party member, Phuntsog Wangyal managed to be not only anti-feudal—but in the Tibetan context—anti-Chinese: his object was the freedom and happiness of the Tibetan people under an independent socialist government in which the Dalai Lama would remain as spiritual leader, and perhaps for a time as constitutional monarch. (It is worth noting that ... the early Tibetan Communists ... were nationalists first and communists second ...) ¹⁰⁴

Now it was these very aspirations—and most certainly not Phuntsog Wangyal's Communist proclivities—which had so drawn Gergan Tharchin to this youthful Tibetan intellectual and his like-minded compatriot, Ngawang Kalsang. For both they and the Babu longed for essentially the same things for Tibet but for vastly different reasons. *Their* aims and ultimate objectives were political and social in nature—necessary liberating reforms which would lead to a happy and peaceful life free from the fear of dominant Chinese influence or worse: political aggrandizement and military occupation of Tibet by the Nationalists. On the other hand, the *Babu's* ultimate objectives were religious in nature. Though he longed for many of these same salutary reforms for Tibet—without which all three believed she could never emerge as a unified and modern self-governing nation able to defend herself against China—Tharchin envisaged these developments as the means whereby the long-closed “Roof of the World” would at last be opened freely and widely to the Christian gospel and the evangelization of its people who from his perspective had been held in the grip of spiritual darkness for more than a millennium. It was therefore not difficult at all for Babu Tharchin to lend a ready ear to what these two rebels from the Sino-Tibetan border region had to tell him. Needless to say, he greatly admired them for their courage, zeal and intellectualism. Attracted by their youthful nationalist idealism though not in the least by what he suspected to be their Communist ideology, the Babu was more than willing to listen with an open mind as they sat with him for the first time at his home in mid-1944 and commenced pouring out their concerns for their beloved country. In what proved to be but the first of many conversations held among these three for several months thereafter, these

two visitors had also come to his doorstep armed with forebodings and warnings not only for Tibet but for the British as well.

Just here, though, the reader needs to be apprised of one curious facet to this interesting episode in the lives of these three men. As was intimated at the very outset of this narrative about these two Khampa revolutionaries, it is believed that the latter, upon first arriving in India, had not originally had on their minds making any approach whatever to Gergan Tharchin for assistance. On the contrary, it was apparently merely an afterthought prompted by the circumstances in which they would later find themselves during their lengthy sojourn on the Subcontinent. Furthermore, when one investigates more thoroughly the chronology and content of their various movements and activities in India, one makes a puzzling discovery. One learns that the agenda expressed by these men to Tharchin was quite different between their initial approach made to the Babu (and revealed only by the Babu himself) and their final approach to him shortly before their departure back to Lhasa (as revealed solely by Phuntsog Wangyal). Even more puzzling if not ironic, however, is the fact that the agendas of their two approaches to Tharchin—different from each other in themselves—were equally at odds with the original agenda and approach pursued which had brought them to India initially! Even so, the result in all three instances of approach for securing help was precisely the same: the two Communists from Batang had to return to Tibet emptyhanded. Here, then, is what happened.

Phuntsog Wangyal and his companion Ngawang Kalsang arrived at Kalimpong from Lhasa, it would appear, sometime in March of 1944. Having to search out carefully and secretly who might be members of the Kalimpong cell of the outlawed Communist Party of India, the two spent an entire month on this quest till finally making the acquaintance of a few of them. To these CPI members they shared their desire to seek support from the USSR for their planned armed revolution in the Kham/Amdo area along the Sino-Tibetan border against the oppressing Chinese warlords and the KMT, and their hope that the CPI would aid them somehow in reaching the Soviet Union from India. They were told some two weeks later that Phunwang should go disguised to Calcutta where the CPI's Central Committee would talk with him.

With Ngawang remaining in Kalimpong and staying in the home of the wealthy Khampa trader Sandutsang, Phuntsog traveled down to Calcutta, where he first consulted with the leader of that city's wing of the CPI, Jyoti Basu (who still as a Communist would later become Independent India's longest ruling Chief Minister—that of West Bengal). To Basu the Tibetan explained his goals of going to Soviet Russia for study and training and for hopefully securing Soviet military support for commencing "guerrilla activities in the ethnic Tibetan area east of the Driчу [Upper Yangtze] River" (the boundary between Tibet proper and the Chinese-controlled ethnic Tibetan areas of eastern Kham and Amdo). Hoping that the Central Committee of the CPI at Bombay would be able to take him to what is now northern Pakistan from whence he could cross over into the Tadjik S.S.R. (Tajikistan today), Phunwang was told by Basu to wait for word from Bombay. A month later a Central Committee representative finally came to see him, but "the news wasn't good," reported Phuntsog Wangyal long afterwards. Deeming the Tibetan's request too dangerous at this time because of the heavily concentrated British troop presence in the Northwest India

border area, the Committee's view was that the Tibetan Communist should return to his homeland for the time being and later they would try to help him get to Russia.

Returning to Kalimpong highly disappointed, Phuntsog shared "the bad news" with Ngawang Kalsang, who was left equally disappointed. And no matter in how positive a light these two tried to put things, they had to admit that they had come up emptyhanded. "We decided," wrote Phuntsog later, "that we should go back to Lhasa. It was the end of 1944 ..." Thus did Phunwang wax philosophical when long afterwards recounting their frustrating situation. Yet in his personal narrative of these events in India, he has perpetrated a significant omission. For this same historical narrative, which Phuntsog's editors would publish in 2004, just does not adequately account for how these two had occupied themselves during the entire eight or so months of their sojourn in India. At most, his narrative only accounts for something like three months, it being totally silent about the remaining period. As far as can be determined from the available sources, only what is to be found in the Tharchin and Kimura published works cited earlier as well as what is revealed in an autobiographical account of Himalayan travels by the Ladakhi Moslem trader A. W. Radhu can fill in this significant gap of time that is otherwise unaccounted for. What therefore follows is an outline of what further activities engaged the attention of these two Tibetan Communist revolutionaries during their lengthy stay on the Subcontinent.*¹⁰⁵

* One or two research scholars on Tibet have put forward a theory to explain this disparity in accounts. It has to do, they say, with the manner in which Phuntsog Wangyal's personal narrative was put together and published in book form by his editors. They point out that in the light of what is said in the book's introductory pages, it would appear Phuntsog did not himself review the English text as finally set forth by the editors (it would have had to be translated back into Tibetan or Chinese for this to have occurred). And thus, Phunwang lacked the opportunity to make more accurate and complete an autobiographical narrative which under the circumstances he had not carefully constructed. This explanation, though perhaps relevant to other possible instances of disparate accounts, the present writer cannot agree with when applied to the overall story of Phuntsog's India experience. But first, it may be helpful to cite what the chief editor of the book under discussion here has written describing how the volume came into being.

In the book's preface Melvyn Goldstein made clear that he and two other scholars had collaborated together in "converting" into the Tibetan revolutionary's published autobiography "over one hundred hours of disjointed taped interviews and re-interviews" which he had himself conducted with Phuntsog Wangyal over a ten-year period. And because Phunwang had employed the first person throughout these many interviews, "we decided," explained Goldstein, "to do the same and, in effect, let him tell his own story." And though "where possible," the editor added, "every effort has been made to ensure historical accuracy," there were "many details that could not be independently corroborated." But he also acknowledged that some of Phunwang's "recollections differ from other accounts."

The present author would point out here that a serious instance with respect to this latter acknowledgment by Goldstein is the very omission just now referenced in the Text above and which is discussed at some length in the Text pages to follow. This omission constitutes such a significant and dramatic one that it is most difficult for the present writer to believe that it was not deliberate on Phunwang's part. It should be noted that Phunwang had been quite thorough and detailed in narrating, so many decades later, the other and less dramatic facets of his relationship with Gergan Tharchin. It is therefore inconceivable that the Tibetan revolutionary could have forgotten such an unusual and memorable event as is reported in other reliable accounts about his stay in Kalimpong unless there was in fact an ulterior motive for conveniently failing to recollect it.

But it must also be observed that for the same reason (the extraordinary character of the deleted episode in question), it becomes equally difficult to believe that either accidentally or consciously the editors would themselves have removed such a remarkable incident from Phuntsog's account of his India experience had it been included, after all, in one of his taped interviews with Goldstein. Other details or incidents from Phunwang's lengthy taped narrative might have indeed been deleted by these editors due to their admittedly

In the same end-of-life interview quoted from earlier, the retired Tibetan newspaper publisher explained the specific purpose of his two guests' unusual visit with him. This visit had to have occurred almost immediately after Phunwang returned to Kalimpong from his failure at Calcutta; which is to say, most likely sometime in June of 1944. These two visitors had first gone to Lhasa, Tharchin had reported them as having said, "to warn the Tibetan government that unless they brought changes in Tibet, the country would succumb to a Chinese invasion after the civil war" that had been raging off and on in China since the late 1920s.¹⁰⁶ "They predicted that the Communists would win the civil war, and they [the Red Chinese] were already preparing for the 'liberation' of Tibet" even at that early date. Tharchin continued with what his two visitors had told him: "The only way out as far as they could see," these two concerned Tibetans had declared to authorities at Lhasa, "was to get British military aid and prepare for defense." Especially were they anxious to secure outside support for Phuntsog's insurrection campaign in the ethnic Tibetan Kham/Amdo region of China's Szechuan and Chinghai Provinces against the threat of the "larger nationality aggressor," the Chinese, as Lenin, in Phunwang's thinking, would doubtless have framed the issue, and regardless if those Chinese constituted the "old" (Kuomintang) or "new" (Communist) China.† But in their report to Tharchin of their attempts at the Tibetan capital to find a receptive ear, the two had to acknowledge ruefully that "they were ignored in Lhasa," and this because "they were nobodies. They had no names, and they had no titles." And hence, upon learning about Tharchin and his unique position as editor and publisher of the highly respected and progressive-minded Tibetan newspaper, as well as having heard, no doubt, about his friendship with key British political figures, they had come to Kalimpong, the publisher was given to understand by these two visitors, "with the hope that," with his help, "they could directly approach the British government in India."¹⁰⁷

Before proceeding further with the newspaper publisher's narration of these events, several observations need to be interposed here. First, nowhere in Phuntsog Wangyal's political autobiography published in 2004 does he claim to have proposed to any of the Tibetan officials at Lhasa—those like Tendong Sey or Surkhang Shape or even his extremely close aristocrat friend, Yuthok, the Tibetan Governor-General of Chamdo whom he had

less-than- perfect editorial undertaking, but it is highly unlikely that *this* dramatic episode would have received such treatment.

Accordingly, if all the foregoing be true, the present writer is left with the inescapable conclusion that the only reasonable explanation to account for this glaring omission is that it was intentionally left out by Phunwang during his interviews with Goldstein. And that, therefore, even had Phuntsog Wangyal been *given* the opportunity to review his personal memoirs before their publication, logic would dictate that he would not have corrected the omission anyway. In the Text pages to follow, the present author sets forth the reasons why he believes that the Tibetan revolutionary felt it necessary to omit this episode.

† That this was in fact their stated view in their frequent conversations with Tharchin is further evidenced by what the newspaper publisher had long afterwards reported in the June 1958 issue of the *Tibet Mirror*. In the course of writing an article praising these two men as Tibetan nationalists after learning that Phuntsog Wangyal was then being detained against his will by Mao at Beijing, the Babu reminisced in part about their 1944 visit with him: "The two friends, Ngawang Kesang [Kalsang] and Phunwang, ... talked a lot to me about opposing the old and new Chinese governments for the purpose of achieving Tibetans' independence. I never forgot those discussions, but at that time I didn't know that [they] were spies of the Reds...." Quoted in Phuntsog, 232-3.

gotten to know very well when earlier in Kham—that the *British* be sought out for assistance against the Chinese, and especially not against the *Communist* Chinese. After all, he idolized Mao,¹⁰⁸ and continually sang the praises of the CCP's then-stated liberal policy towards ethnic nationalities like the Tibetans that were to be included within any future Communist China.¹⁰⁹ Such reporting by the Babu, whose honesty and careful narration of events it is difficult to question, must therefore leave the reader somewhat confused and perhaps even a little suspicious concerning the motives of Gergan Tharchin's two visitors, but perhaps, further, even more suspicious concerning the motive behind Phuntsog Wangyal's total silence in the same autobiographical account about this unusual episode involving the British.

Second, it may be recalled that in speaking with Tendong Sey, Phunwang was encouraged to learn that this Lhasa aristocrat official had agreed with him that “the great danger from without” for Tibet were the British on the one hand and the *Nationalist* Chinese on the other, and that what he wanted Tendong to see was “a [salutary] connection between *Communist* ideas and Tibetan independence [from the Nationalists]” (emphasis added).¹¹⁰ Therefore, any proposal for an approach towards the *British* and against the *Communists* in China—whether reported by Tharchin to have been made by these two up at Lhasa or down at Kalimpong—contradicts everything which is known about these two *Communist* confreres in revolution as of this moment in their personal histories. Such a *volte-face* as exhibited by Phuntsog and Ngawang in their contact with Babu Tharchin is quite stunning, to say the least. Nevertheless, once again, because it has been reported by the Babu, and in such detail (see further below), the substance of this aspect of Gergan Tharchin's report cannot be denied.

Third, what these two visitors were saying to Tharchin down in India on how they had heard much while at Lhasa about the Indo-Tibetan publisher and about his newspaper was undoubtedly all true, but it was highly disingenuous on their part to have conveyed the impression to their Kalimpong host, as asserted by the Babu himself, that it was because they “had come across a copy of the *Tibet Mirror* and heard a lot about me in Lhasa” which had prompted them to come down to India to see him and seek out his help with the British. The fact that immediately upon their arrival in India these two had sought to do what Phunwang in his recently published autobiography has asserted they came to do in India—at both Kalimpong and subsequently Calcutta—belies what they later claimed to Tharchin was their primary motivation for coming to India. Far from having wanted to seek out British military assistance through the good offices of the anti-Communist Tharchin, these two Communists had traveled to India, first and foremost, for the express purpose of obtaining help from the Indian Communist Party in getting them to Moscow and hopefully securing Soviet military assistance for their planned armed rebellion east of the river Driчу. But, of course, in their several-months' interaction with Babu Tharchin thereafter, and no matter how reformist and progressive in his thinking on Tibet they had found him to be, they had no intention of divulging to him their Communist identity or the purpose for Phuntsog Wangyal's secret journey in disguise down to Calcutta a month or so earlier, a journey that was made in company with the leader of the Kalimpong cell of the outlawed CPI. On the contrary, acknowledged Wangyal in his political memoirs, “we concealed [from Tharchin] our relationship with the Communist Party ...”¹¹¹ And hence, they pretended, for whatever

reason, to pass themselves off to the politically liberal-minded and forward-looking newspaper publisher as two like-minded Tibetan patriots who were only in search of assistance in support of their reformist and revolutionary agenda for Tibet. Something had apparently occurred to cause these two to change their thinking and strategy, at least for the near term, as it related to the British and the Chinese Communists.

Had Tharchin known, of course, that Phuntsog and Ngawang had not in the least urged the Lhasa government to seek *British* military assistance and *British* support for their reformist program in Tibet, he would not have subsequently endeavored to aid them—at least not to the extent that he did. Certain it is that though he might publicize in his newspaper their Kalimpong visit and their progressive views on Tibet's future, it is doubtful he would have taken them to see the British Political Officer for Tibetan affairs. It would have made little sense. On the other hand, it *would* have made a great deal of sense for Tharchin to have reported the matter to another British authority no matter what they had said to the Lhasa government (see below). But because he was sympathetic to the reformist ideas which the two Khampas espoused, because also he had no reason at this early period to disbelieve them when they told him they had invoked the idea of British aid in their contacts with the Lhasa government, and because further they had raised the specter of a sure victory in China by the anti-religious Communists whose leaders, they added, were already preparing to liberate Tibet by armed invasion once they defeated the Nationalists, the Babu, always concerned about any and all socio-political events and their possible impact upon the religio-spiritual situation in the land of his ethnic countrymen, was quite naturally willing to render whatever assistance he could. And although Tharchin truly suspected that his Khampa visitors might be Communists, he was apparently convinced as to their sincerity and the credibility of the substance of their report on the situation in both China and Tibet, for in the interview earlier referenced he laid out further the following detailed information on what he next did for them:

I took them to Gangtok to see the then Political Officer, Sir Basil Gould. Phuntsog Wangyal and his friend prepared a twelve-page memorandum in Chinese [*sic*: but probably this should have read: English, since both men, as assisted by Tharchin's better command of English, already knew that language well enough for this literary purpose; moreover, the Babu did not know Chinese, and it is doubtful that Gould did, either] (a) pointing out the grave threat from China to Tibet which would almost automatically threaten the security of India; (b) outlining some measure of reforms which they felt necessary if Tibet were to survive; and (c) spelling out a request of arms from the British government to defend Tibet from the imminent Chinese invasion and British support for their reforms. Sir Basil told them he would forward their memorandum to London. The translation of the memorandum in Tibetan was sent to the Tibetan government in Lhasa. I did the translation and the posting of it also.¹¹²

But again, as at Chungking, at Lhasa and at Calcutta, their warnings seemingly fell on deaf ears. No doubt the memorandum sent to London, once received, found its way into some Foreign Office file only to be forgotten or else dismissed as not worthy of any consideration—and perhaps for the very same reason the young Khampas had been rebuffed

earlier in Lhasa: they were nobodies. As a matter of fact, it would appear from the contents of subsequent correspondence to Tharchin from the Gangtok Residency that Sir Basil had received from London some such negative response as this. Nevertheless, it would seem that the Babu had not allowed the Political Officer to forget these two young Khampa Communists from Batang, who had lingered in Kalimpong for some little while (see below). Apparently, Tharchin—having perhaps gained additional information from his visitors in their further conversations together—had pressed Gould that he speak with Phuntsog and Ngawang about these sensitive matters once again; for in a handwritten personal letter from the British Residency dated 4 July 1944, Sir Basil made it quite clear to the Tibetan publisher that he wanted nothing more to do with them. “I do not think there is *anything* to be *gained*,” he wrote emphatically, “by my meeting the *young men*.” (Conceivably, Gould may have learned from Lhasa meanwhile that in their prior talks with Surkhang Shape these men had *not* invoked the idea of proposing British military aid and British support of Tibetan reforms, nor had predicted to the Shape an anticipated Communist victory over the Chinese Nationalists that would be a prelude to a Communist “liberation” of Tibet—all of which these two, it is today believed by the present writer, had falsely reported to Gergan Tharchin.) And just days later, in an official letter from the Residency dated 6 July 1944 and marked *Secret*, Sir Basil’s Secretary wrote:

My dear Mr. Tharchin,

Thanks for the information regarding the two Batang young men which you have submitted to the Political Officer in Sikkim. The Political Officer has greatly appreciated this, but as the matter is [of] a complicated nature, he prefers that you should not mix yourself any more in the matter.¹¹³

Complicated or not, the untiring advocate of Tibetan interests would not give up so easily when turned away by Political Officer Gould. For at some point in this entire episode Babu Tharchin was moved to approach his British superior in undercover activities: the Intelligence Chief for India’s Northeast Frontier Region, Eric Lambert (about whom much more will be said in a subsequent chapter). He would do this in his capacity as a faithful, enterprising secret intelligence agent for the British. As always, the Babu wished very much to keep that part of the British Intelligence community responsible for Tibet (which did not necessarily include Sir Basil) continually informed of any new important information which he became privy to having to do with Sino-Tibetan affairs. This aspect of Tharchin’s involvement with Phuntsog Wangyal and his friend is revealed in Hisao Kimura’s memoirs of the period cited earlier. Speaking retrospectively to Kimura in early 1948 about Phuntsog, whom the ex-Japanese agent was soon to visit in Lhasa at the suggestion of the Babu himself, Tharchin explained more fully what had occurred just a few years earlier with respect to this young Khampa’s politico-military activity against the Chinese along the Sino-Tibetan border area and the case he had made to the British in India through the good offices of the Tibetan publisher:

Someone else you might look up [in Lhasa] is ... Phuntsog Wangyal, a remarkable character. How he manages to survive at all is beyond me. The [Nationalist] Chinese

have a price on his head [or as Phuntsog would himself say later: "Because of my national and democratic revolutionary activities, I was placed on the wanted list of 'Communist bandits' by the central government in old China"] and the Tibetan government hates him. He actually had the courage to submit a proposal to the Cabinet outlining reforms in the government. But the only thing the conservatives fear and hate more than a reformer is the Chinese ... and so they protect him while at the same time they keep an eye on him.

[What Phuntsog did to the Chinese in 1946 was known as] the Deching [i.e., Dechen or Deqen] Incident.... It was an armed rebellion he led against [Nationalist] Chinese rule in an area called Zayul in southern Kham, along the Yunnan border. I know all about it because he came here in 1944 to ask me if there was any chance of getting British support for his group—the Autonomous League of Eastern Tibet [officially named, according to Phunwang its founder, as the Eastern Tibet People's Autonomous Alliance]. I presented his case to Eric Lambert, but had no luck. The war was still on and Britain and [Nationalist] China were allies. He went ahead anyway, and might have done better if the wartime capital hadn't been so nearby in Chungking.¹¹⁴

Yet if the British response to the two Khampas' appeal for help proved in both instances to be totally negative, a similar fate awaited them back in Lhasa. The two companions would arrive there in early 1945 "terribly disappointed," noted the publisher.¹¹⁵ But not before they had spent about six months working for the Kalimpong editor and his *Tibet Mirror*.¹¹⁶ And also not before they had made one final approach to the Babu for assistance, but along a different line altogether. It very much concerned his newspaper most directly and occurred just prior to the departure of these two Tibetans for their homeland. Over these six months while they lingered in Tharchin's hill station awaiting word from the British, whether from Basil Gould or Eric Lambert, the two visitors got to know the Babu very well. Here is how Phuntsog Wangyal described the developing relationship during this period that included a discussion about the Indo-Tibetan's famous newspaper:

It was the end of 1944, and ... we had an idea about returning to Lhasa that involved ... Tharchin Babu ... [and his] Tibetan-language newspaper—*The Tibetan Mirror* ... Ngawang and I hit it off with him immediately, and we quickly became good friends. We had some very happy times with him, talking politics and singing together. Tharchin was a devout Christian and had an organ in his house, so Ngawang Kesang [Kalsang] and he often sang popular Christian hymns in Tibetan while I accompanied them on the organ.

After deciding Tharchin had progressive views, we began to tell him a little bit about what we thought was wrong with the present Tibetan government and society and what kinds of changes ought to be made. It turned out that he shared a lot of our views, especially about the excesses of the traditional society. He was as critical as we were of the aristocrats living in luxury with their fine brocades and paying for it all by exploiting and oppressing the common people. We concealed our relationship with the Communist Party, but we took a chance and told him our ideas about seeking support to help establish guerrilla power on the eastern side of the Driчу to defeat Liu Wenhui. He liked our ideas and said he would help us.

We tried to persuade him to move his operation to Lhasa. This, we thought, would help us, because the newspaper was a perfect way to introduce new concepts and information that would eventually open the eyes of the people. But our idea clearly made him nervous, and he envisioned only problems. Basically, he said that it would

be difficult to print the paper in Lhasa because it would be extremely expensive there, but I thought he might be worried more about the Tibetan government. In any case, he insisted that it would be best to continue to print it in Kalimpong and send it to Lhasa. Later, he said, when conditions were right, maybe he could come to Lhasa. (It wasn't clear what the conditions were that had to be right, but it *was* clear that we weren't going to get any further with the idea of bringing the paper with us now.) Soon afterward, we left for Tibet. (emphasis Wangyal's)

This lengthy passage probably reveals more by what it omits than by what it includes. The entire passage, most of which is quoted above, can be found on pages 86-7 of Phuntsog's as-told-to political autobiography published in 2004. Reading it in its totality and against the backdrop of other sources of information has prompted the present writer to make the following observations. First of all, it would appear that the entire passage has been put forth and expressed in such a manner as to convey the idea that Phuntsog and Ngawang had only become acquainted with the Babu at near the very end of their eight- to nine-month stay in India; whereas the truth of the matter is that their acquaintance with each other had commenced much, much earlier. In fact, it had begun right after Phuntsog's return from Calcutta, which had occurred early on into the lengthy stay in India of these two men.

And second of all, therefore, the impression is conveyed that there was but one approach made to Gergan Tharchin for help, an approach which had preeminently to do with the Indo-Tibetan's celebrated news organ and not much else. (Phuntsog Wangyal had written as this passage's opening third sentence: "I was impressed by the possibilities a newspaper might open up for us and arranged to meet Tharchin through a mutual friend." Conceivably, this "mutual friend" could have been the very wealthy Khampa entrepreneurial trader family, the Sandutsangs, at whose Kalimpong home these two Batang Khampa visitors had stayed during most if not all the time while in Tharchin's hill station.¹¹⁷ But the more likely identity of this unnamed friend was one from among a quartet of prominent Tibetan personalities with whom Phunwang is believed on good authority to have become rather familiar and who at this time (1944) were either residents or transients in Kalimpong and were well acquainted with the Babu and his newspaper. These four were Rapga Pangdatsang, Kuchar Kunphela, Changlo Chen Gung, and Gedun Chopel. *) Much of the foregoing documentation about their lengthy visit to India, as gleaned from other sources, contradicts this impression of there being but one approach to Babu Tharchin for securing some kind of assistance for their cause.

* For confirmation of this possibility with regard to the quartet, see the book by the Ladakhi Moslem trader A. W. Radhu, *Islam in Tibet*, 170, 183-5. Radhu had been a resident of Kalimpong from early 1944 to late 1947 and in whose home all four as well as Phunwang himself had been "regular" and "frequent" visitors. Indeed, it had been Rapga who had introduced Radhu to Phuntsog, Kunphela, Gedun Chopel and, though not made clear by the Moslem trader, most probably also Changlo Chen. It will be recalled from earlier in the present chapter that these last three named individuals were associated with the highly political Tibet Improvement Party which Rapga had founded at Kalimpong in 1939. And since it is known from Radhu that Phunwang had definitely come to know his fellow Khampa Rapga, this circumstance alone would almost guarantee that Phunwang had also made the acquaintance of all the others of this progressive—even radical—quartet of Tibetan intellectuals. It was this sort of intimate information from Radhu, together with a comment he made

Third, and finally, it would appear that the concluding two sentences of this passage's second paragraph strongly suggest an attempt by Wangyal to hide the fact, identity and substance of the much earlier approach made to Tharchin that had involved the British. Indeed, what he has done here is to compress together each of these two separate appeals for the Babu's help into one single approach that he nonchalantly presents as all having occurred during a brief period of time just prior to the departure of the two Tibetans back to Lhasa shortly following Phuntsog's return to Kalimpong from Calcutta.

A number of questions readily come to mind here as one contemplates this entire Indian episode in the lives of these two Communist Tibetans and their involvement with Gergan Tharchin and the British. Why, for example, had there been a sudden shift in the way these two Khampa revolutionaries viewed the British: no longer a threat to Tibet's independence (as Phuntsog and Tendong Sey had deemed them to be) but now a hoped-for ally of hers in defense of that independence? Why, too, was there this sudden concern for British security interests in India (as was indicated in the memorandum submitted to the Political Officer)? And why, finally, was there an attempt to gloss over and veil from public knowledge the earlier and primary approach made to Tharchin Babu for British assistance?

Based on circumstantial evidence to be found here and there in the various sources available, it is the present author's opinion that most likely the reason for the remarkable shift in viewpoint towards the British stemmed from the deepening disappointment these two Communist visionaries had felt after failing to achieve their original purpose in visiting India: gaining passage to the Soviet Union, securing guerrilla tactical training at Moscow, and the sending by the Soviets of military assistance for their future armed insurrection in the ethnic Tibetan Kham/Amdo area against the hated Nationalists and their free-wheeling Governor-warlords there as a prelude to the creation of a new, unified and reformed Tibet that would be able to enter the modern world at last. This had been the hope and dream which had fired the imagination of these two young idealists ever since their days together back in Chungking. First sharing their plan with the Soviet Embassy there, then with the Chungking bureau office of Mao's 18th Army, then with fellow Khampa supporters while in ethnic eastern Kham secretly organizing a revolt, next at Lhasa with the Tibetan Kashag, and now most recently down in Calcutta with their CPI comrades—these two starry-eyed revolutionaries, either singly or together, had either been told to wait, turned back, chased

further on in his book, which helps to explain what had occupied the time and attention of Phunwang over such a lengthy stay by him and his Khampa comrade in the Himalayan hill town. For at one point late in his book (p. 246), Radhu had commented retrospectively in the following manner about his and Phuntsog's interaction together at the hill town during 1944: "After our links of friendship in Kalimpong where he [Phunwang] was involved in politics as much as he was in business, he had returned to Tibet ..." The "politics" side to his stay was most likely a reference by Radhu to Phuntsog Wangyal's frequent association with especially the first three men in the above-mentioned quartet, as well as his interaction with the Babu and the British, and (if made privy to the Ladakhi trader) his fraternization with the local branch of the CPI. On the other hand, the "business" reference had most probably to do with Ngawang Kalsang's trading business with its branch shops in Kalimpong and Calcutta (which, it may be recalled, had provided a convenient cover for the coming to India of these two Khampa revolutionaries) and, to a lesser extent, perhaps, a reference to the employment of both men at Tharchin's Press. For more on the quartet, the reader is referred back again to the preceding volume's Chapter 20; to earlier in the present chapter; and still more can be found in the following chapter.

out, or instructed to come back later. Anxious to see at least *some* substance of a beginning in the fulfillment of their vision, Phuntsog and his comrade had encountered nothing but disappointment after disappointment at each step along the way. And at this present moment in Kalimpong immediately following the Calcutta defeat, their frustration knew no bounds. It is easily discernible in how Wangyal, in his personal account of these days, had acknowledged their latest failure in India: "After all was said, we had failed, and the question now was what to do next. We had spent seven or eight months in Calcutta and Kalimpong and were still no closer to implementing our ideas, either in Tibet or in the USSR."¹¹⁸ (Let it be said again, that only from other sources is it learned more fully how these two had spent these many months that most likely totaled close to nine by the time they finally departed the hill station for good.) And so, not looking forward in the least to returning to Lhasa with nothing at all to show for their efforts, they had made one final attempt to garner support.

What these two foreigners in Kalimpong had therefore ended up doing was probably triggered by four things, all interconnected with each other and all contributing in eventually propelling these Communist intellectuals to undertake a move that was totally contrary to the Marxist/Leninist thinking they had embraced from the very beginning: they turned to a Western capitalist imperial power—Great Britain—for the coveted assistance! Spurred on, first, by the awful slough of despond they had descended into; second, having come across a copy of the *Tibet Mirror* in Kalimpong where it was published; third, having thus been reminded by this fortuitous circumstance of all the good things they had heard about its editor/publisher back in Lhasa; and finally, having even possibly, during the course of their conversations with the editor, been urged so to do by the Babu himself out of the latter's ongoing concern for Anglo-Tibetan interests in Central Asia: it was not an unnatural outcome to all this at all for these two staunch Tibetan nationalists to have begun to think that it might be useful just this once to deviate from the natural order of things for Communists and accordingly seek out *British* assistance through the good offices of Gergan Tharchin whom they had probably learned (?from the prominent Sandutsang family or from among the quartet of personalities mentioned earlier?) was well connected with certain relevant officials in British India. With Tharchin's help, therefore, these officials might be open to at least listen and possibly thereafter act positively on their behalf. If careful in their approach, and saying just the right things, like supposedly having urged Lhasa to seek British support or conjuring up a concern for British security interests in India if what they perceived to be a grave Chinese threat to Tibet were not thwarted, these two might gain a hearing, first from the Babu and then from those who exercised British authority. Having gained absolutely nothing thus far in all their endeavors undertaken between Chungking and Calcutta, what was there to lose? And so, it would appear that before departing the Subcontinent for good, they made one last-ditch effort to garner substantive support—no matter the source—for their revolutionary and reformist agenda back in Tibet.

But when it subsequently became clear to these two that the outcome to their initial approach to Gergan Tharchin was going to end up like all previous attempts to secure assistance for their Tibet program, they decided it was time to move on. Yet not before they had earned enough wages from their nearly six months of employment at the *Tibet Mirror* press office to have augmented their personal and travel funds sufficiently for making the

return journey to Lhasa. And not before they also had made one final appeal for help from the Babu, though likewise unsuccessful, by attempting "to persuade" Tharchin to relocate his newspaper publishing operation to the Tibetan capital. Having suspected that Phuntsog and Ngawang might in fact be Communists, the newspaper editor's "nervousness" about the idea may have arisen not from worry regarding the Tibetan government but from fear that these two and their ideological soul mates in Lhasa, if indeed they were Communists, might have later attempted to hijack his newspaper and press for the promotion of their *Communist* causes. Because Tharchin's "liberal, Christian and Tibetan sensibilities" were so "diametrically opposed to Chinese Communism,"^{118a} such anxiety on his part, if in fact it did stem from that concern, should not at all be surprising. (Many years later another request put forward to the publisher by Phunwang similar to this present overture of his but more insistent, and related several pages hereafter, would appear to strongly support such an explanation concerning the Babu's nervousness.) This was not the first time, it may be recalled, that Babu Tharchin had been encouraged to move his printing press to Lhasa and publish his newspaper there; nor would it be the last instance, either (see later in the present chapter for another and most astonishing instance of this). In the end, then, these two visionaries had again failed to gain any achievement which could cheer them on as they would make their way back to Tibet.

Finally, the concluding question raised earlier needs also to be addressed here: Why, in his memoirs, has Phuntsog Wangyal veiled from public knowledge the earlier and primary appeal he and his companion had made to Tharchin Babu for *British* assistance? Why the silent treatment about this particular episode in his past political career? The reader will learn a few pages hence that in time Phunwang would become the subject of a most thorough political investigation into his past that would be instigated on the orders of his Chinese Communist superiors. In discussing in his autobiography this event in his life, Phuntsog may have inadvertently provided a clue which could possibly help to explain his silence. For in its text he includes the following candid admission:

At the beginning of 1960, I was told to write a detailed history of my life ... [which] had to be detailed because it was going to be used in a formal political investigation. In our [Chinese Communist Party] system, those were ominous words ... I produced a document of more than twenty pages. It did not go into great detail about the years before 1949 because I was afraid my contacts with Soviet and Indian Communists would be misinterpreted. For those days, I concentrated on surface details—where I went and what I did—saying as little as possible about what my thoughts had been. When I got to the period after 1949, I felt I could go into more detail.¹¹⁹

It is quite understandable that back then some of Phuntsog Wangyal's past actions, statements and writings could be misunderstood or misinterpreted. Indeed, articles by Tharchin which had appeared periodically in his newspaper during the 1940s and '50s had figured rather significantly in providing Phuntsog's enemies within the CCP with just the evidence they needed, they thought, to buttress their case against the Tibetan Khampa of his having been a "counterrevolutionary" and "local nationalist." These enemies, Wangyal would write later, "had been undermining me and pulling me down." And in their reports and

written statements which eventually found their way to Mao's Communist Party Central Committee, they had variously claimed that the Khampa Communist "had a serious political problem," that he "had been involved in major national and international political events," that he was guilty of having "a big international political problem," that he had committed a "big political mistake," or that he stood accused of being a "complete nationalist" whose thoughts possessed "no sense of socialism and communism" but only that of loyalty to his own nationality.¹²⁰

Tharchin's articles had principally featured the lyrics of several "guerrilla songs" which Phunwang had authored during his pre-1949 revolutionary period. These songs had been written as a means of rallying his followers against the old Kuomintang Chinese but which his Chinese Communist enemies had now willfully misinterpreted to strengthen the charge that their lyrics proved he was a *counterrevolutionary* and complete nationalist at heart whose activities had been directed towards undermining the new Communist nation that was emerging as victor in the civil struggle which by 1949 had come to an end in China.¹²¹ Apparently, the closest any of the Babu's articles had come to in referencing and identifying Phunwang's Tharchin/British approach was the one quoted from earlier in the present discussion on Phuntsog and Ngawang. It would provide Phuntsog Wangyal's enemies with the kind of political international flavor they had been in search of. Printed in the June 1958 issue of the *Tibet Mirror*, it had praised Phunwang as a Tibetan nationalist. But among other things, the Babu had asserted that during their 1944 visit to Kalimpong these "two friends" had "talked a lot to me about opposing the old and new Chinese governments for the purpose of achieving Tibetans' independence. I never forgot those discussions ..." According to Phuntsog Wangyal, it is definitely known that the article, with its potentially damaging testimony, had fallen into the hands of Beijing's State Ministry of Foreign Affairs. And doubtless the juxtaposition of the words "new Chinese government" with the word "independence" was just the evidence his enemies were looking for to substantiate their charges that he was guilty of international politicking on behalf of the Tibetan national minority with a well-known Indian anti-Communist newspaper publisher, of harboring local nationalist thinking, and was therefore a counterrevolutionary.¹²²

Phunwang, of course, in his twenty-or-so-page document on his past political history, had consciously avoided including in it any reference to such "international" events as his meetings with the Indo-Tibetan newspaper publisher or his appeal through the Babu for British military assistance and political support for his revolutionary-reformist program in Tibet. Nor to this day is it known for sure whether Wangyal's accusers ever discovered that he had made such an approach personally to the hated British. More than likely the Chinese Communist government never did discover this curious facet to his past politico-revolutionary activities till Tharchin's revelation of it appeared in an interview with Dawa Norbu published in the December 1975 issue of the *Tibetan Review*. Whether or not prior to the publication of his political autobiography in 2004 Phuntsog Wangyal himself ever became aware of the *Review* article, he nonetheless chose not to mention his and Ngawang Kalsang's meeting at Gangtok with the British Political Officer in pursuit of military aid and political support for his Tibet program. Perhaps he chose not to do so to avoid embarrassment for having engaged in what can probably be characterized legitimately as an egregious political aberration on his part.

Then, too, embarrassment may perhaps also explain Phuntsog Wangyal's complete silence in his autobiography about his frequent, almost daily, contact at Lhasa with the ex-Japanese spy Dawa Sangpo (the alias at that time for Hisao Kimura) for well over a year, 1948-9. Could it be that some of Kimura's later published observations from that period concerning the Tibetan's thoughts, aspirations and intentions for Tibet (several of which are quoted in the present discussion) would have appeared to be stunning compromises of fundamental elements within the corpus of Marxist/Leninist/Communist doctrine and practice to which from the very beginning Phunwang had continually proclaimed his allegiance? Especially might this have been the case with reports by Kimura that presented Phuntsog Wangyal as being (1) a "nationalist first and communist second," (2) "anti-Chinese" (with no differentiation having been made between "old" and "new" China), and (3) in favor of an "independent socialist government" for Tibet. Such observations by Kimura, if historically accurate from that period, could, like the content of his talks with Tharchin and the subsequent approach made to the British, appear to be quite at variance with Phuntsog Wangyal's tightly presented case in his published memoirs of consistent and complete adherence to Communist Chinese ideology and practice.

But lastly, a comment or two likewise needs to be made about Phuntsog Wangyal's equally total silence with regard to two of his more prominent fellow Tibetan reformers, Rapga Pangdatsang (1902-76) and Gedun Chopel. Rapga, it may be recalled, had been the one at Kalimpong in 1944 who had introduced the Ladakhi Moslem trader A. W. Radhu to both Bawa Phuntsog and the Amdowa ex-monk, along with Kuchar Kunphela and Changlo Chen. This had occurred in the home of the Moslem trader to where all five of Radhu's guests had paid "regular" and "frequent" visits during most of that year. And thus, it is not too much to assume that Phuntsog Wangyal had come to know both Rapga and Gecho very well—and they him—by the end of his and Ngawang's lengthy stay in Tharchin's hill town.

First, then, concerning Rapga, who, like Phunwang, hailed from Kham, it will be learned more fully in the next chapter that he was every much the reformist thinker as was Phuntsog—even more so—and was as equally action-oriented as was his younger fellow Khampa reformer in attempting to bring about what they both saw as needful radical change in Tibet. As will become clear to the reader as well after comparing the life stories of both these men—that of Phuntsog currently being recounted and that of Rapga which is presented in the chapter to follow—these two shared much in common with respect to their ideas and aims towards effecting a total reformation in the Land of Snows. Moreover, both recognized the great need of unifying their fractured Tibeian homeland from east to west.

In view of these important similarities, therefore, it is most striking that Rapga's name fails to appear even once in Phunwang's entire political narrative. More than likely, the reason can be attributed to the fact that Rapga, having "the very highest interests of his country's complete independence at heart," would ultimately reject any political connection between Tibet and China—whether Nationalist or Communist, he believing that such association must in the end spell the extinction of Tibet herself. Additionally, though finding Marx's volume on *Dialectical Materialism* and other of his writings interesting from the viewpoint of philosophical discussion, this older and wiser Khampa reformer had eventually come to repudiate and reject totally the Communist socio-political system. For Phuntsog,

however, both linkage with China and adherence to Communism constituted the absolute bedrock to his life and work on behalf of Tibet. Hence, this radical difference between each's perspective on China and Communism most probably accounts for Phuntsog Wangyal's silent treatment towards Rapga Pangdatsang.

With regard to Gedun Chopel, on the other hand, it will be recalled from the biographical narrative about him recounted earlier that he, too, had hailed from the Sino-Tibetan frontier area of East Tibet: in fact, from neighboring Chinese-controlled Amdo. How very surprising, therefore, that Phuntsog would fail to mention even once in his political narrative the name of this other and more renowned Tibetan intellectual and unusual socio-political progressive. Yet his silence on the Amdowa is all the more intriguing when one realizes that not long before Phunwang's return to Lhasa in late 1947 after having escaped capture by the Nationalist Chinese during the Dechen Incident the year before (see below), Gedun Chopel had been arrested, interrogated, flogged, falsely charged with forging money, tried and quickly found guilty by a Governmental committee headed up by none other than Surkhang Shape(!), and finally locked away within the damp darkness of Sho Prison at the foot of the Potala. Phuntsog Wangyal could not have been unaware of these events which had unfolded at the Tibetan capital during the final period of 1946 and had concluded by the early part of the following year, since he would not himself depart Lhasa till late summer 1949 (see below). Nor, for the same reason, could he have been unaware of what happened to Gedun Chopel during that same year of 1949. For the hapless prisoner was significantly befriended, and done so, by none other than the noble Tendong family whose son Tendong Sey was Phuntsog Wangyal's closest progressive aristocrat ally at the Tibetan capital. This family took it upon themselves, at great risk to their own personal well-being, to secure the Amdowa's release from prison and to place him in a house nearby to their own, even though he would now live under house surveillance for the few years of life which remained to him.

But it will also be recalled from the earlier Gedun Chopel narrative that it would be Phuntsog Wangyal who in that same year of 1949 would arrange to take Dawa Sangpo (Hisao Kimura) to Gedun Chopel's newly-provided living quarters, where the Japanese visitor would deliver a personal letter from Gergan Tharchin to the suffering Amdo scholar. And thus it is known that these two reformist-thinkers from the same "peripheral area of the Tibetan world"—Amdo/Kham—were indeed acquainted with each other. In fact, as was intimated a few pages earlier, the two had most likely met for the first time much earlier at Tharchin's hill station during Phunwang's stay there in 1944. If so, it would not be at all surprising to learn someday that besides having met the Amdowa in Kalimpong in the company of Rapga, Kunphela, Changlo Chen and/or A. W. Radhu, Phunwang had even encountered him at either the Babu's newspaper office or within the Tharchin residential quarters. Furthermore, it will likewise be recalled that the Tibetan Communist, apparently impressed by the Amdowa's scholastic and progressive-minded credentials, had even gone to see Gedun Chopel personally at Lhasa in 1951 in an unsuccessful attempt to secure the latter's agreement to work for the new Communist regime in Tibet.

Hence, in the light of all the above, one can justifiably assert that it is extremely intriguing, indeed, that not once does the Khampa revolutionary/reformer invoke the memory of his

older ethnic East Tibetan counterpart in his political autobiography.* On the other hand, Phuntsog Wangyal, interestingly enough, did devote a full text page in his memoirs to Gedun Chopel's famous monk *teacher* from Amdo, Geshe Sherab Gyamtsho, a dedicated and very well-known Tibetan Communist; whereas the latter's star pupil, whom the Geshe had disciplined for many years at Lhasa's Drepung Monastery and who would eventually outshine his monkish master in many ways, received not a single word of recognition.

Could this astonishing silence be attributed to the fact that when it came to Tibet's reformist polity, these two staunch nationalists from the same eastern region of the ancestral Tibetan homeland held diametrically opposite views on the crucial question of Tibet's future relationship with her vast eastern neighbor China? For it may be recalled that the Amdowa thinker—though having indeed toyed with Communism—was in the end, in the words of Hisao Kimura, "too much of a Tibetan to be pro-Chinese" and thus stood, like Rapga, on the side of a Tibet free and independent of any Chinese state, Communist or otherwise. And hence, more than likely, he who had never become a Communist would nonetheless have had no problem subscribing, if he ever consciously did so, to a provision in Chairman Mao's Communist Party draft constitution of 1932 (the *Soviet Constitution of China*, be it recalled) which had boldly included the full right of self-determination for any national minority within the orbit of Chinese territorial influence or dominance and which therefore allowed that minority the right either to "join the Union of Chinese Soviets or secede from it and form [its] own State as [it] may prefer." Phuntsog Wangyal, however, true and loyal Chinese Communist Party cadre that he became, most willingly accommodated himself to a China which in the year following his victorious entry into Lhasa at the head of the PLA (see below) had conveniently cast away this democratic right of secession for its national minorities, including in particular the Tibetans. Could this radical difference between these two Tibetan nationalists account for Phunwang's silence on Gedun Chopel (just as it may have accounted for his silence in the case of Rapga)? Ironically, the Amdowa reformist-thinker would live just long enough to witness in his homeland the triumph of the Bawa reformist-thinker's competing political ideology, yet with all of its attendant tragedies still to follow. But this is getting ahead of the story of Gergan Tharchin's two Khampa visitors and what happened to them after they left Kalimpong at the end of 1944.

Phuntsog and Ngawang would now return to Lhasa not in the best frame of mind. Yet, despite the nearly total negative results of their India sojourn, when the two finally did arrive at the Tibetan capital (early 1945), "they still hoped," the two had intimated to Tharchin

* In his preface to Phuntsog Wangyal's "as-told-to" political memoirs, chief editor Goldstein, it will be recalled, had stated that there were over 100 hours of "taped interviews and re-interviews" he had conducted over a ten-year period with Phunwang that served as the basis for creating the published autobiography. It is astonishing to the present writer that this quite extensive amount of material did not produce even a *passing* mention of Rapga Pangdatsang, Gedun Chopel or Hisao Kimura, but especially of the first two. Yet even if Phuntsog Wangyal never volunteered any comment of his own—whether positive or negative—about any of these men, surely historian Goldstein, if he failed to do so, would have been more than justified in questioning Phuntsog about Rapga and Gecho, if not about all three men, since he had covered both older Khampa and the Amdowa intellectual considerably in his outstanding 20th-century history of Tibet. Unfortunately, the reader of these memoirs has been deprived of information on a most interesting facet to Tibet's intellectual history: Phuntsog Wangyal's thoughts on Rapga Pangdatsang and Gedun Chopel.

before they had taken leave of him, that they might be able “to persuade some influential aristocrats in Lhasa.” Then adding a touch of his own to the account, the Babu remarked: “I ... used to warn the aristocrats in Lhasa that they were deceived by the Chinese with sweets.” But, he added sorrowfully, “they never listened.”¹²³

One can only speculate what was the initial reaction of the Kashag upon receipt of the Tibetan-language translation of the Phuntsog/Ngawang memorandum to Political Officer Gould and Babu Tharchin’s cover letter. Most likely it was at first one of surprise, if not shock, at the audacity of these two to attempt to gain *British* assistance, and to do so through the Babu, and further, to do so without waiting—as Surkhang had advised them—to learn what would be the Tibetan government’s own response to their direct appeal for assistance made at Lhasa a year earlier. But surprise must have turned to deepening suspicion concerning their true motives, inasmuch as from the Kashag’s perspective, these men’s activity down in India now only confirmed their earlier suspicions that they could not entirely be trusted. Perhaps because of these two men’s association with the respected Babu of Kalimpong, however, they would continue to have reluctant access to Surkhang upon their return to the Tibetan capital, if for no other reason than that this would provide the Kashag, from its perspective, the means whereby the Council, via Surkhang, could be kept directly informed of the thinking and intentions of these two men.

As the historical record will show, these two progressive thinkers from Kham were never able to persuade the Lhasan government of the seriousness of the impending crisis for Tibet nor of its need to reform itself and the Tibetan social and economic polity. Surkhang Shape, when repeatedly approached once again, lapsed into a stalling mode as before. He reported that it was still better to wait till the World War was over before the Kashag could decide on the Khampa reformers’ proposals, even though he now readily acknowledged that it appeared Germany and Japan would suffer defeat. His stalling tactics may have also been inspired by the deepening suspicion the Kashag had already begun to have towards these men, especially after Surkhang’s receipt of the Kalimpong memorandum translated and sent to him on their behalf by Gergan Tharchin.^{123a} With hopes growing dimmer and dimmer, Phuntsog Wangyal and the others within his revolutionary group’s inner circle at the Tibetan capital concluded that it was time for the two Khampa revolutionaries to return to the East Tibetan borderland to commence their insurrection without the support of the Tibetan government or the Soviet Union, and certainly without the support of the British!¹²⁴

True, Phuntsog would return to Lhasa once more at the end of 1947, but not before he and his Communist compatriots had begun to mount a most promising, serious, but in the end unsuccessful, armed effort to establish a guerrilla force in Chinese-controlled eastern Kham from a base of operations at Dechen (or Deqen) village just over the border inside Yunnan Province. As noted earlier, it came to be known not long afterwards as the Dechen/Deching (or Deqen) Incident, an event to which, it may be recalled, Gergan Tharchin had made reference. His and his Communist comrade Ngawang Kalsang’s participation in the effort having been discovered at a crucial moment in its unfolding, the two men had literally to run for their lives from Dechen back into Tibet and, in the case of Phunwang, all the way to Lhasa, bringing with him his two brothers Chompel and Thuwang (Thubten Wangchuk). But though unsuccessful, it would nonetheless garner for Phuntsog a degree of popularity:

not only in the East but also at Lhasa, where anti-Chinese sentiment both in and out of Government was beginning to manifest itself and would intensify right up to the year 1950 and beyond. Meanwhile, Ngawang Kalsang returned to his eastern homeland from where he would go to Hong Kong and later to Shanghai, after which, following the triumph in 1949 of the Chinese Communists, he moved up to Beijing where he continued to be active in the Communist Party apparatus before being given an important post along the Sino-Tibetan borderland. Phuntsog Wangyal, on the other hand, would now establish his residence in the Tibetan capital, where he would remain for the next two years before his expulsion from Tibet in 1949 along with all Chinese and other unwelcome individuals.¹²⁵

Early the following year (1948), Phunwang, ever the persistent revolutionary, sought once more to secure aid from the Soviets. A most interesting episode ensued that involved Thuwang, Kalimpong, the Indian Communists, and Gergan Tharchin. In some of the historical literature dealing with this period (for example, Hisao Kimura's book), the younger brother of Phuntsog Wangyal is sometimes referred to by the name Kesang Tsering. It would seem, however, that this name had been assumed by Thuwang as an alias and as a way of honoring the real Kesang Tsering (d. 1941), a local military hero from Batang who had led a revolt against the local Chinese authorities in his and Thuwang's hometown during the early 1930s.¹²⁶ According to Kimura, who disguised as Dawa Sangpo had in Kalimpong become acquainted with Thuwang but under the name of Kesang Tsering, the latter had come to Tharchin seeking help and advice on obtaining possible corrective surgery for his bad harelip. At the time only nineteen or twenty years old, Thuwang came with a letter of introduction from his elder brother; and it may very well have been that the business about corrective surgery was simply a cover for the *real* business for which he had found his way to Tharchin's hill station. When Kimura first met up with him, Thuwang, not surprisingly, was in the temporary employ of the newspaper publisher.* Here, then, is how Phuntsog Wangyal (who does not mention any of the information provided by Kimura) relates how Thuwang ended up being in Kalimpong and what happened thereafter, with Tharchin most likely not aware of much of the clandestine activity in which his young Communist guest would be engaged. "We decided it was time to try again to make contact with the Soviet Union," begins Wangyal in his autobiography,

and so early in 1948 [note: if Kimura's account is more accurate, it may have been late

* Obviously, Babu Tharchin had befriended Thuwang because he was the brother of his progressive-minded Khampa friend, Phuntsog Wangyal. Perhaps another reason was the fact that this young man was known to him under the alias of Kesang Tsering, reminding the Babu of the name of a much older Tibetan whose heroic exploits on behalf of Batang, and Kham in general, against the Nationalist Chinese warlord, Liu Wen-hui, must have cheered Tharchin's own nationalistic heart. Having joined the Kuomintang Party in 1924 as its very first Tibetan member, this "bright and ambitious" young Khampa would eventually be appointed three years later as a Committee member of the reinvigorated Mongolian and Tibetan Affairs Committee (or Commission). This was the Nationalist Chinese government office which dealt with Tibet and Tibetans. And four years later, in 1931, Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek himself dispatched Kesang back to his hometown of Batang for the express purpose of bringing Kham's insubordinate warlord Liu into line. Before that notable but in the end unsuccessful military struggle, however, Kesang Tsering had assisted in inaugurating the Committee's Newsletter in 1929 called the *Tibetan-Mongolian Weekly News* and became one of its editors. Almost instantly the Newsletter's audience became international in scope. In fact, one of its two subscribers at Kalimpong was none other than Tharchin Babu (the other, an official of the Panchen Lama's office there), but whose copies of the

1947] I sent my younger brother, Thuwang, to Kalimpong to try to renew our contacts with the Indian communists and with their help travel to the USSR. We hoped the Soviets would supply us with guns and ammunition via Xinjiang [Sinkiang], as we had discussed some years before with Fei Delin [First Secretary of the Soviet Embassy, Chungking]. As always, though, things didn't go exactly as we planned....

Thuwang not only talked with the Kalimpong communists, but he also went to Calcutta and met Basu, as well as Joshi, the overall head of the Communist Party of India. After these meetings, he wrote me an enthusiastic letter explaining that the Kalimpong communists were going to help us militarily. They were getting ready to begin a guerrilla campaign of their own, he said, and would be willing to give us money to buy weapons if we helped them get guns. They knew that guns were easy to buy in Lhasa, so their idea was for Thuwang and some of their people to come back to Lhasa (with the Indians disguised as Nepalese traders). There they would buy rifles and pistols, and would let us keep the rifles if we helped them smuggle the pistols out of Lhasa to India.

This was not the news I expected, but it was good news nevertheless. I immediately began making plans for their visit, but when weeks went by, and then months, with no word from Thuwang, I began to fear the worst—that he had been arrested. Finally, however, we got word from him that the Kalimpong communists' cell had been discovered and many of the members arrested by the police. Fortunately, Thuwang was able to escape and hide for a while in the newspaper editor Tharchin's house. As soon as things quieted down, he slipped away unnoticed and returned to Lhasa. (It was, I think, at the end of 1948.) This was another crushing blow. Again our hopes had been raised and dashed. It was a difficult time for me, and I began to wonder if we were ever going to succeed.¹²⁷

Meanwhile, late that same year of 1948 disturbing news came to Phunwang that very soon word would reach the Kashag from the KMT's Mongolian and Tibetan Affairs Commission confirming the long-held suspicion that he was indeed a Communist and that it was now known that he was even the *head* of the Tibetan Communist Party. Realizing that unless he soon left Lhasa he would be arrested, Phuntsog Wangyal made preparations to depart with eight other Khampas disguised as traders and all of them armed with pistols in view of the place to where they were intending to go. For he had heard that some local

Weekly News could only be received after the Political Officer Sikkim had carefully reviewed them for—in the latter's words—any “objectionable [i.e., anti-British] articles.”

Vitally interested not only in what was happening in Ü/Tsang (where Lhasa was centered) but elsewhere in Tibet as well, especially in its eastern region, Tharchin would publish articles in his *Tibet Mirror* between 1930 and 1932 that were devoted to the continually erratic Sino-Tibetan situation which then existed in eastern Kham before, during and after Kesang Tsering's efforts in leading the revolt against Liu's local Chinese authorities in and around Batang. No doubt the newspaper publisher had looked upon Kesang as one of the unsung heroes in the continuing anti-Chinese resistance whose personal agenda clearly included much more than simply undermining Liu's control of Szechuan's Khampa area at the behest of Chiang. Indeed, in the words of Phuntsog Wangyal, whose own father had gladly served under Kesang Tsering in these efforts, the latter's agenda had included the complete overthrow of Liu and “returning the governance of [eastern] Kham and Batang to Tibetans” themselves. Liu successfully resisted this Nationalist attempt to topple his governance and would apparently be won over to Marxism and Mao in the 1940s, making it easier for the Chinese Communists to move their troops to the very edge of East Tibet proper by 1949-50. See Carole McGranahan, “Arrested Histories: between Empire and Exile in 20th Century Tibet,” Ph.D. dissertation, 2001, pp. 113-4; and Phuntsog, 9-14; and for Liu's Marxist reorientation, see Amaury de Riencourt, *Lost World: Tibet*. 297.

Chinese Communist Party members, together with members of the Burmese Communist Party, had recently achieved a strong guerrilla presence in and around the town of Sadam in northern Yunnan Province very near the southern Kham area west of the Yangtze River and that the Chinese Communists already controlled three counties in the region. Deeming this the "obvious place" for him and his fellow Khampas to depart to, Phunwang now sent overland back to Kham his brother Thuwang and one other from Batang to make initial contact with these Communist groups at Sadam. And once this contact was made, Phuntsog and his compatriots would themselves secretly leave the Tibetan capital and join in with their fellow Communists at Sadam. So, disguised as monks with shaved heads, Thuwang and his companion departed Lhasa in June of 1949, leaving Phuntsog Wangyal to await positive word by letter from his brother.¹²⁸

Needless to say, during this period the Tibetan government would have liked to have dealt with this "subversive" more harshly than it did. But having achieved the status of "a folk hero" because of his Dechen armed rebellion—though a failure—against the Nationalist Chinese in the predominantly ethnic Tibetan area east of the Driчу River, the Government could not be seen as incarcerating such anti-Chinese heroes when it was itself taking its own anti-Chinese stance. "Even so," observed Kimura, Phuntsog was regarded as not only a subversive but also "a dangerous person" who needed to be watched and his activities constantly monitored. As Scott Berry was wont to observe, Phuntsog Wangyal "had achieved the remarkable feat of being in the bad books of both the Chinese and the Tibetangovernment." Moreover, Kimura's own personal situation at the Tibetan capital was in jeopardy because of his association with this "subversive," the ex-Japanese agent even once being warned by a friendly noble family there to cease his daily rendezvous with the Khampa reformer lest he endanger himself unnecessarily;^{128a} to which, however, he turned a deaf ear, and as a consequence, Kimura, too, was expelled along with Phunwang.¹²⁹

As was noted earlier, one of the reasons the Tibetan government felt it necessary to keep an eye on Phuntsog Wangyal was because he had been able, despite the generally negative reaction he had received in Lhasa from most of those who counted, to create a following of sorts for himself among a growing number of like-minded progressive Tibetans at the capital, particularly among the Khampas in residence there. By early 1949, for example, Tharchin's ever-observant and ever-faithful informant in Lhasa, Sonam Kazi, could report to the Babu the following bit of intelligence tinged with a trace of whimsical humor: "I met Dawa Sangpo [Hisao Kimura] yesterday and had a long talk with him. We saw Phuntsog Wangyal and his followers. He is a very interesting man. He is waiting for a great business [doubtless a coded euphemism for the Red Chinese takeover of Tibet]...." And in another letter three months later, the Kazi could write: "Dawa Sangpo is in Lhasa and so is Phuntsog Wangyal. They are great friends and are quite happy. The torn-lips boy or hare-lipped boy that worked at your place [a reference, of course, to Thuwang who had been employed at the Tibet Mirror Press] is also with them. He is said to be P. W's own man."¹³⁰

But included among Phuntsog's growing group of progressives at the Tibetan capital were a few noble-born individuals as well. Writing long afterwards about this very period at Lhasa, the Khampa socio-political reformer noted that he and his Communist companions had also "sounded out" their privileged friends whom they had come to know during their previous stay at the capital. Those, he added, "like the progressive local aristocrats Shokhang

[a 5th rank lay official and related to the Maharani of Sikkim], Janglojen [i.e., Changlo Chen, a son of Tharchin's then exiled friend Changlo Chen Gung], and Kapshopa Sey [son of a 4th rank lay official of the same name, the father having been appointed a Tsipon or Government Finance Secretary in about 1935]. Tendong Sey was out of Lhasa at this time." And through his Khampa uncle, who while residing in Lhasa at this period had become well acquainted with the Fourteenth Dalai Lama's family, Phunwang had even gotten to know the Dalai Lama's brother-in-law Phuntso Tashi from Chinghai Province. The two of them, Phuntsog Wangyal remarked, had engaged in "some good general conversation about reforming Tibetan society and uniting all Tibetans."¹³¹

The supposedly progressive and modern-minded aristocrat Surkhang Shape, on the other hand, now kept his distance from Phunwang, pleading the excuse that for one reason or another he was unavailable for talks. Apparently, the news of Phuntsog Wangyal's Communist connections had finally reached the ears of the Shape and the other Kashag members, who were most likely profoundly alarmed now and wondering what action of theirs could best deal with this and other troubling news emanating from Tibet's eastern province and from China herself. The Batang Communist intellectual and his Khampa comrades, as well as the other would-be reformers at the capital, would not have long to wait to learn of the Central Government's reaction and consequent strategy.

Meanwhile, one of the things Phuntsog and his friends engaged in during one of Kimura's absences from Lhasa was to set about drafting a new constitution for Tibet which the two of them had previously discussed at great length. Though borrowing some ideas from the Japanese constitution, they relegated the Tibetan aristocracy to a House of Lords: a feature akin to the British parliamentary system.¹³² This was in the summer of 1948 when the Khampa idealist still harbored hopes that some influential people in high places might finally see the light and begin to effect necessary changes before it was too late.

Such hopes were never to be realized. For there came a day when shock waves of disbelief spread rapidly throughout the Chinese community in Lhasa, including those in the pay of the Nationalist Chinese government like Phuntsog Wangyal's uncle. Though the Tibetan capital's Chinese community might have anticipated that harsh measures would eventually be meted out against it, its members were not prepared for the suddenness of what was about to happen nor for the absolute character of the blow which fell. Prior to the bombshell, of course, the local Chinese—consisting of either traders, shopkeepers or Kuomintang officials at the Tibetan-Mongolian Affairs Commission (see below)—were groping for new ways to protect themselves economically in the face of the impending downfall of the Nationalists in their homeland. Kimura was a witness to all this since by the beginning of the Tibetan New Year of 1949 he had returned from one of his frequent trips to Kalimpong and his Intelligence "boss" Gergan Tharchin. What follows is his description of the stressful situation which began to develop once the New Year celebrations had concluded:

As the New Year came and went the Chinese community in Lhasa began to reflect the strain of what was happening in their country, and the Tibetan government finally began to wake up to the fact that there would soon be a strong and united China on her doorstep. The army was beefed up and could often be seen drilling around Lhasa. As the Communists won victory after victory to the popular acclaim of the vast majority of the Chinese people, gradually forcing Chiang Kai-shek's government to South China and then to Taiwan, Chinese officials began selling off their belongings to support

themselves for they found that their salaries were no longer being sent. The "Tibetan-Mongolian Affairs Commission," the closest thing to an official Chinese presence in the city, dared not bring notice to itself.* Off in Chinghai, the clan of Mapufang was still holding out, and offered Phuntsog Wangyal's uncle the rank of Lieutenant General if he would join them. Knowing that their days were as numbered as the Kuomintang's, he had the good sense to refuse.

Assuming that their ties with China, both official and otherwise, would soon be cut, a group of Chinese officials, the uncle included, pooled their resources and bought an old house called the Doshirnimba, on the eastern inner side of the Barkhor, refurbished it, and went into the restaurant business.... Tibetan mistrust of China was so strong that the new restaurant and upstairs majhong parlor was regarded as nothing more than a rendezvous for Chinese Communist intelligence agents. It was a natural enough fear (though in this case ungrounded). We were always hearing tales that all over China people were rising against their local rulers as the Communists approached, and the greatest fear of Government was that local Chinese and discontented Tibetans would do the same.¹³³

But all these arrangements by Phuntsog Wangyal's family and others to enable them to continue living on in the Tibetan capital, as well as Phuntsog's plans to escape overland to Yunnan at any moment, were suddenly and rudely shattered. "Before a letter could come" from his brother Thuwang, wrote Phuntsog later, "the Tibetan government expelled us." For in the late spring of 1949 the *Tsongdu* or National Assembly of Tibet was called into a special plenary session marked by extreme secrecy. Such a full Assembly was only convoked in times of national emergency. It was no wonder, therefore, that rumors of foreboding were so rife that most shops, reported Kimura, remained closed, their proprietors in deep apprehension of what might be afoot. The capital did not have long to wait. For within a month after the *Tsongdu* had met, the Kashag issued an order for all Chinese residents to be out of the country *within a week* and their homes to be watched day and night. "Tibet," noted Kimura, "had finally awakened to the crises it faced.... For once the Government had proved to be way ahead of everyone, for no one could have predicted how rapidly, or how totally, the [Communist] Chinese wave was to engulf everything." So alarmed did the populace become over these developments that there were reports, he added, "of mystical occurrences in Lhasa, ill omens in the heavens, and of unnatural births." In looking back on these events more than a half century later, Phuntsog Wangyal would himself recall that the Tibetan government had grown so nervous over the prospect that "the atheist socialists

* It may be recalled from the previous chapter that with the permission of the Tibetan government, a Chinese delegation was permitted to attend the Installation ceremony for Dalai Lama XIV. This delegation had consisted, in part, of nine staff members from the Nationalist Chinese government's Mongolian and Tibetan Affairs Commission, and included as this delegation's head the then Director of the Commission himself, Wu Chung Hsin. Upon its arrival at Lhasa in late 1939, the delegation occupied the previously abandoned office of those wireless radio operators who had cleverly been left behind in the Tibetan capital by the Chinese Condolence Mission of 1934 when the Mission had finally departed Lhasa after what proved to be a lengthy unwelcomed delayed stay there. The wireless operators would themselves eventually depart Lhasa, only to be replaced by other operators who had accompanied the Installation delegation of 1939/40—all members of which had immediately and without objection from either Regent, Cabinet or National Assembly, had then reconstituted the heretofore abandoned office as an office of the Commission itself. See Warren Smith Jr, *Tibetan Nation*, 241, 238.

would soon rule China” that “they even performed religious ceremonies to try to change the communists’ luck.”¹³⁴

It became clear immediately that not only the Chinese in the capital and elsewhere in Tibet would be affected by the expulsion order; others whom the Government deemed politically undesirable were also to be deported, including ethnic Tibetans from western China. This meant that Phuntsog Wangyal would be sent packing, along with his newly-wedded Moslem wife and the entire Batang community with which he was associated. As Kimura was wont to observe: “Phuntsog was a man who had perhaps been a little too fearless and open in making his views known to the Government”; and consequently, the latter had now used this occasion to get rid of him.¹³⁵ Indeed, the means by which he was notified was most public and without warning. “One day in July 1949,” began Phuntsog Wangyal’s dramatic description,

I answered a knock at the door to find the lay official Changopa [i.e., Ringang, the expert in English who worked closely with the Babu at Lhasa; see again Ch. 21] together with another lay official, a monk official, and about nine or ten armed Tibetan soldiers. With the soldiers standing by and Changopa, who had been to England, taking photographs, the monk official read a formal letter from the Council of Ministers [Kashag] stating that I was a member of the Communist Party and had to leave Lhasa within three days.

I was shocked and indignant. “Minister Surkhang knows who I am and what I am doing,” I said angrily. (Later I found out that in fact Surkhang was one of the people who had participated in the decision to expel me.) . . .

“Lhasa isn’t just a place for aristocrats,” I shouted. “It is a place for all Tibetans. I have a right to stay here. And though you may expel me today, I will be back in Lhasa tomorrow!” I went on in this way for a while, criticizing the aristocracy and the government. . . . Angry as I was, I was glad that all the people and aristocrats who had gathered around had heard what I had to say.¹³⁶

Little did the Tibetan government realize that within just two short, very momentous years, Phuntsog Wangyal *would* be back in their capital—just as he had now promised—but this time as one of the “masters” of a new and potentially dreadful situation for the Tibetan government and its people. Gergan Tharchin vividly recalled, with a good deal of emotion, this Khampa intellectual’s parting message as he and his compatriot Ngawang Kalsang had taken leave of their Kalimpong host back in 1944. For it was prophetically accurate in the extreme:

I can never forget Phuntsog Wangyal’s last words before leaving for Lhasa, because he kept his word! He said, jokingly, “If the Tibetan government does not listen, I shall bring the Chinese Army to Tibet. Then I shall write you.” In 1950 I heard that he was with the Chinese People’s Liberation Army troops who invaded Tibet. In 1951 I had a

telegram message which read: "Safely arrived in Lhasa—Phuntsog Wangyal."*¹³⁷

A case could perhaps be made, incidentally, that the words of this Tibetan Communist from the Sino-Tibetan borderland prophetically uttered in 1944 to Gergan Tharchin and those which he defiantly hurled in 1949 at the aristocrats and Government officials gathered outside his Lhasa home lend considerable credence to certain observations made by Abdul Radhu and Jamyang Norbu concerning Phuntsog Wangyal in his soon-to-be-realized capacity as one of the new "masters" of Tibet beginning in 1951. "His return to Lhasa" at that time, notes Radhu, who had arrived in the Tibetan capital on business less than a month before Phuntsog himself had, "was a sort of revenge"; and though it quickly became obvious to the Ladakhi Moslem trader that the Tibetan Communist "was not loved" at the capital, nevertheless, the trader adds, "he could at least say of himself that he was feared." For when Phuntsog would pass through the streets accompanied by his escort, "everyone bowed before him and Ministers themselves got down from their mounts to greet him." And apparently this newly-ensconced master of Lhasa did or said nothing to put a stop to such practice.

On the other hand, Norbu has written that from the perspective of "Lhasa-centric" conservatives, Phuntsog Wangyal and other East Tibetan Communists—those like his fellow Khampa Jampel Gyamtsho from Batang and Geshe Sherab Gyamtsho from Amdo—"were essentially provincial intellectuals, with big chips (social, economic, linguistic) on their shoulders against the ruling Lhasa elite." Furthermore, despite these Communists' "lofty claims of 'reform and progress'," it became clear that there was "a substantial element of payback in their agendas."

* What precisely happened to bring this about at the Tibetan capital, and why, was this: There was pressure by the Chinese government to have the official copy of the Sino-Tibetan Seventeen-Point Agreement that had been signed at Beijing in May 1951 reach Lhasa as soon as possible. So, when one key leader of the Tibetan delegation, Ngabo, who was carrying the document from the Chinese capital, had arrived overland at Chamdo (where the Tibetan Army had been captured the previous October by the Chinese Army), some 600 troops were quickly and efficiently formed into an advance group to escort Ngabo to Lhasa. It was under the command of Wang Qimei, a senior commander in the 18th Army of the victorious PLA. The main contingent of the 18th Army, whose top commander was General Zhang Guohua, would follow a month later.

As an important member of the Party Leaders Committee as well as one who would now serve as guide and interpreter, Phuntsog Wangyal went with this advance force of the PLA, along with 15 to 20 other Tibetan cadres from Batang. And since Chinese General Chang Ching-wu, soon to become the new overlord of Tibet, was himself not accompanied by soldiers (he would make his way to the Tibetan capital by air to India and then by land up from Calcutta, Kalimpong and Yatung), this advance group of soldiers, Phunwang would much later carefully explain, "would be the first PLA troops Tibetans in Lhasa encountered ..." In fact, on 9 September 1951, he went on to say, this vanguard of the Liberation Army entered the Tibetan capital "in a grand way." The Khampa leader continued in his description of what happened on that momentous day: "Carrying huge pictures of Mao and [PLA Commander-in-Chief] Zhu De, Wang Qimei and I marched around the Barkhor at the front of the troops. I was wearing my PLA uniform, and this was one reason why Lhasa people started saying that I had brought the Chinese troops to Lhasa." Indeed, over time Phuntsog Wangyal would be disdainfully referred to by quite a few of his countrymen as "the Red Tibetan who had led the Red Han into Tibet"! See Phuntsog, 155, 160, 329. One of these countrymen of his, Jamyang Norbu, wrote the following stinging criticism of Phuntsog Wangyal on this very point as recently as 2005: "... by guiding a hostile foreign invasion force into his own country he bears considerable responsibility for the genocidal devastation of Tibet and its culture ..." Norbu, in an Internet Website essay, "Newspeak and New Tibet," Part IV, unnumbered page, at www.TibetWrites.org.

Indeed, pride, resentment, revenge and payback are what these two observers had perceived were doubtless some of the motives that in part lay behind the conduct and actions of Phuntsog Wangyal and other eastern Tibetan countrymen of his when they came into positions of power and authority. Surely there is more than a hint of this in Phuntsog's angry words hurled at the Lhasa elite when peremptorily ordered by them to leave the Tibetan capital almost immediately. But Norbu has discerned a most interesting incongruity here. For in view of the fact that long before 1951 Batang, and especially Amdo, had fallen under Chinese administration, therefore, asserts Norbu, "whatever injustice or suffering" these revolutionaries and their numerous relatives and friends "might have experienced earlier in their lives were almost certainly inflicted on them by Chinese regimes and not by the Lhasa government."¹³⁸ Incongruity, however, was the furthest thing from Phuntsog Wangyal's mind at this heated moment in his revolutionary career. There would be time enough later, while languishing for two decades in a Chinese Communist prison cell, for him to ruminate on this and other such ironies in his life.

Be all this as it may, Tharchin's information about this Tibetan Communist's ultimate whereabouts in 1950 was most correct. For upon his expulsion from Lhasa to India in the summer of 1949, Phuntsog Wangyal, his wife and one or two of his Khampa followers made their way to western China's Yunnan Province (where at Sadam on 15 August, by the way, he was reunited with his brother Thuwang). There, according to both Phuntsog himself and journalist Forney, who interviewed the Tibetan at Beijing in 1996, he established an underground Communist movement (called in abbreviated terms the Batang Underground Party) that, although independent of the PLA, reported nonetheless to that Army's commanders after his underground soldiers had made their way into East Tibet in early 1950. For all practical purposes, acknowledged the founding-head of the Tibetan Communist Party at the time, "we all knew that we were no longer operating independently. We were now a part of the Chinese Communist Party."¹³⁹ It was then, incidentally, that he had momentarily returned to his father's Khampa home at Batang to dig up his several crates of Leninist literature before subsequently thereafter helping negotiate Tibet's surrender at Chamdo, participating in and assisting crucially to conclude successfully the controversial Seventeen-Point Agreement at Beijing, and finally heading to Lhasa for his triumphal entry into the Tibetan capital at the head of the PLA.* Whereupon Phuntsog Wangyal, among other Tibetan leftists, assumed the leadership of Beijing's government in Tibet for the next seven or eight years.¹⁴⁰

* These reclaimed crates of literature would serve him well in his newly-appointed capacity as Director of Propaganda of the PLA's 18th Army Corps in Tibet. For one of the first tasks this Tibetan Communist set himself to do at Lhasa, along with other Tibetan progressives there, was to help create translation committees for the purpose "of putting into concise modern Tibetan the thoughts of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Mao." Explains Heather Stoddard further: "When the PLA marched into Lhasa in 1951, led by ... Baba Phuntsog Wangyal, ... many of the progressive Tibetans went straight over to the Chinese side and started working ... as translators for them. While the old Tibetan society continued to print its own monastic publications, the translation committees began to publish works on Marxism, socialist reform, economic policy, and so on." Doubtless the crates of Lenin's selected works in Chinese which Phuntsog had retrieved from his father's vegetable patch at Batang and which he then carried back to Lhasa with the PLA enabled the translators to commence their labors almost immediately. Thus Phuntsog Wangyal, though perhaps not perceiving it at the

Those were the heady days in the lives of Phunwang, Ngawang and the other early Tibetan reformers, indeed. "How quickly the world had changed," reminisced Phuntsog Wangyal later about this period in his country's history. "Two years after being expelled," he continued,

I was about to return as an important official in the new government of China. I was very optimistic about the future. I believed the new Communist Chinese government

time, now stood in the vanguard of all those who since 1951 have been key participants in one of the momentous events in Tibetan history. For as had begun to happen somewhat earlier in Amdo among a group of progressive Tibetan intellectuals there who had published a number of works on leftist economics and politics, so also as a result of the work of these translation bureaus at the Tibetan capital, writes Stoddard, "religion was eclipsed and science was introduced": thereby launching Tibet "into the translation of an entirely new ideology."

Only once before in Tibetan history had such a feat been attempted and, it may be added, done so very successfully: the importation into the Tibetan language "of an entire doctrinal corpus"—that of Mahayana Buddhism from India between the seventh and twelfth centuries. But in a far shorter period, notes Stoddard significantly, "the entire body of Marxist-Leninist and Maoist doctrine has been put into Tibetan, and quite competently" by those like Phuntsog Wangyal and his Tibetan ideological soul mates who had been prepared in advance to establish these translation committees once the opportunity presented itself. Rich and pliable, concludes Stoddard, the Tibetan language had been "perfectly capable of creating and expressing all that is necessary in the modern technological world." And Phuntsog Wangyal had a direct hand in doing just that! See Stoddard, "Tibetan Publications and National Identity," in Barnett and Akiner, eds., *Resistance and Reform in Tibet*, 128, 130, 154.

For a contrary view to some of Stoddard's euphoric observations, the reader is strongly urged to consult Jamyang Norbu's more recent research which he has presented in a five-part Internet Website essay, "Newspeak and New Tibet" (2005) at www.TibetWrites.org. As will be noted more fully in the next chapter, incidentally, there were at Lhasa and Kalimpong together some three to four hundred sympathizers involved in the reform-minded Tibet Improvement Party founded at the Indian hill station by Rapga Pangdatsang in 1939. Conceivably, therefore, besides Phuntsog Wangyal's own recruiting activity at the Tibetan capital during the 1940s, this Party and its program may account in large measure for the considerable number of Tibetan progressives present in Lhasa who unhesitatingly allied themselves with the Chinese upon the latter's arrival and commenced almost immediately to engage in translation of leftist literature into Tibetan.

And interestingly enough, one such previous member of Rapga's Party at Kalimpong who later returned to Lhasa and would join in this translation activity was Tharchin's close friend, literary scholar and intellectual, Changlo Chen Gung. (Jamyang Norbu has noted that it is his belief that some Tibetans from Ü/Tsang, including a few aristocrats like Changlo Chen, who had been recruited for the translation work by Phuntsog Wangyal, had either been "unable" or—"more probably"—were "not required ... to provide the essential Tibetan quality, the cosmopolitan sparkle, as it were, to the new revolutionary language"; see his essay cited earlier above, Part IV.) But another acquaintance of the Babu's, who had been resident in the Tibetan capital for many years prior to these events and who would also engage in translation endeavors with Phuntsog Wangyal, was the "bad Mongolian Lama," Geshe Chodak. See Phuntsog, 179, where Changlo Chen Gung's name is spelled Janglojen Kung and that of the Geshe is spelled Chödrag. See also Stoddard again, 129, 155 note 11, who mentions the collaboration of Lama Chodak in this translation enterprise. Furthermore, it will be recalled from two chapters earlier that a third scholar-associate of Tharchin's at the Tibetan capital, Lama Tshatrul Rimpoche, had likewise volunteered his linguistic talents to Lhasa's translation bureaus, as is confirmed by the eyewitness account of this development at the capital by Abdul Wahid Radhu. In fact, this Ladakhi Moslem trader, a resident in Lhasa at the time, cited all three of these individuals as having collaborated in these translation endeavors and had acknowledged that he had himself been pressured personally and repeatedly by Phuntsog Wangyal, though in the end unsuccessfully, to offer his own linguistic abilities, especially as it might involve the English-language, to this same translation activity. Radhu, *Islam in Tibet*, 260 ff.

See also a companion article, in the same Barnett/Akiner anthology, entitled "Politicization and the Tibetan Language" (pp. 157-65), and authored by one of the leading modern Tibetan historians, Tsering W. Shakya. In it the author has recounted in linguistic and grammatical detail how over the past half century Communist linguists, translators and media specialists—both Tibetan and Chinese—have been able to overcome nearly

would usher in a golden era for minority nationalities, in which minorities would be treated as equals and would flourish. Tibet, I imagined, would gradually change and modernize as part of the PRC [People's Republic of China], yet would maintain its national identity, language, and culture. I had failed to bring change to Tibet through my own revolutionary activities but now felt I would be able to achieve my vision of a new Tibet under the umbrella of the CCP.¹⁴¹

To round out the personal history of these two Tibetan nationalists and Communist revolutionaries, it needs to be observed at the outset that though initially all seemed bright and promising for them, their end—at least in the near term—proved, as with Gedun Chopel, to be quite tragic. The “rare Tibetan sinologist” cited earlier, T. N. Takla, who according to Heather Stoddard had in the 1940s been “a young member of Kalimpong’s progressive group”^{141a} and who would later become an official in the Bureau of His Holiness the Dalai Lama at New Delhi and Dharamsala, has chronicled what happened to both these early Tibetan Communist intellectuals up to the end of the 1950s. In the case of Ngawang Kalsang, who in Takla’s estimation was Phuntsog Wangyal’s “intellectual superior but less of a revolutionary activist” than he, at first Ngawang occupied an important administrative post along the Tibetan borderland. His career as a member of the Chinese Communist Party was abruptly ended, however, when he fell in love and later married a daughter of a high-ranking Chinese KMT official. “The Party regarded the marriage with extreme distaste and strongly pressed him for a divorce.” His refusal to do so, accompanied by an intemperate outburst against a local Party official over the issue, earned for him increased criticism and demotion from his previous posts. His growing bitterness regarding the Chinese policy towards the minority Tibetans only served to make it impossible that his subsequent and frequent pleas for a transfer to Tibet would ever be accepted. Instead, he was appointed to a minor post in the All-China Union of Writers at Beijing. This only encouraged him to drink more heavily than before. Stories circulated abroad about his shutting himself in his room surrounded by many bottles of liquor, satiating himself on strong spirits. In time rumors reached his friends in Tibet which stated “he had become completely demented” and which reported he had “burnt all his literary works and records of his services to the Party.”¹⁴²

Precisely at what point in all this Ngawang would be arrested and imprisoned for two and a half years in Beijing’s most notorious prison (see below) is not known; but more than likely his incarceration began in 1960. But, then, according to Phuntsog Wangyal, following Ngawang’s imprisonment he was further sentenced to sixteen more years of hard labor, having been sent to a prisoners’ road construction site in Szechuan Province. By 1979 he was once again a free man, for in that year, which was but a year following Phuntsog’s release from his own incarceration at the same Beijing prison, the two of them were finally

every socio-cultural challenge to their task of effecting this momentous alteration in the Tibetan language and therefore in Tibetan history in having transplanted and promoted successfully in Tibet a totally alien political and social ideology; in short, in having transformed the land into a “socialist society.” This historian has also made the point that many of those inducted into this translation task had come “from the monasteries and the religious community”—e.g., Lama Tshatrul mentioned earlier. It had been a covert strategy by the Communists, notes Jamyang Norbu, “to exploit the traditional educated elite and eventually undermine them.” See again Norbu’s essay cited earlier, Part IV.

reunited in the Beijing apartment of Phuntsog's adult children. The time was late February/early March 1979. "It was wonderful to see him and others again," recalls Phuntsog Wangyal of the reunion, "but sad to hear of their experiences in prison. Everyone in our party had suffered so much, so needlessly, but we had many experiences in common, which was a great help."¹⁴³ In his 2004 autobiography Wangyal shed no further light on what may have happened thereafter to his bosom friend and fellow Khampa Communist comrade. Being nine years older than Phunwang, Ngawang Kalsang would today—if still alive—be in his mid-90s in age. Most likely he no longer lives.

On the other hand, Phuntsog Wangyal was subsequently employed in various important ways by the Chinese. According to Phuntsog himself, as well as journalist Forney and scholar Takla, as the leading Tibetan cadre within the CCP, he served (1) as Chairman Mao's interpreter and chief adviser on Tibetan affairs after the 1949 Communist revolution in China (even today, hanging on the study walls of his Beijing apartment can be seen displayed several photos of himself "beaming with Mao"); (2) as the interpreter and even a participant at times during the infamous "negotiations" at Beijing on the unwelcome Seventeen-Point Agreement eventually signed by the Tibetan delegates in May 1951; (3) as personal translator for the Dalai Lama and to some extent for the Panchen Lama at Beijing in 1954-5 as well as primary interpreter between them and the highest Chinese Communist leaders there, from Mao on down; (4) as a Tibetan member of the "ruling" Preparatory Committee for the Autonomous Region of Tibet in 1955 and as one who filled a variety of other Communist Party posts at Lhasa from 1951 to 1958; and (5) as deputy director of the Nationalities Institute in the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences at Beijing, though this latter post—a meaningless one in the end—was the prelude to Phuntsog Wangyal's ultimate monumental downfall: removal from all his positions in Tibet as of April 1958.

For like his fellow Khampa Ngawang Kalsang, Phuntsog's fortunes now turned terribly sour. Arrested two years later after being detained at the Chinese capital for that period of time, he was sent off to prison. Takla mentions that a Tibetan visitor to Beijing "reported a chance encounter with him on the street. He was being led away bound, under armed guards." (The visitor was incorrect in asserting this had occurred in 1958; in his published memoirs Phuntsog has himself stated he was led away on 31 August 1960.) "Despite Phunwang's position as the highest-ranking Tibetan in the Beijing government," writes Forney, "Mao himself ordered his arrest for counterrevolutionary crimes."¹⁴⁴

Indeed, upon reading the report submitted to the CCP's Central Committee by Phunwang's accusers at the State Nationalities Affairs Commission and which stated, in the words of Phuntsog Wangyal, that he "had a serious political problem and needed to be isolated and investigated," Mao himself wrote on the report's final version that "the matter should be investigated thoroughly," and that even if, added Mao, the Tibetan Communist had a "sky-size" (that is, very serious) problem, his accusers should make every effort to win him over. The fact that the report declared that Phuntsog needed to be "isolated" and that Mao said the matter should be "thoroughly investigated" meant that in China's Communist system Mao had literally signed the warrant for his arrest and subsequent solitary confinement so that the thorough investigation called for could go forward in an attempt to "win over" this valued Tibetan Communist cadre to the new policy which had only recently been

promulgated by the Chinese government having to do with minority nationalities, especially the Tibetans.¹⁴⁵

For it would appear, as asserted decades later by Phunwang's daughter Phuntsog Dekyi and as would be confirmed by Phuntsog Wangyal's 2004 autobiography, that there was a turning point in Chinese policies towards "national minorities" and more particularly towards Tibet that had already been afoot but which would now be officially promulgated, and codified as it were, during the proceedings of what came to be known as the 1957 Tsingtao (Qingdao) Conference on nationalities. At the conference, which Phuntsog himself attended in August of that year, the previous policy of cautious socialist transformation in nationalities areas was abandoned in favor of instituting rapid and drastic transformation, including "democratic reforms" and collectivization.* As Phuntsog Dekyi has related it, the shift in the attitude towards nationalities was such that "Tibetan Communists, apparently including Bawa Phuntsog Wangyal, were ... criticized at this meeting by none other than the supposedly 'liberal' [Chinese Premier] Chou En-lai for excessive expressions of what had come to be characterized as 'local nationalism'"—Communist-speak, explains Forney, "for promoting *Tibetan* development instead of its [i.e., Tibet's] political indoctrination."^{†146}

In fact, just before the commencement of Phunwang's detention at Beijing, he would be told personally by his accusers, in a meeting held at the Chinese capital in April 1958, that he must "cleanse" from his mind his "local nationalism thinking." "As you know well," spoke Chang Ching-wu to Wangyal at this meeting, "we are opposed to local nationalism. You have said and done things that suggest that you harbor thoughts of local nationalism. Because you are the leading Tibetan cadre, the Central Committee had decided it is better to stop your work in Tibet and bring you to Beijing instead." Two or three others of his accusers at this meeting, all of them conspirators together against Phuntsog, confronted the Tibetan

* Insofar as this major change of pace in policy affected Tibetans, its implementation during 1957-8 in the borderland areas of Amdo/Kham, was what would lead to increasingly rapid relocation by thousands of Khampas and Amdowas (more of the former than the latter) into Tibet proper and especially resettlement in and around Lhasa, which in turn would ultimately help to trigger the ill-fated Tibetan Uprising of 1959 that eventually compelled the Dalai Lama to leave Tibet and establish a Tibetan exile government in India. See Ch. 27 for more details. And for an in-depth discussion of the Tsingtao Conference and its consequences for central Tibet, see Warren Smith Jr, *Tibetan Nation*, 429-32, 440-444.

† It may be helpful here to offer definitions of a few prominent political slogans then in vogue during this period. The editors of Phuntsog Wangyal's autobiography have provided a working definition of local nationalism: It "refers to a complex of characteristics including placing the interests of one's local nationality above the interests of the nation, being hostile to other nationalities, and, in the extreme, advocating nationality separatism." See Phuntsog, 225n. A further definition of this same slogan would be: an "anti-socialist tendency undermining the unity of the motherland and opposing the socialist transformation." Another political slogan was (and still is) "Great Han Chauvinism" (or, "Great Hanism")—the claim by many that the "Han [Chinese] nationality is superior in everything and that the minority nationalities are backward in all things." On the other hand, the "Anti-Rightist Campaign" was a Government-sponsored movement against those [the Rightists] among the Communist Party cadres working in minority areas of China who "had allowed local nationalism to flourish unimpeded by claiming that overcoming Great Hanism would lead to local nationalism naturally fading away"—that is to say, "if there were no Great Hanism there would be no local nationalism." These various political slogans had to do with the failure during the 1950s in implementing successfully the socialist reforms in Tibet and other minority areas within the Great Chinese Motherland. See Tsering Shaya, *Dragon in the Land of Snows*, 167-8.

Communist with additional charges. Said Wangyal later of this cabal: "I was framed by certain leaders in 1958 who deceived their superiors and the people. I was transferred out of Tibet under the pretext of a fabricated accusation called 'local nationalism thinking'." And the result was that his detention at the Chinese capital began shortly thereafter, and two years later off to prison he went.¹⁴⁷ In essence, this Tibetan Communist cadre was being purged, notes Tsering Shakya, "for advocating a Soviet type of federal arrangement for minority groups." Unacceptable to the Chinese leadership, the latter, adds Shakya, "saw a republic as the slippery slope towards separatism"¹⁴⁸ that by the late 1980s-early '90s would eventually overtake the USSR in eastern Europe and Central Asia, resulting in the breakup of the Soviet Union.

As it turned out, Phuntsog was incarcerated for nearly two decades (1960-78) within the walls of Beijing's notorious Qincheng Prison, the hated institution housing China's "most sensitive political figures." A very good idea of what goes on inside its ghastly precincts can be had from simply reading this institution's *official* name: the Isolation and Introspection Institute for the Central Government's Senior Cadres! Forney has further reported, from the lips of Phuntsog Wangyal himself in late 1996, what had happened to this early and most celebrated Tibetan Communist during his eighteen years of solitary confinement:

For the first nine years in prison, they refused to reveal the charges. When they finally did, I could only laugh. I said, "Kill me if you want, but I won't speak another word." And for the next nine years, all I did was sing a few Tibetan songs. It took two years after my release just to regain my voice.¹⁴⁹

Among all the prisoners ever held in Qincheng up to 1978, Phuntsog Wangyal had the unenviable distinction of having spent the longest time there. Others who were consigned to its horrible interior—those having been implicated for the sake of this Tibetan Communist cadre—were his younger brother Thuwang, who spent fourteen years inside its walls, as well as Phunwang's closest friend, Ngawang Kalsang. Ironically, one of those who had collaborated in bringing the accusations of "local nationalism thinking" and "counterrevolutionary crimes" against Phuntsog Wangyal, the Chinese Communist overlord of Tibet, General Chang Ching-wu, would end up spending some seven or eight years at Qincheng himself. It was there, in fact, where he died, apparently from starvation and from having his arms broken. This had occurred during the barbaric Cultural Revolution period between 1966 and 1976. And another nemesis of Phuntsog's, the deputy secretary of the Tibet Work Committee at Lhasa, Fan Ming, is believed to have also spent time there: in his case only two or three years.¹⁵⁰

Now aged 86 (in 2008), Phuntsog Wangyal's current existence is radically opposite to what he had experienced during his lengthy solitary confinement at Qincheng, which ended for him, mercifully, in 1978. But without his own prideful persistence, what then happened in 1980 would probably have never come to pass. Nevertheless, in April of that year Yang Jingren, head of the Chinese central government's State Nationalities Affairs Commission, informed Phuntsog that he was now officially rehabilitated, with all accusations having been rescinded, his CCP membership reinstated, along with his official rank having been restored to the same level as had existed before his detention twenty-two years earlier. Moreover,

the exonerated Tibetan Communist would be appointed a deputy to the Fifth National People's Congress, a member of its Standing Committee, and made Deputy Director of the Congress's Nationalities Committee. But in addition, Wangyal was also the guest of honor at a banquet which officially rehabilitated him. Yet with all this, Phuntsog was not totally satisfied because, he explained, Yang Jingren, who had hosted the banquet, never offered up any public apology on this occasion "for the Government's misconduct towards me or for my eighteen years in solitary confinement."¹⁵¹

Even so, in spite of the untold suffering he endured at the hands of his Communist comrades, Phuntsog remains to this day a steadfast, loyal Communist ("I was and am still a Communist who believes in Marxism"), most grateful for his reinstatement as a member of the CCP. But one of his autobiography's reviewers, Jonathan Mirsky, has interpreted his seemingly undying optimism as "perhaps" an inability "to face the truth" of what had befallen him and why.^{151a} As recently as the year 2002, for example, Phuntsog Wangyal has continued to put the best face on his ordeal at Qincheng. For in an epilogue written that year as an addendum to his political memoirs published two years later, he noted that "overall, Qincheng Prison did me more good than harm," despite the fact, he acknowledged, that "I was ... cruelly tortured for eighteen years" there and no matter that "the hardship of solitary imprisonment" within its walls was "beyond description." Indeed, this diehard Tibetan Communist took solace from his belief that had he not been consigned to Qincheng's hellhole by his comrades in the Party leadership—from Chairman Mao on down—"I might have taken my last breath long ago during the chaotic Cultural Revolution."¹⁵²

But what may be the most bizarre rationale offered by Phuntsog Wangyal for believing the hellish imprisonment he endured to have been a "tremendous" blessing in disguise is what he also wrote in this same epilogue: "I read widely when I was in prison ... [and] carefully recorded my thoughts about these matters [on philosophy and dialectics] in what might be said to be my dissertation—completed," he nonetheless added sardonically, "after eighteen years at the 'Qincheng Party School'." He described the beneficial character of his incarceration even more grotesquely in observations he made just a year following his release:

Although I suffered from eighteen years of extreme hardship, I also enjoyed the greatest pleasure at the same time. The second part of that sentence refers to the fact that I had a chance to study, which people normally could not have, and to read through more than once all the works of Marx and many other classic works of philosophy. I benefited tremendously.... It is not an exaggeration to say that until now [i.e., until the release from prison] I did not have a firm understanding of how to be a strong Marxist with the right attitude toward Marxism, of how to ... nor ... how to ... [etc., etc., ad nauseam].¹⁵³

At this same time, furthermore, this ever faithful devotee of Marxism/Communism offered up as well an exoneration not only of himself but also of the CCP for his having been cast into prison. It was simply the case of a few bad men, and not what others, guided by a rational mindset, would argue were the logical consequences of a flawed socio-political theory. "I am a Communist, true," asserts Phuntsog Wangyal, "but I was ... not put in jail for violation of party discipline or the laws of the country; instead, I was put into prison by

people who executed the laws, broke the laws and violated party discipline and the laws of the country. Therefore, it is not the responsibility or the fault of the party; it is not my fault, but it is my misfortune."*¹⁵⁴ "Astoundingly," writes Mirsky, Wangyal, in spite of his horrific ordeals at the hands of that same Party, remains not only a devoted Marxist but also "an advocate of Chinese sovereignty over Tibet." But that sovereignty and authority which still "dominates Tibet" today, adds Mirsky, is of a kind which Phuntsog, "in so many words," is not "willing to say ... is ... Chinese chauvinism backed by violence ..."¹⁵⁵

Given these various fantastic reactions by Phuntsog Wangyal to what can at best be described as an unenviable series of personal calamities suffered at the hands of the Chinese Communists, Jamyang Norbu is convinced that "there is a need for some sort of psychiatric analysis and exposure of this man." Indeed, Norbu criticizes Melvyn Goldstein, as chief editor of Wangyal's political memoirs ("essentially a leftist hagiographical tract"), for not having made a "serious attempt ... at dissecting" Phuntsog's "character or analysing his motives for betraying his country and people." Such an examination of his enigmatic career and mindset, he adds, would make possible an understanding as to "how in the name of 'progress' and 'reform' someone could bring himself to so casually inflict such tremendous damage ... on an entire culture and society ..." Deprived of such a psychiatric analysis, it remains totally inexplicable how it is possible that after the Communist Party's merciless treatment of his wife leading to her suicide as well as the indescribable torture and ghastly imprisonment he himself endured for eighteen years, Wangyal's "devotion to Marx, Mao and Chou Enlai" could remain so "unshakable."

But because Goldstein and his co-editors were remiss in undertaking an analysis, Norbu has taken up the task himself. In so doing, he has provided what to this present writer appears to be a most plausible explanation for Phuntsog's bizarre responses to a fate worse than death. Recalling his earlier reading of Arthur Koestler's chilling classic, *Darkness at Noon*, Norbu set about making a comparison between the real life character of Phuntsog

* How totally opposite to Wangyal's reactionary mindset was the reaction and reasoning of those Chinese students, intellectuals and workers who had led the reform movement in the spring of 1989 that culminated in the repressive Tiananmen Square Massacre at Beijing on 4 June. Warren Smith has perceptively chronicled what gradually but inexorably had occurred in the thinking of those who were at the forefront of this ultimately unsuccessful confrontation with the Communist power holders within the Chinese government:

Since the end of the Maoist era, Chinese students and intellectuals had rejected Communist philosophy, challenged the legitimacy of one-party rule and demanded greater respect for law by the CCP [Chinese Communist Party] ... The death of Hu Yaobang [CCP's General Secretary] in April 1989 provided a catalyst for the reform movement, much as the death of Zhou Enlai [Chou En-lai] did in 1976. Students' demands for a reappraisal of Hu and for a revival of the reforms that he represented led quickly to a major confrontation between students and the government. The students were joined by other intellectuals and workers, who, taking an example from the autonomous student organizations, formed similar worker organizations. The support and involvement of the workers was especially threatening to the CCP because it was these same people whose interests the Party claimed to represent. The students were careful to express their loyalty to socialism and the CCP, claiming only that the principles of socialism had been violated by some of those in power. Their inability to identify exactly who in the Party hierarchy were the chief culprits finally led to the realization that *it was the system itself, not only the leadership, that was at fault*. The eventual violent suppression of the movement in Tiananmen Square ... further served to convince many Chinese that the problem was not only a few despotic leaders, but that the political system itself was inherently despotic. *Tibetan Nation* (1996), 618, 620 (emphasis added).

Wangyal and Koestler's fictional old Bolshevik V. S. Rubashov. This exercise yielded for Norbu an understanding of the Tibetan Communist's "extraordinary dedication to Mao and Maoism." For Norbu discovered in making such a comparison that both men's loyalty to the Communist Party and its leadership had remained completely unaffected despite the fact that both of them—"old partymen"—were "cruelly betrayed by their leader, party and faith." Carrying the comparison along further, Norbu found that whereas the fictional Rubashov, a victim of Joseph Stalin's infamous show trials of the 1930s, had confessed to crimes which he well knew he had not committed, the real life Communist Wangyal confessed to nothing at all but performed "a more convenient sort of self-deception" by having blamed his own terrible fate on small-time Party functionaries and not on Mao himself whom he continues to idolize to this day.

Having likened Wangyal to Rubashov, Norbu then cited George Orwell's review of Koestler's novel, in which the famed British literary critic asserted the conviction that Rubashov and his ilk "had been rotted by the revolution which they served," they having become "bankrupt" both "morally and mentally" by the "habit of loyalty to the party." Furthermore, Norbu believes that "one could safely extend ... to Wangyal" the implication Koestler puts forward in *Darkness* that Rubashov "in power would be no better" than those who had persecuted him. Quoting in this connection the boyhood memory of Milan Kundera, Norbu applies to Phuntsog Wangyal what Kundera would later discover about victims released from political incarceration: "When I was a boy I used to idealize the people who returned from political imprisonment. Then I discovered that most of the victims were former oppressors." (This latter observation of Kundera's reminds the present writer of one or two vignettes about Phuntsog Wangyal when in power at Lhasa which Abdul Wahid Radhu has related of what he had himself witnessed about his powerful Communist friend while residing at the Tibetan capital at that particular time.)

In what is a most scathing conclusion to his analysis of Phuntsog Wangyal's character and psyche, Norbu declares that this Tibetan Communist cadre's nearly two-decade experience in infamous Qincheng had not made the slightest dent in his "fanatical self-righteousness." As a matter of fact, adds Norbu, it has remained to this day intact: "untouched by any regret or [un]clouded by the least of doubts that by guiding a hostile foreign invasion force into his own country he bears considerable responsibility for the genocidal devastation of Tibet and its culture, and the ongoing oppression and exploitation of his people."¹⁵⁶

Yet despite his undying loyalty and commitment to Marxism/Leninism, to the CCP, and to "the big family of new China," it can still be said of Wangyal that he maintains an unalterable commitment to his homeland.¹⁵⁷ He has spent an entire lifetime in pursuit of a new and completely transformed socialist Tibet, autonomously ruled by Tibetans themselves but existing within the national boundary and political framework of Communist China. And because of this blending of a vigorously espoused Tibetan nationalism with the Communist ideals of equality, unity and cooperation, the founder of Tibet's first ever Communist party, asserts journalist Forney, commands the respect of many, but certainly not all, of the "most anti-Communist Tibetans."¹⁵⁸ Moreover, ever since his release from prison in 1978 and right up to the present day, Phuntsog Wangyal has remained the leading Tibetan critic within the CCP in its policy towards Tibet, particularly with respect to the issue of nationalities that has

always been his primary interest and concern.

Further, it cannot be denied that like the Amdo-Tibetan nationalist and reformist-thinker discussed earlier, Gedun Chopel, Phuntsog Wangyal and the other early Tibetan Communists had longed to see Tibet liberated from the old, calcified and reactionary medieval socio-political and ecclesiastical system which had prevented the development of a democratic and united country free from the Lhasa clique of opportunistic, corrupt and effete aristocrats and too many self-serving government officials who together had made it impossible for Tibet to enter the twentieth century. That they saw that system replaced by another one which increasingly practiced "Great Han Chauvinism" and nationality assimilation against the best interests of the Tibetan people and culture was what had created deep within their souls profound disappointment and, for some early Tibetan Communists like Ngawang Kalsang, rank disillusionment.

"In the past," writes Phuntsog Wangyal, "I had always thought that the Communist Party was an enlightened and truthful party." For although since the heady days of 1951 he had witnessed a few things here and there which had "bothered" him, he had dismissed them as "isolated and idiosyncratic." With the coming of the indiscriminate "Antirightist campaign" of the mid-1950s and the unfair "attacks on minority cadres" like himself, however, Phuntsog now knew differently: he had become a most unwilling victim of what—in one of those rare moments of truth he allowed himself to face—he reluctantly described as the "dark and unjust side within the [Chinese Communist] Party." Yes, by means of that Party and its ideology he had seen the fulfillment of some of his vision for his people and nation: yet even he—the top Tibetan Communist cadre in Tibet for nearly a decade, and a fanatically loyal one at that—received, like many before and after him, his own share of trumped-up charges, harsh imprisonment, inhumane interrogation and brutal corporal punishment at the hands of those Chinese whom he had previously deemed to have been his friends and upright, high-principled Party comrades. Mercifully, Phuntsog Wangyal and Ngawang Kalsang survived their ordeal to live another day in apparent freedom; but other Tibetans—family members, relatives and Communist comrades of theirs—did not. Their fate: a most cruel premature death.*¹⁵⁹

* The most prominent exile Tibetan among those many outside Tibet who have regarded Phuntsog Wangyal with great admiration and respect is the current Dalai Lama himself, who regards him, approvingly, as a "sincere and dedicated Marxist." Having had lengthy contact with Phuntsog at both Beijing and Lhasa during the 1950s. His Holiness had come to share much of the idealism and socio-political aspirations for Tibet which this Khampa revolutionary and his Tibetan Communist compatriots had attempted to promote for several decades. The Dalai Lama had even seriously considered becoming a member of the Chinese Communist Party himself during the latter years of his stay in Tibet. In an obvious reference to Phuntsog, Ngawang Kalsang and other early Tibetan Communists, His Holiness had had the following to say in 1979 (though first citing a more recent class of Tibetan Communists for special mention): Many of the younger generation Tibetans in Tibet born after 1959, and who, he asserted, "are carrying on a determined struggle, even underground" in the cause of Tibetan nationality, "are Communists." But the "old Communists"—those who in the 1930s had joined the Communist movement in China with the hope of a better development of Tibet—had later become disillusioned with "Chinese policies in practice." Adding that because of having openly protested these harmful policies to the Chinese Party leadership in 1957-8, most of them, explained the Dalai Lama, were dismissed from their posts and many "disappeared." Reacting specifically to Phunwang's brutally harsh treatment meted out by the Chinese Communists, the Dalai Lama declared the following: "It made me realize that the Chinese leadership



In 1946 certain internal dissensions surrounding the printing of the *Tibet Mirror* led Gergan Tharchin to hand in his resignation from the Scottish Guild Mission once again. By

was not truly Marxist, dedicated to a better world; for all these people were nothing but Chinese chauvinists posing as Communists: a collection of narrow-minded fanatics.”

Acknowledging that at one time he had indeed toyed with the notion of joining the Chinese Communist Party, His Holiness had let it be known on numerous occasions in the late 1970s that he was still “attracted by Marxist theory,” though making clear that he believed in an “authentic Marxism, not the sort one sees in countries claiming to be Marxist”—a not so subtle reference to the then Soviet Union and to the People’s Republic of China. “It seems to me,” he had candidly declared, that “these countries are mixing up Marxism and their national political interests and also their thirst for world hegemony”; with “the Chinese,” he flatly noted, having “twisted the Marxist ideology.” Believing as he does that Buddhism and “pure Marxism” share certain basic ideas and possess “many common grounds [that] can be combined,” the Dalai Lama nonetheless disavows the Marxism as it has been “applied in China and the Soviet Union.” By pure Marxism he has meant an ideology that in practice is “free from power or national politics and only for the welfare of the working class.” Pleasantly surprised on one occasion by China’s highly anti-religious Mao Tse-tung who had personally expressed to him genuine praise of Lord Buddha for having been “anti-caste, anti-corruption, and anti-exploitation,” the Dalai Lama would come to admire very much Marxism’s “egalitarian aspects.” And even though His Holiness would not go so far as to state that Marxism is 100% good, he has nevertheless stated that “it had some good points.”

On yet another occasion in 1979 the Dalai Lama emphasized that his quarrel with Beijing was no longer about Communist ideology as such but was over the issue of “preserving the cultural and national identity of Tibetans”—a concern with which Phuntsog Wangyal would still heartily agree to this day. In fact, given the lengthy discussion just concluded concerning the life and thought of Phuntsog Wangyal, the latter, it can be stated without hesitation, would give ready assent to what His Holiness had also declared in 1979; namely, that he had nothing against Communism or China *per se* but “was concerned with the attitude [manifested by the Chinese government] towards Tibet as a nation [and] for which [I am] carrying on a moral struggle.”

The Dalai Lama would further elaborate on these themes in a lengthy private conversation he had in London in 1984 with his Christian friend of many years, George Patterson. In reply to Patterson’s query as to whether His Holiness could “live in a politically Marxist Tibet” so long as both Tibetans and Chinese could love and forgive one another, the Dalai Lama had replied:

I can live with Marxism either inside or outside Tibet, and have said and written this on a number of occasions. What the Chinese have done in Tibet is fundamentally due to ignorance—ignorance of Tibetan history, culture and religion, and even an ignorance of some of Marxism’s own theories. Their being without religious belief means that it is my responsibility to help them rise towards Nirvana, rather than sink to lower levels of rebirth because of their present deplorable conduct.

Later in the conversation he added that “in spite of the horrific nature of the crimes committed by China against Tibet I must still have no hatred in my heart for the Chinese people. The kind of love I advocate is the love you can have for someone who has done you harm.” Since 1979 and 1984 there has been little change in the views and concerns expressed on the matters here discussed by either Phuntsog Wangyal or His Holiness.

For the sources where the above statements and ideas expressed by the Dalai Lama can be found, see the following pages in the *TR* for the year 1979: (Jan.):28; (Feb.):28-9; (Mar.):12; (Apr.):22; (May):27; and (Aug.):27. For Mao’s “Lord Buddha” praise, see John Knaus, *Orphans of the Cold War*, 125. And for his statements in 1984, see Patterson, *Requiem for Tibet*, 220.

Apart from the assessment of Phuntsog Wangyal’s life and thought already presented that in some respects is at variance with the Dalai Lama’s, the reader can find further contrary views to much else which has been discussed here by consulting Jamyang Norbu’s more recent comments and observations to be found in his 2005 Internet Website essay previously cited, in particular, its Parts I, III and IV; see as well some of his earlier writings.

then the Second World War had come to an end. Over much of Europe the atmosphere of peace and calmness now prevailed. The Continental countries were giving their attention to reconstructing their shattered economies. The battered cities were being resurrected from the curse and devastation of war. Likewise, in Asia and the Pacific similar reconstruction efforts were gradually being mounted everywhere except in China, where that country's Civil War between the Nationalist and Communist forces had already resumed in earnest, now that the common enemy of both—Japan—had been soundly defeated by the Allied Powers.

As for the operation and management of the printing press, it had remained a Mission concern that handled the printing work right up through 1945 and well into 1946. Yet, interestingly enough, the only print matter which was produced by the Mission's lithographic press operations during the War period had been the Tibetan newspaper. And thus the small Press department of the Guild or Scots Mission would be referred to in its literature and in its missionary correspondence as not only the Mission Press but also—and quite often—the Tibetan Press. Nevertheless, the litho press itself and the paid labor was provided by the Guild Mission and therefore it naturally had a paramount share and voice in the management of the Mission's Tibetan Press. The monthly bill for 500 copies of the Tibetan newspaper had continued to be borne by the Political Office during the War period: out of which 100 to 150 copies were distributed throughout District Darjeeling, in Sikkim, Bhutan, Kashmir, Leh Ladakh, and the Simla Hill States; while the remaining copies were always sent through the Political Officer to Tibet for distribution among the Tibetan officials—lay and ecclesiastical—and the public.¹⁶⁰ So far as Editor/Press Manager Tharchin's allowance was concerned, during this period the Political Office had allocated a monthly remuneration of Rs. 80/-, which was on top of his regular monthly salary from the Mission treasury.^{160a}

Upon the conclusion of the War, however, things radically changed. In the spring of 1946, sometime during early April, the Rev. George S. Mill, who by this time was in charge of the Tibetan work of the Mission, had directed the Press Manager not to print the paper any longer since the War was now over. As a consequence of this, Mill and Tharchin entered into a lengthy discussion that led to a heated argument over various issues associated with the printing of the *Tibet Mirror* and the Babu's future relationship with the Tibetan Press and with the Guild Mission itself (see later below for the details).

This was apparently not the first time these two had clashed over policy and practice with regard to the newspaper and its printing press. For a year earlier the Tibetan Press Manager had already found it difficult to work under Mill's direction. At one point, in fact, the situation had become so unpleasant for the Tibetan that he actually toyed with the intention of resigning from the Mission even then. Among the Tharchin Papers, for example, can be found two slightly differently-worded handwritten inked drafts of a resignation letter. From their wording the reader can easily deduce that Tharchin had struggled in his mind over the question of to *whom* the letter should be sent: the Mission Council, Rev. Mill himself, or to one specific person on the Council. But the reader can also deduce that because the resignation was never submitted, the Tibetan had struggled within himself over the issue of whether to even send it. Since both drafts appear together on the back of a torn piece of stationery paper, one can assume that the two versions were written on the same

day: 30th April 1945—the date of the torn paper’s upper-hand draft, the lower one having no date affixed. Side by side, they make for interesting reading, to say the least, with both shown below just as they had been composed:

To The Mission Council
Eastern Himalayan

The Rev. G.S. Mill,
Mission House,
Kalimpong
Dated Kalimpong the 30th April 1945

My Dear

As I am unable to work under the present missionary in charge, Mr. Mill, I submit my resignation from the 1st June 1945.

Kindly accept my resignation from the work from 1st June 1945.

Dear Sirs,
Please accept my resignation from the work for [sic] 1st June 1945.
As I am unable to work under you.
Yours faithfully
Tharchin

[Paper torn at bottom where signature would appear]

Now the reader should pay special attention to the date of these draft resignation letters: 30 April 1945. For this is the precise date on which Mill would dispatch a most intriguing letter about Tharchin and the Guild Mission Press to an important British official at the Political Office in Sikkim. This letter, together with a follow-up one of Mill’s to the same official nearly a year later, both of which are discussed below in relation to Tharchin’s *actual* resignation in 1946, can probably go a long way to explain the Babu’s reason for having toyed with the notion of resigning in 1945. (Since, incidentally, copies of both Mill letters were found among the Tharchin Papers, one can confidently assume that either the Scottish missionary or else the British official had purposely given them to the Mission Press Manager for his information and guidance.) In the end, of course, the Indo-Tibetan had decided not to resign in 1945 but to try to cope with the relationship between himself and Rev. Mill as best he could.

Almost exactly a year later, however, Tharchin would be confronted with a situation which from his perspective was totally unacceptable. Mill’s directive to cease publication of the Tibetan newspaper had been so surprising to the Babu that it precipitated the lengthy heated exchange between these two men alluded to earlier, and would culminate in Tharchin’s definite resignation from the Mission service. This unpleasant incident would take place in the Anderson office building (which at that time most likely still housed the Guild Mission’s administrative offices and which still stands today in near perfect condition). Just here, though, some needful background information must be interposed for better understanding why Mill’s directive was issued in the first place. There was more to it than simply because the War was now over. For behind the scenes there had emerged the outlines of a fascinating struggle for immediate control of the Tibetan Press between Rev. Mill representing the Mission Council and the newspaper editor and Tibetan catechist.

Some months before the end of the War, Rev. Mill had written an unusual letter to A. J. Hopkinson at the Gangtok Residency of the Political Office Sikkim. This British official had

recently been appointed Officer on Special Duty in Sikkim as a means of grooming him to eventually become the new Political Officer, replacing Sir Basil Gould. In his letter of 30 April 1945, a copy of which, as intimated earlier, was found among Tharchin's personal papers, Rev. Mill first extended his regret at having been away when Hopkinson had last visited Kalimpong. But he then noted that as a result of Tharchin's interview himself with Hopkinson on that occasion "regarding the [litho] press we use for printing the Tibetan newspaper," wrote Mill, "Tharchin departed for Calcutta and has only just returned. All the explanations [he gave] of what passed at your interview with him leave me completely in the dark."

But Mill then went on in his letter with these intriguing words:

As at present we have no Tibetan-speaking missionary on our staff, Tharchin has a freer hand than he normally would have, and ... I know that he has great ideas about controlling a large Tibetan printing establishment, which incidentally the Mission has at present no reason to share with him ...*

From the middle of 1942 the Political Officer in Sikkim, finding [that] this Tibetan Newspaper offered a means of spreading reliable information, arranged for an increase in the circulation and for the payment to the Mission of the expenses of publication. Since that time the press has solely been used for this work.

The existing press [the litho one donated to the Mission in 1928] is old and worn and not in good repair, and I have been considering ways and means of replacing it by a new, or good second-hand, press of about the same capacity, but in the present circumstances the funds for this are not easily obtainable. I do not consider that the work undertaken now or likely to be available justifies either the initial cost of installing a large power-driven press or the running expenses thereof.

These words were followed up by the missionary making a pitch for some *limited* assistance, in so doing, perhaps seeking to nip in the bud, as it were, the desire of Tharchin to acquire a much larger, modern press that would be more in line with his ambitious printing agenda alluded to earlier in Mill's letter. Politely, but not without possibly some guile in his words, the missionary concluded his letter as follows:

As the press has been for nearly three years solely used for the Tibetan Newspaper under arrangement with the Political Department of the Government of India and as nothing has been contributed towards depreciation or replacement during that time, but only the publication costs, if you see your way to assist the Mission by replacing the press with a sound one of *similar* kind, or to helping the Mission to do this, you

* Perhaps as a precaution against any difficulty arising for the Mission from this quarter, Mill, just a month prior to this letter, had made a formal declaration in person before the Court of Kalimpong's Sub-Divisional Magistrate by means of a written affidavit. This affidavit he declared before the Magistrate himself, and it reads: "I, Rev. George Scott Mill, Church of Scotland Missionary presently in charge of the Guild Tibetan Mission, Kalimpong, declare that I am the publisher of the newspaper entitled TIBETAN NEWSPAPER (Yul-chog Sosoï Sargyur Melong) and printed and published at the Mission compound, Kalimpong." It is stamped with the Magistrate's seal, and a copy, doubtless provided Tharchin by Mill, is dated 2 March 1945: ThPaK.

might [? solve ?—typed word here smudged] the financial problem that has held me up so far.

This, I trust, clears the position of the Mission and I hope to hear from you on this matter at your convenience. [emphasis added]

What then developed, however, would leave Mill and the Guild Mission's ruling Mission Council somewhat miffed and greatly troubled. This becomes clear when reading the missionary's letter of a year later to Hopkinson, the latter having now been elevated to be the new Political Officer in Sikkim. "I understand from our Tibetan catechist, Tharchin," he pointedly began his letter of 4 March 1946,

that there are arrangements almost completed for sending a power-driven press, of much larger capacity than the existing one here, to the Guild Mission. As I mentioned previously, it is very difficult to get facts out of Mr. Tharchin, but if this be your position, then before anything further is done I shall be glad to have a clear understanding of that position, the obligations of the Mission, and the terms on which the press is being sent here.

The "arrangements almost completed" to which Rev. Mill here referenced, was most likely what Tharchin would be writing about six months later to Hugh Richardson up in Lhasa. For in his letter of 11 September to the British Mission Head at the Tibetan capital, the Babu, by then having severed all relationship with the Scots Mission and its Press, stated the following: "Last February," which was but a month before Mill's follow-up letter to Hopkinson, "I went down to Calcutta to see the press at the Survey office. It is a very large one and [is] thought [to be] too big for the purpose, so it was stopped [i.e., was no longer being considered]. But by the kindness of Mr. Hopkinson and your honour [Richardson], I am eagerly hoping and waiting to get a better one and [privately] publish the Newspaper, if not weekly then fortnightly."^{160b}

Apprehensive of what must have appeared to Mill and the Mission Council to have been an end-run attempt by Tharchin, in knowing or unknowing collaboration with the Political Officer, to set aside the Mission's much more limited vision than Tharchin's for the future activities of the Mission Press as those activities might involve the *Tibet Mirror's* continued publication, the missionary was moved to declare the following further observations to the Political Officer:

As the introduction of a power press means increased costs of operating and a far larger capacity for [printing] work, I shall be glad to have this statement [on the Political Officer's position] to lay before the Mission Council which meets in the beginning of April.

I am sorry to bother you with this but Mr. Tharchin's views on the business are so vague that I am once again in the dark, and the arrangement for a press of about the same capacity as that [which] we presently have seems to have been departed from.

Yours sincerely, G. S. Mill.

Obviously, Babu Tharchin's ambition to see created within the Guild Mission's Press a "large Tibetan printing establishment" with himself at its head ran counter to what the Mission Council had in mind for its future printing endeavors. To put it bluntly, the Council

was greatly troubled by what it perceived to be Tharchin's subtle attempt behind the scenes to obviate its decision-making authority and by what it believed to be the expansion of his personal vision in wanting to continue printing, with no end in sight, his Tibetan newspaper and the printing of other Tibetan-language publications.

Things would soon come to a head between the Mission and its Press Manager, eventuating in the aforementioned heated exchange which erupted between Mill and the Babu at the Anderson building. According to both a summary of this incident which Tharchin had recorded in ink on a long sheet of stationery found among his Papers as well as his end-of-life "memoirs," here is what had transpired. The *Tibet Mirror* editor had been told days earlier by Rev. Mill that at the upcoming April Council meeting he would ask the members about the offer of the Political Office to equip the Mission Press "with a better press for the Tibetan Newspaper." "It seems," however, wrote the Babu in his summary, that Mill "did not put *this* question" before the Council, but instead raised the question of "whether the Newspaper is [to continue being] print[ed] or not" (emphasis added). Mill, reported the Babu, "informed me that the Council decided not to print the Tibetan Newspaper" any longer and announced that "from 1st July the Mission is not going to print" it. In response to this bombshell revelation, the shaken Tibetan newspaper editor countered with the proposal that he would print the paper privately on his own but that he could continue to "work for the Mission." Mill strongly demurred, flatly stating that the Tibetan work in the Mission was "full-time, not part-time," in nature, and added, wrote Tharchin in his summary, that "either I have to stop [printing] the Newspaper" at the Mission Press "or [else] resign" from the Mission altogether. In a fit of anger, Tharchin now blurted out that he would rather resign from the Mission service than desist from producing his Tibetan news journal.

Indeed, from other documents among the Tharchin Papers, it is learned that what both Rev. Mill on behalf of the Mission Council and Gergan Tharchin on his own initiative did thereafter was to legalize each's intentions before the Court of Kalimpong's Sub-Divisional Magistrate. As for Mill, he submitted a signed letter to the Sub-Divisional Officer on 3 June 1946 which briefly reads: "I have the honour to inform you that with effect from 1st July 1946, the connection between the Guild Tibetan Mission and the Tibetan Newspaper (Yulchog Sosoï Sargyur Melong) printed and published until now by me as Guild Missionary, at the Mission compound, Kalimpong, will cease." And with respect to the Babu, he also made a declaration before this same Court, but with a far different intention in mind. This is learned from the earlier referenced letter to Richardson at Lhasa which he would write some six months following his heated encounter with Mill. But also learned from this same letter is the fact that the Mill-Tharchin confrontation had actually provided the catalyst for the creation of the Babu's own private printing firm and for the origin of its name: The Tibet Mirror Press. Wrote Tharchin to Richardson concerning what he had been doing to keep the *Tibet Mirror* from going out of existence:

I am ... trying my best to carry on with the publication of the Tibetan Newspaper. Your honour might [have] heard that the Mission has refused to print the paper in their Tibetan Press since 1st July. They told me that if I wish to work for the Mission I must stop the publication, which I refused & have [had] to resign the Mission Work. I have my own small old Litho hand press [the one obtained in 1934 at Darjeeling], on which

I can print two pages at a time, which I [had] kept at the Mission Press. It is taken out [i.e., removed from the Mission Press premises] and [I] declared in the Court. The name of the Press was declared as "The Tibet Mirror Press." Since July I have printed the Paper at the Mirror Press. Now I am trying my best to publish it every month on exact date.^{160c}

Meanwhile, on or about the first of May 1946^{160d} at 10 a.m. Rev. Mill came to Mackenzie Cottage, the place where for many years, until recently, the Tharchins had been living, having moved to here a decade earlier from Polhill Hall. The arrival of the missionary at the Cottage would unfortunately usher in one more fiery altercation between Mill and the Babu. Said one person who knew Mill well, the latter was a tall, slim, erect figure with piercing eyes.¹⁶¹ "You have not vacated the house! How is that?" spoke the Reverend sternly. "Why should I vacate?" Tharchin retorted. "You have resigned from the Mission service," Mill replied. The Tibetan shot back with, "Can you produce my resignation paper?" Mill was mum. This verbal defeat had wounded the Tibetan Mission head, and his adamant attitude now softened somewhat. Whereupon the printer, wishing now to be polite, confessed to Mill: "I agree that I had verbally resigned from the service. And I still stick by my resignation. But how can I vacate on exactly the first of the month? I will require several days to shift all my belongings. And perhaps two or three months may be necessary since accommodation is not that easily available in the town area." Apparently, however, Tharchin had had the last word; for in the course of the argument which had erupted between these two men, the man from Poo had told Mill quite bluntly: "Your way of talking annoyed me, more so because you affronted me [in the Guild Mission's Anderson building offices] before a high-ranking official whom I know very well. This angered me and I assumed you were deliberately insulting me before this third person."*¹⁶² More than likely the unidentified official was an individual within the British Indian government. He could possibly have been the Political Officer Sikkim himself come down from Gangtok to Tharchin's hill town on government business that may even have had some connection with the Babu and the *Tibet Mirror*.

Just here some words of explanation are in order. It is quite true that the Cottage, situated down the hill a very short distance from the Tibetan Mission House, had served, ever since its construction in the mid-1930s, as the residence of the pastor or shepherd of the Kalimpong Tibetan church congregation.¹⁶³ Moreover, in the case of Gergan Tharchin, whose pastoral care of the Tibetans ever since 1924 has already been recounted in the present narrative's previous volume (see Chapter 16), Mackenzie Cottage had served not only as his and his family's place of residence since 1936 but also as the Tibetan catechist's church office as well as the office for his Tibetan newspaper and the Mission Press which he managed for the Mission.

* By this time the reader will doubtless have become aware of the fact that this heretofore obscure, poor-born Indo-Tibetan never allowed himself to be intimidated by the foreign missionaries who exercised final authority over affairs in the Scots Mission; on the contrary, Tharchin adamantly held his ground if from his viewpoint principle or righteous conduct was involved, and did not hesitate at all to confront those whose behavior he deemed unrighteous or totally uncalled for. In many ways, he was rectitude incarnate; yet there was also a quiet, gentle and compassionate side to his character which the reader will come to recognize more fully before the conclusion of the present biography.

This, therefore, is the background against which one must consider Tharchin's words of response to Rev. Mill in their altercation over the Babu's failure to vacate the Cottage in a timely manner. The mention by Tharchin of the need to shift his belongings and of the possible necessity of two or three months to find a suitable downtown area accommodation had solely to do with: (a) vacating Mackenzie of all things related to Tharchin's newspaper office; and (b) finding in the downtown business area a suitable location and sufficient space to which he could shift his *Tibet Mirror* printing operation. It had nothing whatever to do with vacating Mackenzie as the place of his family's residence, now that he would no longer be associated with the Guild Mission as the manager of its Press. This is because some six months prior to the altercation, Tharchin and his family had removed themselves and their personal possessions from the Cottage to a new place of abode.

Having for some time been in search of new and larger residential quarters for his family's needs, the Babu had in 1945 purchased some land along the upper reaches of K.D. Pradhan Road that would become his place of residence for the rest of his life. Situated in a lovely section near the Tirpai area of Kalimpong on the way to the Graham's Homes Establishment and Deolo Hill beyond that, this narrow, elongated plot of ground—with the vistas overlooking on one side the rest of Kalimpong and on the other the massive expanse of Kanchenjunga and the deep-cut valley of the river Teesta below—would be the site of the Tharchin family's first of two homes of their own: "Dechhen Khang-Zang," which in Tibetan means "The Good House of a Big Family," and named in part after Tharchin's wife Karma Dechhen. The second and more spacious home, located at the opposite end of this same narrow-ridge piece of property, was ultimately completed in 1960, providing much larger quarters for the Tibetan pastor, his family, and the stream of guests who would find their way to his open door of hospitality.¹⁶⁴ Accordingly, it was to the newly-built Dechhen Khang-Zang that the Tharchin family had relocated itself by the latter part of 1945.

This fact is known from a passage in a personal letter the Babu had sent to his friend and frequent guest in his home, ex-Captain David Snellgrove, at the time still present in India even though his wartime military service had concluded a few months earlier at Delhi (for more about this future world-renowned Buddhologist, see two chapters hence). Tharchin had written the letter from his *Tibet Mirror* office at the Cottage on 5 January 1946. In it he wrote in part as follows:

Though I write this letter from Mackenzie Cottage, we are not now staying there. We have our own small house just between the bazar and Tirpai Monastery, 15 minutes walk [up] from Mackenzie. We moved to it on 17/11/45 [i.e., on 17 November 1945] and are staying there and we like it as our own. Every day I go down to Mackenzie Cottage for work [in either the newspaper office or that of the church, or both] and come back home at 5:30 or 6 p.m. The new place is much higher [in elevation] and we feel [it is] too cold, and without fire [we] can't [couldn't?] remain, but in summer I think it will be very nice, from where we can see all round the Kangchhenzodnga [sic] views and even the [mule-caravan] road via Nathu La to Tibet.¹⁶⁵

One can therefore confidently deduce from this letter that the demand by Rev. Mill to vacate had only to do with Tharchin's newspaper office files and associated paraphernalia as well as those papers and personal effects from the church office which were his own.

(As will shortly be learned, however, the Cottage would once again be made available to Tharchin, providing office space as before for both church and newspaper.)

Now in due course, it would appear that Mill did finally get an official written resignation notice from the Tibetan pastor/publisher. Like the two 1945 drafts, what apparently is a copy of the actual version sent to the missionary in 1946 was found among the Tharchin Papers. Handwritten neatly in ink without any inserted changes or corrections and signed, it is nonetheless undated and written as from Mackenzie Cottage; leading the present writer to conclude that Tharchin must have subsequently decided to send a typed copy and retain this handwritten version as his file copy. Yet, though the latter is undated, the resignation note giving a month's notice most likely was submitted to Rev. Mill along about the 1st of June 1946 since in a letter to the Political Officer in 1949 reviewing the *Tibet Mirror's* publishing events for 1945-6, the Tibetan publisher stated that "from 1st July 1946 the missionary [Mill] stopped the printing of the paper and I myself started to continue the same with my own litho hand press."¹⁶⁶

It would seem from this much later date for the resignation that Rev. Mill had in the end consented to Tharchin's statement about the need for more time to be granted him to find suitable business quarters for his press and newspaper office requirements. And hence, the catechist/news editor had timed the submission of his note of withdrawal from the Mission accordingly. The resignation notice, reflective of the fact that during the intervening period since his blow-up with Mill Tharchin had regained control of his emotions, reads as follows:

Mackenzie Cottage
Kalimpong

The Rev. G.S. Mill
The Guild Tibetan Missionary in Charge
Kalimpong

My dear Sir,
Regretfully I submit my resignation from the
Guild Tibetan Mission's Catechist-Work.
Please accept this as one month's notice.
Yours obediently
Tharchin*

* Once again, Tharchin had found himself at odds with Scots Mission authorities over his newspaper. In all probability, though one cannot be certain, its continuance and the use to which the Mission's litho press was being put ran counter to the objectives of the Mission. From Rev. Mill's and the Mission Council's perspective these objectives were more "spiritual" in nature than those of the Mission Press Manager, the latter being more political, intellectual and social in character, though certainly not devoid of a definite Christian facet to them. Again, as in the earlier narration of the disagreements between Tharchin Babu and Dr. Knox (see again the previous volume, Chapter 19), what has been here presented relative to Rev. Mill is but that side of the story which is mostly from the perspective and recollection of the Babu; missionary Mill, who died some time ago in Scotland, would doubtless have shared a different perspective on the entire matter. Nevertheless, from all indications which have come to the attention of the present writer, the missionary was not the easiest individual to get along with; and perhaps, too, he, along with his fellow Council members, may have been shortsighted in their view of the role Tharchin's press work could and should play as an instrument of Christian witness to the Tibetan community—so unlike the broader view taken by Rev. Dr. Graham (see again Volume II, Chapter 19 of the present narrative).

By the time of this notice Tharchin had been successful in finding the new quarters he required to be able to continue with his newspaper and private press operations, now that he was no longer connected with the Scots Guild Mission. Up until this time the Mission litho press and printing functions had remained housed in the Tin Dhuray quarters behind and up from Polhill Hall. But upon vacating Mackenzie and the creation of the Tibet Mirror Press, Tharchin would operate his own press device—the litho machine bought at Darjeeling—in his new-found quarters. The latter consisted of several rooms situated opposite to Polhill on the other side of the main road in Kalimpong and hence very centrally located within the town's business center. Coincidentally, in a subsequent day these same rooms would be occupied by the Students' Book Stall that for a time was operated by Tharchin's son Sherab Gyamtsho (the Book Stall would later close down). In the days when these rooms were occupied by the Babu's litho press operations their monthly rent would be a mere Rs. 3/-. Today, Tharchin had long afterwards noted humorously, this amount could purchase no more than one kilogram of rice!



In the meantime, the Kalimpong newspaper publisher would remind the Political Office of certain difficulties connected with his printing press operations and the publication of the *Tibet Mirror*. For one thing, the litho machine purchased so cheaply at Darjeeling in 1934 was beginning to give out. For another, Tharchin was faced with some financial difficulties, at least by the end of 1946, compelling him to specifically petition the Political Office for monetary assistance. This it provided, granting Tharchin a substantial monthly subsidy for the year 1947. But it would come at a price—a certain degree of press freedom would be forfeited. For in his letter of thanks to the Political Officer Sikkim in June 1947, and marked in ink on his own office copy: "Secret," the newspaper editor, after expressing his "gratitude to the Government of India for their willingness to subsidise my paper to the extent of Rs. 200/- per mensem," went on to state immediately thereafter: "I assure the Government that the news and views of the Government of India will receive adequate space in my paper, and that nothing adverse to their interests will be printed." This perfectly worded statement was probably an echo on his part of the wording that most likely appeared in a letter which the British authorities must have sent the Babu that announced the subsidy grant and spelled out the conditions which they expected the news journal's publisher to follow if the subsidy were to continue to be offered. Furthermore, the Babu indicated his willingness "to send complimentary copies to Tibetan notabilities [i.e., notable Tibetans in Tibet and elsewhere] who may be recommended by the Political Officer in Sikkim."^{166a}

Nevertheless, given his approach to the geopolitical concerns he had regarding Central Asia at this time and his particular religious predilections he continually held out for his ethnic homeland (all of which is fully described two chapters hence), the Christian Babu had little difficulty in accepting these conditions in exchange for both the monthly subsidy he supposedly was about to receive and the additional aid he would obtain shortly hereafter.

That aid would be mandated under an agreement which would be struck between the Government of India and the newspaper publisher (see below).

Yet such conditions did not mean that the Babu's journalistic standards would be lowered or that when challenged by the Political Officer as to the accuracy of his paper's news reporting he would obsequiously bow to the Officer's wishes or demands when the Editor believed his reporting was in fact accurate. A dramatic example of this occurred in 1949, when by that time Harish Dayal was the P.O.S. This is reflected in an exchange of letters between these two which are a part of the Tharchin Papers. "I understand," wrote Dayal to Tharchin on 20 June, "that in the issue of your newspaper of 1st May 1949, there is an item to the effect that the Government of India have appointed one Mr. Sen to advise ... the Maharaja of Bhutan. This news is entirely incorrect, and I shall be glad to know the source of the report." "The publication of incorrect news," the Political Officer added tartly, "is always undesirable, and it is particularly undesirable in the case of a newspaper which receives assistance from the Government of India."

The *Tibet Mirror* publisher was not in the least intimidated, however, for in his reply of 25 June he politely but firmly stood his ground. "I have the honour to state," he began, "that ... I have not said that the Government of India have appointed one Mr. Sen to advise ... the Maharaja of Bhutan! This translation [from the Tibetan] is entirely incorrect. Permit me to request your honour to kindly ask the translator concerned to read the item carefully once more and translate accurately." Furthermore, to underscore that he accurately knew whereof he wrote, Tharchin added the following sensitive point in a most diplomatic fashion: "For your kind information, I am enclosing here a list of [Tibetan] words used in the news item referring to the appointment of Mr. Sen, with their English meanings, from which your honour will see that I have not [stated] anything [to the effect] that Mr. Sen was appointed by the Government of India as adviser ..." And with regard to Dayal's request to know the Babu's source for this report, Tharchin was not about to reveal it to the Political Officer, cleverly fending off the request for the time being by stating: "If the appointment of Mr. Sen by the Government of Bhutan is [i.e., proves to be] incorrect, I shall be very sorry for the incorrect news, but I shall rectify it in my next issue and then I shall reveal the source, ... which I thought a reliable one."

But Dayal had also requested of the Editor that "in future I shall be glad if you will obtain confirmation from me of any reports on important matters affecting the Government of India and their relations with Tibet, Sikkim and Bhutan." To which order Tharchin had no hesitation in responding affirmatively. All in all, however, Tharchin's reporting of events in India in the pages of his news journal, according to the British official Hugh Richardson, "was generally satisfactory from the British point of view."^{166b}

Yet it must be noted that the grant of the monthly subsidy for 1947 was apparently short-lived, if in fact any one single monthly amount was ever issued to Tharchin during the entire year. For the publisher would later indicate that because the newspaper suddenly became self-supporting, he would not be able to avail himself of any part of what would have been a full-year's subsidy of Rs. 2400/-.^{166c} The reasons to account for how the *Tibet Mirror* had become a fully self-supporting enterprise in 1947—and at no other time before or since that year—are quite interesting. The Babu would explain four years afterwards how this

turn of fortune for his newspaper had all come about. He did so in a letter of retrospection he had sent in April 1951 addressed to one of the Political Officer's subordinate officials stationed at Kalimpong, the Tibet Liaison Officer (with a copy of it forwarded to the P.O.S. himself). In it Tharchin requested (unsuccessfully, as it turned out) that the Government's program which had proved so beneficial for his newspaper in 1947 be reinstated in 1951 as a means of solving his paper's currently grave financial difficulties. Wrote Tharchin (with some minor editing added for needful clarity):

From August 1942 to 1946 I received a subsidy from the Government, also a monthly Rs. 200/- for the year 1947. But that year the paper was self-supporting and therefore the amount was never demanded from the Government [? by the Political Office Sikkim ?]. How the paper that year was able to be self-supporting was because the Political Officer, together with the Tibet Liaison Officer, made a plan requiring that all the Tibetan Traders who obtain permits [from the T.L.O.] for exporting goods [from India to Tibet] had to subscribe to the Tibetan newspaper for a year. At the same time all Government notices concerning Tibet trade were now to be published in the paper. Also, all Traders' names and addresses, and the quantity of [export] goods they obtained were likewise to be published in the paper so that the Traders may know to whom and how much goods were allotted from the Tibet Quat—[? Quota?—typed word undecipherable here]. Hence, in that year the paper's subscriber list went up to about 1,000, and so the paper was self-supporting.*

But from the first quarter of the year 1948, the permit system was abolished [as well as all other features of the plan which had flowed from the permit system, including the required subscriptions to the *Tibet Mirror*].^{16d}

Nevertheless, despite the Government's abandonment of the permit and subscription program at the beginning of 1948, Tharchin could report that Political Officer Hopkinson,¹⁶⁷ realizing afresh the strategic value of the *Tibet Mirror*, "moved [i.e., petitioned] the Government of India that [because] the newspaper is doing great work for the friendly relations between Tibet and India, the Government should kindly help to buy a proper press."^{167a} As part of this petition, Hopkinson came forward with a plan to finance a new printing press enterprise for Gergan Tharchin by means of an interest-free loan that was to be repaid by installments but with the understanding that the Babu would be required to pay interest on any given installment should there be any delay in the submission of its payment.

An agreement was therefore duly "entered into between the Political Officer acting on

* Actually, the number of subscribers that year would even surpass this figure of 1,000; for Tharchin would record for himself on a sheet of paper the fact that during the month of February alone he was able to enlist 40 new subscribers, all of them traders from Tibet, making a total of 1,252 subscribers to the *Mirror* by the end of that month. But by the end of the following month, the total had risen to a whopping 1,983! It was no wonder, then, that the earmarked monthly subsidy of Rs. 200/- "was never demanded from the Government," after all. For when one considers that those 40 new trader subscriptions garnered for the *Mirror* endeavor a total of Rs. 955/- alone, there was no need! After 1947, however, the Babu would never again know a prosperous subscriber experience like this. In fact, the Tibetan newspaper would never again be truly self-supporting.

behalf of the Government of India and my humble self,” wrote Tharchin several years afterwards,^{167b} and as learned at the end of the previous chapter, the plan was put into effect as soon as possible thereafter. The contents of the loan agreement, however, would require some little while to implement, for not only would the improved printing press have to be obtained but also larger quarters would need to be established and made ready to house this more modern press.

With respect to this latter requirement, Tharchin—in line with the agreement with the British—would purchase through the relevant local Kalimpong government office a small plot of land along Rishi Road in the Tenth Mile area of Kalimpong where he would erect what would become the permanent site for his Tibet Mirror Press. The land purchase occurred in late 1947. An intimation of this fact is made clear from the contents of a copy of a document found among the Tharchin Papers which had been prepared in early November of that year for the Political Officer (Hopkinson) by the latter’s Tibet Liaison Officer, H.S. Bullock, who was always stationed at Kalimpong (for more on this official, see later in the present chapter).

The document in question is entitled, “Tibetan Newspaper—New Printing Press: Report of Conference with Mr. Forsgren in Darjeeling on 29th October, 1947.” Forsgren was a friend of Bullock’s and was also, according to Tharchin, “an expert in press and printing.” Earlier, in mid-July, Bullock had taken the Babu over to Darjeeling for a discussion with this expert on securing a better press and related matters. The subsequent conference held among these same three individuals in October at Darjeeling was specifically convoked for the purpose of discussing the proposed new building to house the better press that would arrive in Kalimpong in late December just before New Year 1948. Bullock’s report is very informative, and provides additional concrete evidence of just how involved the British were in the entire process for establishing Tharchin’s more modern printing press and the building site for housing it. Wrote Bullock to his superior, Hopkinson, with a copy of the letter earmarked for Tharchin:

1. Mr. Forsgren thinks the proposed new building to house the press and subsidiary machinery will be large enough (i.e. 22 ft x 20 ft), provided everything is arranged to the best advantage.

2. He recommends: (a) That the position of each piece of machinery be carefully planned before the floor is laid and that thick wooden planks be let in flush with the cement floor so that each may stand on its own wooden base, as wood acts as a very good cushion.

- (b) The machinery will not need bolting down, as it is heavy enough to remain firmly [in place] by its own weight.

- (c) If it is anticipated that the press shall, at any future time, be electrically driven, provision should be made for the motor to be placed as near as possible to the press so as to have the driving belt as short as possible.

- (d) The main light should be from the North, if possible, and the composer should stand so as to get full advantage from the North light.

- (e) There must be provision for warming the building in very cold weather, not only for the benefit of the workers, but also because the efficient running of the machinery

is impaired if the atmosphere is very cold. It will be useful if the stove is of a type which will burn up waste paper cuttings and such rubbish.

(f) The water tap and washing place for type (in the proper solution) must not be overlooked and must, of course, be placed in the most suitable position.

3. All the foregoing recommendations should be thought out and planned before the actual building operations are commenced.¹⁶⁸

Apparently by design, the location of this new Mirror Press structure would be conveniently situated in close proximity to Mackenzie Cottage, connected as the new Press shop would be to it by means of a short zigzag footpath up a hillside which rose directly behind Tharchin's soon-to-be-constructed Rishi Road Press building. For though the Babu, as learned a few pages earlier, had been required to vacate the Cottage premises in mid-1946, he would subsequently return to it later when encouraged to rejoin the Scots Mission and its Tibetan work by two of the Mission's most influential missionaries (see Chapter 25 for details). And thus the pastor/publisher would have restored to him the facilities of the Cottage for housing once again the offices of both church and newspaper.*

In line further with the loan agreement, Tharchin would travel down to Calcutta in the summer of 1947¹⁶⁹ to make arrangements for the purchase not only of Tibetan types but also of a more up-to-date printing press that would then be installed in the new Press shop back in Kalimpong. Originally Tharchin, in his petition to the Political Office for financial support, had also requested the Government to supply him with "a second-hand Litho machine" to replace the Darjeeling one he had gotten back in 1934. As it turned out, however, Hopkinson had apparently countered with the plan mentioned earlier which called for the purchase of a more suitable, improved printing press that would include hand-setting movable Tibetan type. This counter-proposal and plan of the Political Officer was the result of the findings laid out in Tharchin's report of his visit to Calcutta during August to investigate the availability and pricing of lithographic devices. In his report Tharchin revealed that expert personnel at several press dealers had informed him that litho machines fitted for *stones* were "now going out of date," that a litho press fitted for "zinc sheets" would "be better," although such

* Still another factor which may have contributed to Tharchin's choice in late 1947 for where to locate his new press shop had to do with his already well-established secret intelligence service he had been undertaking for the British having to do with matters related to Tibet. It so happened that this very period in the Babu's varied career—the latter half of the 1940s—was the time-frame for his most active and significant participation in intelligence-gathering efforts on behalf of the British Raj. And one of his most important fellow agents and future superior in this clandestine activity, Lha Tsering, happened to have had his residence situated directly opposite from where Tharchin's Tenth Mile-Rishi Road Press building would now be constructed. A coincidence? Or was it a choice made by design? More likely the latter, since following the initial arrival into Kalimpong two years earlier of Tharchin's most reliable subordinate undercover agent, Hisao Kimura, frequent meetings would commence to occur at Lha Tsering's home that would be attended by the Babu, Kimura, Eric Lambert, Lha Tsering and others involved in the spy network. And as it turned out Tharchin and Kimura would often have reason to be either at the Press building or at nearby Mackenzie Cottage, or at both places, on any given day or evening. Thus, were the Press building to be established at such a strategic location, how convenient it would be for these two—and other associates of theirs in the secret network—to be able to unobtrusively slip across Rishi Road to this key intelligence agent's home! (See two chapters hence for further details.)

a device from England “may not be available for two or more years”; further, that second-hand litho presses for stones “are becoming expensive and ... may go up in price even more” due to the fact that English firms were no longer making them, and that it was therefore suggested to Tharchin that he should instead “buy a letter press” such as “a letter-printing treadle machine.”^{169a}

Accordingly, a Treadle Brown printing press¹⁷⁰ was purchased and shipped up to Kalimpong by late 1947,^{170a} along with tools, types and equipment, the cost totaling nearly Rs. 14,000/-. Interestingly, according to Tharchin, this entire Government of India-sanctioned loan to him would be paid out from what the British termed a “cess fund.” The monies in this particular cess fund were derived from dues collected by the Tibet Liaison Officer through an organization called The Cloth Syndicate. To this Syndicate belonged many traders from Tibet and India at Kalimpong who sought from the T.L.O. the issuance of highly-prized permits for exporting into Tibet various Indian-manufactured cotton and woolen goods—as well as yarn, kerosene oil, and sugar—which at that time were in great demand in the Snowy Land.^{170b}

Although the original “Draft Agreement” forwarded earlier by Hopkinson to “Foreign, New Delhi” called for seven annual installments, Clause 2 in the agreement was amended to provide for fourteen semi-annual installments as follows: “Mr. Tharchin will refund the purchase price in half-yearly instalments, payable on 1st March and 1st September, beginning 1st March 1948.” This was then followed by a list of fourteen dates and the payment amount for each of them, the amounts ranging from Rs. 510/- at the beginning to as much as Rs. 1635/- at the end, and totaling exactly Rs. 13,590/-.¹⁷¹

As the extant documents reveal, the proprietor of the new Tibet Mirror Press was able to clear off, down to the last rupee, the entire loan; although on several occasions during the seven-year period he had been compelled, because of adverse financial circumstances, not only to request a delay of one or more months to repay a given installment but also to borrow from friends, usually interest-free, the amount needed. Although the delay requested was always granted, it necessitated the Government—in accordance with the agreement—to affix an additional interest.

Most interestingly, on one occasion, Babu Tharchin’s financial position had become so stringent that he had toyed with the idea of sending a letter to Indian Prime Minister Nehru about his dire situation. This was in 1951, and although he had prepared the letter in proper formal typewritten form on Tibet Mirror Press letterhead stationery and had composed it in very good English, the only copy found among the Tharchin Papers—which was clearly a draft—was undated and unsigned, though his name was typed in at the end, leaving adequate but still empty space above it for his signature. For these reasons, it is uncertain if the Babu ever sent the letter.

In this very lengthy draft letter, Tharchin gave a rather full summary of the history of his multifarious career up to 1951 as well as a history of the *Tibet Mirror*, including the mention of various subsidies granted him and the receipt of other forms of Government assistance under both British and Independent India. With reference to the loan agreement of 1947-8, the Babu candidly confided his inability to pay the seventh installment due on 1st March 1951, for which he was nonetheless granted by the Indian Political Officer for Tibet “a

grace of three months time," which meant, he added, that "I will have to pay interest for the same as laid down in the Agreement." Explaining the several factors accounting for his failure to repay on time, the Babu pointed out that ever since he had begun publishing materials by means of "the proper press with hand-setting types," it was necessary "to maintain an adequate staff with an average monthly expenditure of Rs. 800/- against the monthly income of [only] Rs. 400/- [derived] from job works," resulting in a monthly loss of Rs. 400/-. Adding that because his newspaper "is not a paying concern," his "present financial position is not sound," leaving him "deeply engrossed in debt."

Babu Tharchin's solution to his problem, as he now saw it, was to "venture" to address this letter to the Prime Minister personally on the matter, "with the fervent hope" that it would receive Nehru's "liberal and sympathetic consideration." But the Babu then let fall, at last, and in all seriousness and sincerity, a most dramatic request:

I most humbly pray that through your honour's good office, the Government of India may consider my helpless condition to repay the balance of instalments and that the press may be presented to me as a gift from the Government by way of remission of the balance of instalments in consideration of the humble service rendered by me during the [Second World] War and after through my newspaper, failing which the Government may be kind enough to grant me a monthly subsidy so that I may be able to continue the paper and serve both the Governments of India and Tibet as heretofore, and for which act of kindness I shall ever pray for your longevity and prosperity to rule over us.

Your most obedient and humble subject,

(THARCHIN).^{171a}

Let it be noted here that if this arch defender of both India's and Tibet's best interests did send the letter, neither the Prime Minister nor his Government ministers ever granted what he had audaciously requested of them. Nevertheless, the letter, if even but an unsent draft, is indicative of the fact that Gergan Tharchin would leave no stone unturned in his untiring effort, against all odds, to keep his precious newspaper alive and running for the benefit especially of his ethnic homeland at a time of ongoing crisis for her people.

Meanwhile, the Babu's first ever modern press would now develop gradually; and, according to the needs, additional equipment such as a machine for casting type (see below) was purchased and likewise placed in the new Mirror Press shop. Further changes and alterations were made to keep the enterprise as up-to-date as possible. For the first time he began to do printing with proper movable types. This was in fulfillment of his long-held dream of having a modern printing press. In fact, it was because of this specific hope and intention of his that decades ago he had originally scribbled his first letter to Rev. Waismaa of the Scandinavian Alliance Mission Press at Ghoom. Long afterwards and on several occasions Tharchin Babu, with great emotion, could be heard repeating the refrain: "My dream came true!" His constant desire had ever and always been to learn printing and to install his own modern printing press—with type fonts, matrices, casting machine, and all. And at last that desire, that dream, was realized.



The story of how he obtained his matrices is equally fascinating. In 1902 the British Government of India had printed Sarat Chandra Das's *Dictionary* of the Tibetan language.¹⁷² A decade and more later, the Indian government had also printed his Tibetan *Grammar* (1915). And in preparation for accomplishing these two printing tasks, the Government had matrices made for small, medium and big Tibetan types. As it turned out, in fact, all three of these different Tibetan alphabet fonts were used to typeset and print the famed Das *Dictionary** as well as his *Grammar*. Upon the completion of the printing, however, the Government had no longer required the matrices. And hence they were disposed of in an auction. They were bought by the old Press Equipment Firm located at the time on Lower Chitpur Road in Calcutta. The Tibetan publisher would first be introduced to these matrices at this Firm in 1931 when he accompanied Rev. G. T. Sitling to Calcutta. One day during that year's visit he happened to speak to the manager about Tibetan-language matrices, to which inquiry the manager had replied, "We have something like that out of which Chandra Das's *Dictionary* had been printed." Immediately exhibiting an interest, Tharchin was shown these matrices. But unable to afford purchasing them for the price demanded, the Babu had

* This detail is according to the Babu's friend, Sonam T. Kazi, who on occasion had accompanied Tharchin on the latter's business trips to Calcutta where the Das dictionary had been printed and published. Interview with the Kazi, Oct. 1991. This, incidentally, was not the earliest Tibetan metal fonts ever to be cast, though like the Das *Dictionary* and *Grammar* ones, an earlier casting did occur at Calcutta. This earliest instance saw the creation of those fonts which had been cast in 1832 at the direction of the Asiatic Society of Bengal for the Society's printing of the *Tibetan Grammar* and *Tibetan-English Dictionary* authored by the great Hungarian Tibetan scholar-linguist, Csoma de Kőrös (1784-1842). This information is per Jamyang Norbu's Internet website essay, "Newspeak and New Tibet," Part III, unnumbered page, at www.TibetWrites.org. For more re: Csoma, see the End-Notes for Ch. 28 of the present work.

The very earliest Tibetan type to be cast, however, took place nearly a century earlier at Rome. For John Bray has pointed out that the Catholic Capuchin missionary to Tibet, Francisco Orazio della Penna (1680-1745), who labored 20 years in Lhasa during the first half of the 18th century, would be the catalyst in seeing this earliest casting of the Tibetan type accomplished. Having already completed by 1732 both a Tibetan-Italian dictionary manuscript containing some 35,000 entries and "a counterpart Italian-Tibetan dictionary," the missionary had then traveled back to Rome the following year for the purpose of gaining further support for his Capuchin mission at the Tibetan capital. And it was while remaining at Rome till about 1741 that della Penna, according to Bray, would supervise "the preparation . . . of a set of movable type—the first to be created for Tibetan—and carried this back to Lhasa, together with a printing press." Bray cites several sources for this information, the most important of which is a German-language article by Johannes Schubert, "Typographia Tibetanna," in *Gutenberg Jahrbuch* (Mainz, 1950), 280-297, in which this earliest example of Tibetan type is discussed at some length. See the opening pages of Bray's scholarly monograph, "Missionaries, Officials and the Making of the 1826 *Dictionary of the Bhotanta or Bouton language*," soon to be published in *Zentralasiatische Studien*, an advance copy of which was kindly sent the present writer by the author.

Interestingly enough, among the numerous Tibetan dictionaries comprising Gergan Tharchin's personal library was a copy of this monumental work by Das, which had been sent from Great Britain as a gift to the Indo-Tibetan. Inscribed on its flyleaf were the following striking notations, the first of which reads: "To G. Tharchin: In memory of his associations in the Master's service with the late Rev. Evan Mackenzie, in Kalimpong and district. [Signed:] Glenmoriston Manse, Scotland." A date, if indicated, is no longer visible. And just below this inscription was added the following in ink by the Babu: "Received with many many [*sic*] thanks.—Tharchin, 7/9/34 [i.e., 7 Sept. 1934]."

to take his leave of the manager without them. Year after year thereafter on every trip to the Bengal capital, the newspaper publisher would unfailingly pay a visit to this old Firm and make inquiry about the old Tibetan matrices.

Every time Tharchin would bargain for these matrices the manager would up the price so high that the visitor was unable to buy them. The manager had quite candidly said on the occasion of Tharchin's first visit to the Firm in 1931, "We bought these matrices at an auction for Rs. 1800/-, and we are willing to sell them for Rs. 4000/-." But on another occasion the manager, bluffing, said to the Kalimpongian that the whole set had been sold. Yet Tharchin had learned from the Firm's shop workers that the matrices were in actual fact lying around in the company's godown. Later Tharchin used a bit of psychology on the manager, observing: "The matrices are too old. However, I would like to buy them as souvenirs." He convinced the manager that the types were outmoded, so much so that the latter finally offered to sell the entire lot for the Babu's much lower offer of Rs. 400/- than what the manager had asked for previously. What had also aided in making the manager more willing to sell the matrices and to sell them cheaply was the fact that Tharchin had first cleverly softened up the manager's personal clerk-assistant one day when the manager was absent by having gifted the clerk with a small amount of the much-prized and expensive musk. And when visiting the manager himself the following day, again having a supply of the musk handy, the manager became most compliant and the deal was sealed the very next day at Rs. 400/-. The time of this transaction was April 1945.

The Kalimpong publisher then brought to the notice of the Government's Political Department the importance of immediately buying the available matrices at the price Tharchin had successfully negotiated. "As far as my information goes," he would report to Political Officer Gould, "there is no firm in India except the Baptist Mission [Press] in Calcutta which [today] has Tibetan matrices; moreover, it has only one kind, whereas these matrices ... are of three kinds [i.e., three sizes]: big medium and small. I think that if the Baptist Mission [Press] had known about these matrices, I am sure they would have bought them [even at] a high price...." "I hope," added the Babu in his report to Gould, that "these matrices may be very useful to the Government [of India] as well as to the Tibetans in future times to come." His most salient argument to the Indian government was that "if we do not buy them some Chinese customers may buy them at any moment." The Political Officer was convinced. When the transaction was done Tharchin had purchased all the matrices in the set except for a few which were missing. He would later be reimbursed in full by the Indian government. Even so, as numerous as these matrices were, the set from Calcutta would not prove to be as complete as the one he much later acquired from Japan. That, too, had an interesting story behind it, but whose end was not at all satisfying to the Tibetan publisher.^{172a}

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Tharchin Babu came to know Professor Shoju Inaba from the Land of the Rising Sun. Inaba, who had specialized in Buddhist Lore, graduating in that subject area in 1937 from

Otani University, Kyoto, went on to become a Professor at his alma mater after spending the long War years in the Japanese Army. From the end of the Second World War Inaba had commenced devoting himself entirely to a comparative study of the Buddhist texts in Sanskrit and their Tibetan translations, and even extending his research to a study of Tibetan translations of Buddhist texts which had been written in Chinese. The ultimate result of all these labors was the publication of his much applauded Classical Grammar of the Tibetan Language which appeared in Japanese in 1954.*¹⁷³ But his research as preparation for the publication of this Grammar had brought him to Kalimpong for the purpose of consulting a rare manuscript of Tharchin's that proved to be quite helpful.

Four years following the publication of his Classical Grammar, Inaba would make a second visit to Kalimpong in company with two other Japanese researchers. This had occurred during the spring of 1958 and is known from a letter written by one of Professor Inaba's companions that was found among the Tharchin Papers. It is dated 20 June 1958 and postmarked Nalanda P. O., Patna in India:

Dear Mr. Tharchin:

Many thanks to you for your kindness and hospitality extended to us during our stay in Kalimpong. After a long journey here and there in India, on the 15th June at Patna I left Prof. Inaba [who was] starting for Japan via Calcutta, and the next day I returned to Nalanda. I believe that Prof. Inaba has now reached Japan safely [by air]....¹⁷⁴

Nalanda, of course, was the site of an ancient North Indian Buddhist university where great Buddhist masters taught their disciples. While at the Babu's hill station, Inaba had consulted some rare Tibetan books which Tharchin had in his personal library.

Now it so happened that Inaba had a firsthand knowledge of the theoretical and practical aspects of the printing press. And apparently wishing to remunerate his Kalimpong host for his kind hospitality during the two visits to the hill station and for making available to the Japanese scholar his rare manuscripts and books on Tibetological studies, Inaba inquired of the Babu if there was some way he could repay his host for the many kindnesses shown. In response Tharchin requested a set of Tibetan matrices and a casting machine for making Tibetan type, to which the Japanese scholar readily agreed. There thus was inaugurated a

* Writes Roy Miller in 1991 of Inaba's place in Japanese and Western scholarly study of Tibetan grammatical literature: "the best Japanese Tibetological scholarship in this field ... has produced a number of useful and informative studies that European Tibetology continues to neglect to its own loss. Especially notable in this respect have been the contributions of Inaba Shōju, particularly his remarkable 1954 monograph on the Tibetan grammatical tradition as a whole (and now to be used and cited in the revised and expanded edition of 1986). This book is the only attempt to date in any language at providing a comprehensive account of the entire Tibetan grammatical literature. Inaba provides a systematic if succinct account of the principal categories and features of Tibetan grammar, then under each rubric he cites the passages in which the given grammatical category or feature is treated in the first two treatises [those of Tibet's First Grammarian and, tradition maintains, the creator of the Tibetan script] (if it does appear there), followed by a representative selection from the principal later commentaries." Miller also heaped much praise on Inaba's revised and expanded 1986 edition. See his paper, "On the Utility of the Tibetan Grammarians," in E. Steinkellner, ed., *Tibetan History and Language* (Vienna, 1991), 365-6. For additional details on the content of Inaba's monograph, see the end-note indicated at this point in the Text above.

long drawn-out episode lasting some five years and generating literally dozens of letters back and forth between Japan and India on the subject which began as early as 1957 and did not conclude till 1962. (All such letters are to be found among the Tharchin Papers.) The writers of this seemingly endless collection of letters were the following individuals: Tharchin and Inaba, of course, along with their mutual friend Hisao Kimura who frequently acted as a facilitator between the Tibetan and Inaba when any difficulties arose; the Political Officer Sikkim and other Indian government officials when the time came to secure the necessary Import License; S. Kuriyama, the Calcutta representative and Technical Adviser of the Overseas Merchandise Inspection Company of Tokyo; and Y. M. Takasaki of Otani University in Kyoto who came to be situated at Gangtok, to be near the Namgyal Institute of Tibetology there as a representative of Professor Inaba's scholarly Tibetan interests, and later situated at Calcutta for the purpose, unfortunately, of having to assist the Babu in seeing that the type casting machine, which suffered serious damage during transshipment either between Japan and Calcutta or between the latter place and Kalimpong, was repaired and restored to working order to the satisfaction of the Tibetan publisher.

In all, Shoju Inaba would remit to Tharchin by sea mail from Japan a Tibetan type casting machine, one or more sets of matrices, and related equipment and materials. And thus by this shipment from his Japanese benefactor, Tharchin would be able to install for himself a foundry device for making Tibetan printing type. In retrospect, however, the Babu may have been sorry he ever got involved with the Japanese Professor in the first place. This is because it would appear, from all the extant correspondence, that Inaba had taken exceptional advantage of Tharchin's kindness and generosity by having extracted from him, at nearly every step along the way, additional scholarly assistance of one sort or another which in the end proved to be a severe drain on the aging Kalimpong resident's precious time and energy. For what had supposed to have been initially merely a facilitation of the transshipment of the matrices and casting machine by Inaba as a "thank you" for all previous kindnesses extended him by the Babu ended up serving as what seemed to be a ploy to gain more and more scholarly assistance from Tharchin as a means of furthering the Professor's ever-expanding Tibetan studies, his research lectures, and the learned publications which would result from both these endeavors.

For instance, in a letter from his home at Osaka dated 15 June 1959, Inaba first thanks the Babu for the latter's research assistance rendered to him not only at Kalimpong but also by the mails, declaring that "due to your kindness, I am progressing steadily in my Tibetan studies. My gratitude knows no bounds." Immediately thereafter, however, the Japanese scholar asks for another favor. He explains to Tharchin that he must go to Tohoku University in Sendai Japan at the end of June where, he writes, "I must express my study about [i.e., present a paper on] the date of King Sgam-po," a reference to Tibet's celebrated King-Emperor Songtsan Gampo. But he desperately needs Tharchin's help, having enclosed in the letter a number of photos for the Babu to arrange and give translated accounts of each, one of which is that of the King-Emperor and the account given which, he acknowledges, "I cannot read clearly. Therefore, I beseech you to arrange an account ... and send it to me as soon as possible." But he then offers a tempting blandishment, as it were, apparently hoping by it that it would encourage the overly-burdened Babu to fulfill the above favor immediately.

For in the next breath Inaba refers again to the Tibetan types at his Otani University which he had previously promised to arrange for sending to Tharchin in thankfulness for the latter's helpfulness at Kalimpong. But he then asks the Tibetan what he thinks of the types at Tohoku to where he will be going soon to deliver his paper. "If you like the latter," writes Inaba, "I will try to negotiate with the possessor of Tohoku's types ... And if the negotiation is successful, I will present to you one complete set of the reproduction of the Tibetan matrices as a gift."

Two months later, again writing from his Osaka home, Professor Inaba asks another scholarly favor and offers a new deal. In his letter of 4 August he declares this: "All matrices I will present to you for your kindness of [read: in exchange for your] arranging and translating the *Hulan Debther*." Two years go by, and still nothing of matrices and casting machine has arrived from Japan. Then comes a letter from the Japanese scholar at Otani University dated 6 August 1961 indicating that he has finally sent "one set of matrices" and would now be "sending the [casting] machine." He quickly adds: "I have done the best for you."

Yet it would appear that Inaba is somewhat miffed at Tharchin for still not having done the work on the *Hulan Debther* which the Japanese had asked him to do two years earlier in exchange for the matrices. For immediately after declaring he had "done the best" for Tharchin, the Professor takes aim and writes: "I see you cannot translate the *Hulan Debther* into English, because you are too busy and too old." The reader will soon learn that these three calendar years, 1959 to 1961, were busy years indeed for the aging Tibetan who would see his beloved ethnic homeland engulfed by civil uprising and spreading war and witness a continuing stream of refugees spilling over the border into Kalimpong, Darjeeling and elsewhere along Tibet's Himalayan frontiers. The humble Tibetan from Poo must needs come to their aid as best he could, which thus kept him much occupied.

Nevertheless, Inaba would not give up his desire for more assistance from the Babu. If he adds in the same letter to Tharchin, you are too busy and too old, what about "Rev. Rig zin wang po" who "is in your home" right now? "Will you please ask him to translate it?" By this time Tharchin's nephew had become a Hinayana Buddhist monk and would soon be engaged in helping the Babu and others in revising the Tibetan New Testament (see the present volume's Chapter 28). If Tharchin's monk nephew would do the work, Inaba went on, then "I will remunerate him through Mr. Takasaki" at Gangtok. The Japanese scholar concludes his letter thus: "Hoping that the [casting] machine will arrive at your home safely. Yours sincerely, Shoju Inaba."

Well, the machine, matrices, and so on did finally arrive at Calcutta in September 1961, with Babu Tharchin taking delivery at Kalimpong in late October. As noted earlier, however, the machine arrived in a broken state, creating many lingering problems and frustrating disappointments and even ill-health for the Tibetan publisher as he repeatedly tried for months, with Mr. Takasaki's assistance, to get the machine to work properly even after it had been repaired. During the next six months or so, in fact, the correspondence back and forth among all the relevant participants was replete with evidence of Tharchin's increasing discouragement and sense of defeat over the entire matter.

Indeed, in a postscript to a letter of 22 June 1962 sent to Kimura, the Babu poured out his angst over the whole affair:

I think I wrote you about the type casting machine which was sent by Prof. Inaba. [Yes, he had first written the bad news to Kimura on 7 Dec. 1961, and indicated he had not yet reported to Inaba the machine's arrival and failure to operate, out of fear that the Professor "may also be sorry to hear the news."] It arrived here in broken condition. I tried to repair it but it is not working. I spent over two thousand [rupees] but it is useless. He has sent an old second-hand machine which is out of date. One of his men, Mr. Takasaki, was here for a few hours and he saw the machine and tried to operate it but he was not able to cast [any] type. I am very sorry about it and thereafter I became sick [having been laid low for six months with heart weakness brought on in part by this machine episode—present author] and so sad and [have] not written any letter to him yet but I shall write soon, as I got a letter from him and Mr. Takasaki is also back to Japan by now.¹⁷⁵

As a matter of fact, Tharchin was so overtaken with grief and frustration over the entire episode that as will be learned below, he would still not write the Professor for another three months yet, thus meaning that an entire year would go by before the Professor would hear from Tharchin! This additional three months' delay in writing Inaba was most likely due to what would probably upset the Babu even further: some unpleasant news he would receive by letter from Kimura in July (see below) that was in response to his two troubling letters about the casting machine.

Nevertheless, in his late-in-life memoirs prepared some ten years later the Babu tried to put the best face on the episode. Never once mentioning the broken condition of the machine nor breathing a word about all the trouble he had experienced for five years, he simply acknowledged the following:

Having approached the officials of the Political Department who ... managed to secure the required Import License for me from Delhi,... it was [nonetheless] understood that I myself would still have to pay the duty on the machinery. In all, the entire equipment sent me by Professor Inaba, including the matrices, cost over Rs. 2000/-. Even so, the same equipment would have cost between Rs. 6000 and 8000.

What, though, about Professor Inaba back in Japan? Did he finally cease and desist from his habit of proposing offers in exchange for scholarly favors? Not in the least. In a letter of 30 May 1962 (the one the Babu made reference to in the postscript to his 22 June letter to Kimura) he was pursuing his old pattern once again. But since Tharchin failed to reply, and thinking the Tibetan may have been ill, Inaba repeats the proposal he has in mind in a subsequent letter of 4 July:

Have you received my registered letter of 30th May 1962? You don't send your letter, so I fear that you have taken ill.

I have a plan that I'll do the best more and more. For instance: [I'll] send the matrices of the larger and smaller characters [of Otani University's matrices sent the Babu in August 1961 and which Tharchin received in October that same year] if you want and if you help to promote our studies of Tibetology,

an initial reference to a specific favor he delineates later in the same letter. But then, sensing the Babu may have had enough of the good Professor, the latter, after noting that,

“You don’t send me your letter and your newspapers,” breaks out in broken English as follows: “It will be not benefit that we stop to help each other. Isn’t it?”—which in better and more forthright English would read: “Isn’t it true that if we should stop helping each other, neither you nor I will benefit?”

Inaba is definitely worried here, for as the rest of the letter will show, the Japanese was most eager for one more act of generosity:

Now by order of Toyobunko, the Japan National Diet Library [i.e., the Japanese Parliament’s Library], Prof. H. Sato and I finished translating the *Deb ther dmar po* into Japanese in cooperation with Lama Bsod nams rgya mtsho, who is staying in Japan. The Library has an earnest desire to let us to translate it into English. You wrote to me that you [now] have not a plan for translating it into English. Would you be generous enough to transfer the permission of translating to us? [Apparently, Tharchin had received permission of Gangtok’s prestigious Namgyal Institute of Tibetology, of which he was an active member, to translate and presumably publish in English one of its documents.] If we are allowed to do so, the Government of the Library will send [a copy of?] the official letter of permission [from you?] to the Namgyal Institute in Sikkim.

If Tharchin would oblige in this matter, what would he get in return? The next and final sentence in the letter on this matter reveals the deal the Professor has in mind: “Of course, if you grant to transfer to us, I will urge Otani University to reconsider the proposal that I wrote in my letter of 30th May.”

Five days following this letter of Inaba’s, Hisao Kimura sent a letter to his dear Babula in Kalimpong dated 9 July 1962. After touching upon this and that of interest to the Babu, Kimura writes of a complaint Inaba has against the Kalimpong publisher but about which five days earlier in *his* missive to Tharchin the Professor breathed not a word:

Mr. Inaba is complaining about the payment of the type casting machine and asked me to write you. However, I refused his request saying that I am not in such position.

Having heard from the Babu of all the trouble and expense Tharchin had experienced in acquiring the various sorts of printing equipment from Inaba, Kimura waxed very sympathetic towards his good friend in the hill station: “I am very sorry to hear all about this; specially I am sorry for you, for spending so much money in vain [because the repaired broken second-hand casting machine never worked properly afterwards].” But then, in a final parenthetical statement, Kimura may have put his finger on the real motivation to explain Professor Inaba’s less than sterling behavior. He couched his candid statement to the Babu in this fashion: “The aim of Prof. Inaba was, I think, [that he was] after rare Tibetan books that you possess.” The truth may have at last been uncovered.

In fact, a month or so later in his reply to Kimura’s 9 July missive, Tharchin—without saying so explicitly—in essence agreed with his Japanese friend’s candid assessment. Obviously greatly miffed over the entire episode surrounding the casting machine/matrices shipment, which he briefly recited again for Kimura, the Babu additionally wrote the following to him on 22 August 1962:

As regards Prof. Inaba ..., he is asking for more [of] my valuable books and says that

I have promised [such books]. I never promised. I [only] promised to buy it [i.e., pay the customs duty, which amounted to some 800 rupees, on Inaba's shipment] & I did so; but [now of] no use to me.

I am writing him soon. His man Mr. Takasaki was here & he saw the machine which is broken & [still] not working, although I spent lots & repaired [it].

In time, of course, the Professor did finally receive a response from Tharchin to his 4 July and, by extension, to his earlier registered letter of 30 May 1962. And though the Babu did grant the transfer of permission regarding the translation of the *Deb ther dmar po* document, Inaba also received a litany of unpleasant words from Tharchin concerning the shipment and its aftermath, along with a mild rebuke about the so-called promised books. As to the latter, the Kalimpong scholar had the following to say in his letter of 12 September 1962:

Some of your friends at Nalanda wrote me that I have promised to send Tibetan books which [they] will come and pick up sometime. But I do not remember that I have promised to send any books. Yet if I have some spare books for your University I am quite happy to do so. Now, the Tibetan books [have] become very rare and valuable, as we cannot get any more from Tibet.

But Tharchin also made it clear that only "if this [casting] machine [finally] gives good service" would he and Inaba be able to "still do some mutual work." He concluded his belated reply to the Japanese scholar in the following fashion: "By reading this letter, you will understand all my difficulties, disappointments, and ill-health." Clearly, the forthright missive from Kimura and the letter from Nalanda had opened Tharchin's eyes wider than heretofore, enabling him to decipher, perhaps, the real designs of Inaba and how his extraordinary kindness and generosity had been grossly taken advantage of by the Japanese Professor. Indeed, by this time he might, had he been asked, have readily agreed with Inaba's own candid acknowledgment, made in a letter to the Babu back in 1959, that he may have become "a perpetual nuisance" to Tharchin.¹⁷⁶

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How different in character and personality, it may be observed, was another acquaintance of Tharchin's from the Land of the Rising Sun at about this same time. This was the celebrated Tokan Tada (1890-1967), who was meekness incarnate, not in the least pushy or self-assertive as Inaba had too often been. Tada, like Hisao Kimura, would become a much valued friend of the Tibetan publisher; and, though being much older than Kimura, Tada, who was born in the same year as the Babu, would not have many years left to live after his visit with Tharchin at Kalimpong in the early 1960s (see below). But several decades earlier the Babu and the famous Japanese scholar had most likely already met for the first time at

Ghoom during the period 1912-13 when both were living at the tiny hill station; see Volume II, Chapter 18 of the present narrative for the details. In that same chapter mention was made of how this fine man had achieved the *geshe* degree at Lhasa's Sera Gompa during his decade-long stay there between 1913 and 1923.

Tada had been a close friend, adviser and disciple of the Great Thirteenth Dalai Lama; and the latter, shortly before his death in 1933, had written a letter to Lama Tada in Japan in which he reviewed their relationship and stated, among other things, that upon Tada's arrival at Lhasa in 1913 he had "stayed at the Sera Monastery as my disciple, studied Buddhism for many a year, and practiced the other courses required ..." ¹⁷⁷ Yet even before his arrival at the Tibetan capital, Tokan Tada had had the privilege of first meeting His Holiness during the latter's exile in India (1910-12); and once in Tibet, wrote the future Japanese monk, "I enjoyed the patronage of the Dalai Lama ..., and it was he who gave me Lamaist commandments." ¹⁷⁸

The Japanese Lama would not leave the Tibetan capital to return to Japan till the end of 1923, which thus meant that Lama Tada was present in the Sacred City of the Gods during the period of Gergan Tharchin's first visit there. Conceivably, therefore, these two may have met each other for the second time in Lhasa, though this is uncertain. It is known for sure, however, that the Japanese monk would not depart the capital till late October or early November 1923, bound for China. ¹⁷⁹ And hence, the time-frame for the presence in Lhasa of the Babu and the monk would have allowed for a second encounter between these two. Nevertheless, certain is it that the two of them did eventually meet again when Tada, no longer a monk and now married* and a University Professor, visited Tharchin Babu in the latter's home in late March of 1961. † This is confirmed by a personal letter of thanks which the Japanese ex-Lama had sent to Tharchin immediately following the visit. Handwritten in Tibetan script and mailed as an Inland Letter from Calcutta's famed Ramakrishna Mission Institute of Culture, it is dated 1 April 1961, and reads in English translation as follows:

* The ex-monk years later would relate to Hisao Kimura that upon his marriage in Japan he felt constrained to return his priestly robes and a copy of his vows to the Great Thirteenth, and offering an apology for having broken them. The Dalai Lama, on his part, responded by sending Tada a fine Tibetan lady's dress with a colorful apron and instructing the ex-Lama to fulfill the duty of "practicing Buddhism while living at home." Kimura, *Japanese Agent*, 105 note.

† According to Sonam T. Kazi, Tokan Tada had made a much earlier visit to Kalimpong—in late 1945—when both Kimura and the Kazi were themselves there. Yet neither of them, nor for that matter Gergan Tharchin, had the privilege on that occasion of meeting the famed Japanese Lama. During the 1960s, however, all three would do so; but whereas Tharchin, as noted in the Text above, would meet the ex-Lama in Kalimpong, the other two would for the first time do so later in Japan. Interview with S. T. Kazi, Oct. 1991; and letter, the Kazi to author, Montclair NJ USA, 6 Jan. 1992.

Dear intellectual beyond ocean, Mr. Tharchin:*

I Thupten Gyaltsen† would like to express that I am much thankful for your helping us extensively when we visited you, and for your giving us several presents as we were departing. Your kindness will always be remembered. [We] reached Calcutta without any problems on the way from Kalimpong, and we are staying at [the address] mentioned above. In future, kindly send advices all the time [i.e., keep on writing me].

As a matter of fact, the correspondence between the Tibetan and the Japanese had been initiated when Hisao Kimura had "introduced" Tokan Tada to the Babu by letter in the mid-1950s. This had come about because these two Japanese had gotten to know each other fairly well since both of them for a time lived near each other in Chiba, Japan. In a subsequent letter to Tharchin, Kimura had made reference to this introduction of sorts:

I believe you are in receipt of a letter from Mr. Tokan Tada. When I saw him recently, he said he would very much like to be a correspondent of your newspaper in Japan; he would send you available news in Japan regularly and in return he will expect nothing from you except the newspaper that you publish. I hope you will write to him sometime. I think I told you about him ... He is a friend of Tsarong Chenmopa, has been a geshe of Sera, and publisher (editor) of "List of Tibetan Buddhism Textbooks."

Correspondence did indeed ensue between the famous Japanese Buddhist Lama/scholar and the equally well-known Tibetan from Poo. Tada's letters were always handwritten in beautiful Tibetan calligraphy and graciously worded. And as exemplified by the above letter ("he will expect nothing from you except ..."), Tada, in contradistinction to Professor Inaba, never exploited the Babu's legendary generosity for personal gain. This is again evidenced in another letter Professor Tada wrote to Tharchin on 1 May 1959:

* This is one of a variety of unusually interesting salutations Tibetan and non-Tibetan Buddhists frequently used when sending letters to their good friend Babu Tharchin. Other examples are the following, culled from the Tharchin Papers:

[Dear] Sky-Wide intelligent-eyed, bosom friend Babula:

Dear widely-knowing, intelligent and matchless Mr. Tharchin:

—Taktser Rimpoche (eldest brother of Dalai Lama XIV),
Japan, 24 May 1953

Most benevolently-observant dear Tharchin Babula,

Thousands of petals of the all-knowing, Leader of the News, dear Tharchin:

—Stagsang Raspa, Chief Guru, Hemis Monastery, Leh,
Ladakh, December 1951

Widely-observant, Mr. Tharchin Babula:

—Tashi, at Pharijong, Tibet, February 1954

Widely-observant dear Mr. Tharchin La:

—Private Secretary to H.H. the Maharaja of Sikkim,
12 August 1943

† This Tibetan name which Tokan Tada adopted means: Sign of Victory (Gyaltsen) Is Buddha's Religion (Thup = Buddha, ten = Religion).

Dear Sir,

Am glad for [your] being healthy and for your flourishing activities. I am also doing well due to the grace of the Three Jewels. Last year I had sent you a pictured biography of Buddha [i.e., a photo-biography of Buddha]. Have you received it? Please send a copy of the "Letter-writing book" of yours [a reference to Tharchin's own work he published entitled *Tibetan Letter Writer*] to the following address: Prof. Shinden Sakai, Kōyasan University, Kōyasan, Wakayama Japan. I am sending you money [as payment for it] by post, etc., according to your wishes. In your letter earlier you had mentioned you had sent a "Letter-writing Book," but I did not receive it, so I shall be grateful if you could send it immediately.

In future, do take care of your beautiful flower-like health, and write me whatever you want, [not unlike the] flowing water of the Ganges.

Let there be an accumulation of auspicious, healthy, good things (and) may there always be happiness. [This final greeting in Tibetan reads: Tashi Delek Phunsum Tsok Tendu Dewa Thop-Pa Shok.]

There would be other letters back and forth between the two friends, until one day the Babu received the grievous word of Tokan Tada's death. He learned of it from another Japanese scholar, Professor Ninkaku Takata of Kōyasan University, who had visited in the home of Tharchin La on 28 December 1967. In a letter he wrote to Hisao Kimura the very next day, the Kalimpong publisher expressed his deep sorrow over the loss of his friend: "I am so sad to hear ... that the great scholar Professor Tokan Tada passed away just about five months ago."

*

The year 1948 was an important one in the history of Gergan Tharchin's Press. The very day in March of that year on which the Treadle Brown machine was installed provided the occasion for marking the longed-for formal inauguration of the present Tibet Mirror Press. It will be recalled from a few pages earlier that Tharchin Babu had established his new private Press company two years previously—in July 1946—and at the same time had legally declared its name to be: The Tibet Mirror Press. Yet the only printing device he had to depend on for the next two years in producing his Press publications was the outdated, almost primitive, litho machine from Darjeeling which by the Babu's own acknowledgment could only produce two text pages at a time! With how much patience he had to exercise, therefore, in hoping, longing and waiting for this very special day in March 1948 to arrive at last!

Now the inaugural ceremony was attended by the Political Officer, Mr. Arthur J. Hopkinson (1894-1953), the able British resident in Sikkim (who was also in charge of India's relations with Tibet and Bhutan). In those days Tibet still carried on much trade and commerce with India. The Land of Snows imported large quantities of woollen and cotton goods. For that purpose, as mentioned before, a special Tibet Liaison Officer was stationed in Kalimpong by the Political Office headquartered at Gangtok, Sikkim. His duty was to issue export permits for manufactured cloth goods, yarn and other products. And thus, not

only the Political Officer but this Liaison Officer, H. S. Bullock, attended the Mirror Press inauguration as well. And in honor of the occasion Bullock would give a party later that day at his hill station residence. And as was the case with the inaugural ceremony, so was it the case with the party, that many high government officials were invited and many Tibetans were present. Indeed, Tharchin had recorded the fact that at the inaugural event itself there were "over a thousand Tibetans" in attendance.¹⁸⁰

The date was 22 March 1948, the day likewise on which the very first issue of Gergan Tharchin's *Tibet Mirror* newspaper ever rolled off of a genuine *printing* press—in this case the Treadle Brown machine. It was therefore a doubly happy event, to be celebrated with much joy after so many years of trial, difficulty and challenge. Moreover, the enterprising proprietor of the new Mirror Press, realizing the unique opportunity which this huge crowd of attendees would afford him, was intent on acquiring "as many new subscribers [to his newspaper] as possible on the day of the [ceremonial] opening." And to this end, he had further written Hopkinson in advance of the event, "I shall have a man detailed to collect subscriptions and give formal receipts back at the Press and, with Mr. Bullock's permission, at [the party afterwards]."^{180a}

The Political Officer himself was the featured speaker of the day at the inaugural ceremony. If the readers are perchance good students of Indian history, they may wonder how it could be that a Britisher in 1948—more than a half year after Indian independence had been implemented—was still the Political Officer or Resident of the Indian government for Sikkim, Bhutan and Tibet. That apparent anomaly does require a bit of explanation, which at the same time can provide a brief look at the life and career of this British frontier officer involved in Tibetan affairs.

Hopkinson, born in England the son of an Anglican Church clergyman, had been educated at Marlborough College and Oxford University. He subsequently saw service in the Great War of 1914-18 and was, in fact, wounded in action. Trained in the Indian Civil Service, he would eventually be recruited into India's Political Department. Indeed, he would pay his first visit to Tibet in 1926 as an officer of the Indian Political Service where until 1928 he remained at Gyantse and Yatung as British Trade Agent, after which he was assigned elsewhere. But in 1943 Hopkinson, by now a longtime "political," was dispatched to Sikkim on special duty where he rendered assistance to the Political Officer. The latter was Tharchin's friend, Sir Basil Gould, who because of staff shortages in the midst of World War Two had been allowed to extend his term as P.O.S. on several occasions. But according to British frontier cadre historian, Alex McKay, Gould would suffer "a mental and physical decline" during 1944-5 (though he would later recover). And thus Hopkinson would in June 1945 replace Sir Basil, who termed his successor "an old friend of Tibet."

As the new P.O.S., he naturally assumed responsibility for conducting the relations between His Majesty's Government and Tibet. Commenting a year later about his predecessor's stature as Political Officer, Hopkinson revealed something of his ambition as Gould's successor: "I think BJ was a great man with big ideas, ... and if I could do half of what he did here, I should be well pleased." In this regard, McKay has written that "some observers found Hopkinson a less commanding figure than a Political Officer was generally

expected to be, but his reports were incisive and his vision extended beyond the immediate concerns of cadre and empire.”

In the same year of his assuming the post of Political Officer, Hopkinson’s work called for a visit to Lhasa, where he spent several months on an official visit to the Tibetan government. Now although two years later, on the day of the Transfer of Power in India, Hopkinson’s service under the British Crown perforce ceased, nevertheless, at the request of the new and independent Government of the Indian Dominion, he continued to serve in the same capacity as he had previously been serving the British Government of India. As a consequence, for an entire year Hopkinson had the distinction of being “the only British officer holding the Resident’s rank to serve in India” following the transfer of ultimate governmental authority from Britain to her former Crown possession.¹⁸¹ (Upon his return to England, incidentally, Hopkinson would study theology and, like his father before him, be ordained an Anglican minister; but he would die shortly after commencing his ministry.)

This, then, explains how Hopkinson, who would not withdraw from the post of Political Officer till 1 September 1948,¹⁸² could attend in March of that year the inaugural ceremony of the new Tibet Mirror Press in the capacity of Indian Political Officer for Sikkim, Bhutan and Tibet and be featured as that function’s principal speaker. Indeed, it was most fitting that it was this particular British official who would be the main speaker on this occasion. For he had been the one who two years earlier had responded positively to Tharchin Babu’s appeal for Government assistance in upgrading his Press. And doubtless this appeal had been put forward on the grounds, among other arguments, that his newspaper could and would continue to serve the strategic interests of India in Central Asia just as it had done during the World War only recently concluded.

That Hopkinson had realized the value of Tharchin’s newspaper and Press to both India and Tibet is amply demonstrated by what he would express on paper both a year earlier and just a few months following this particular ceremony. As to the first expression of the newspaper’s value, this he had obliquely indicated in a letter to his Tibet Liaison Officer at Kalimpong, who at that time was Major A. E. Pash. Hopkinson was requesting his T.L.O. to instruct the Babu to write a letter to every non-paying recipient of the *Tibet Mirror*, with the hope and expectation that these non-payers would be induced to begin paying for the paper, thus generating more revenue for Tharchin’s Press. These letters, the Political Officer observed, “should be drafted in scrupulously polite language [and] ... should point out that the paper has been issued for [X number of] years, that it is unique, or very nearly so, and that it is desirable to continue to keep up this unique Tibetan newspaper: but that in the changing times it will not be possible to do so unless subscribers pay.” Hopkinson then added, significantly, and, it is believed by the present author, quite sincerely, the following statement: “The demise of the paper would be a tragedy.”^{182a}

As regards the second expression Hopkinson offered up concerning the *Tibet Mirror*’s value, this British official would compose a paper for himself in which he would set forth a kind of valedictory review of Indo-Tibetan relations covering the previous three years of his tenure as Political Officer and which also contained some of his concerns for Tibet’s uncertain future. Dated 1 August 1948, which was exactly one month prior to handing over his responsibilities to his indigenous Indian successor, the retiring Political Officer for Tibet was

moved to state in his private précis that the Babu's newspaper should continue to be helped and encouraged, presumably by the Indian government. Wrote Hopkinson: "... all reasonable help and encouragement is desirable for the Kalimpong-edited Tibetan newspaper. Now promoted from a broken-down litho-machine to a regular printing press, this paper has progressed greatly, not without effort applied from without. It has proved its popularity and usefulness and possesses an even greater potential usefulness, which further effort and patience will develop ..."¹⁸³

With this quite positive assessment he had come to of the continuing value of Tharchin Babu's Press and newspaper, it was most fitting indeed that Arthur Hopkinson be the one to address the impressive crowd of attendees on this inaugural occasion for formally launching the new Tibet Mirror Press. He spoke from a brief that had been prepared for him by the Babu in advance. In his short address Hopkinson cited a little bit of the publisher's personal history:

Before going to Ghoom Tharchin did not know Hindi, so he bought a Hindi primer in Delhi and began to study the language on his own initiative. While in Delhi his original desire had been to start his own Tibetan printing press, and with this intention Tharchin scribbled a letter of introduction and sent it off to ... Ghoom. Not knowing any English, he had copied onto the envelope of his letter the address exactly as he had seen inscribed on the back of his Tibetan New Testament; namely, "Printed at the Scandinavian Alliance Mission Press, Ghoom, Darjeeling."

The Political Officer very gladly referred in his brief remarks to the fulfillment of Tharchin's dream. He traced the history of the various press devices the Babu had used: from the original Roneo duplicator and double crown lithographic press which both had been made available to the Babu for his use in 1925 and 1928, respectively, right up to its present form as represented by the Treadle Brown press.* Finally, Hopkinson remarked significantly:

* It may be recalled from Volume II, Chapter 19 that Gergan Tharchin had purchased as a memento from Kalimpong's Mani Press its small litho machine which had been "rented out" to him, as it were, in 1931-2 that he might continue issuing his newspaper following his resignation from the Guild Mission that year. Interestingly, the Babu would act similarly concerning the double crown lithographic press whose use by him dated back to 1928. This litho device, of course, had served as the chief means of printing the *Tibet Mirror* for nearly the next two decades; and hence, at about the time of the establishment of the new Mirror Press building with its much more modern printing press—the Treadle—installed therein, Tharchin the romantic had approached the Scots Mission with a proposal. As a follow up, he had then sent a letter of reminder to its Mission Council. Found among the ThPaK was a signed handwritten but undated draft, which reads as follows (as edited briefly by this author for clarity):

Sometime ago I had requested that if the Mission is not going to use the old Litho press anymore, I am prepared to buy it, though I no longer require it in my press work. But because the said press was originally received for the purpose of the Tibetan newspaper and was used so many years for printing the newspaper, therefore, if the Mission would be so kind to sell it to me, I am prepared to pay Rs. 500/- for both the machine and stones. If so, I shall be grateful to have it soon, as I wish to install this in my new small press building so that I may keep it there to show how the Tibetan newspaper had gotten its start....

The Mission agreed to the proposal, and thus this device, too, was acquired by Tharchin Babula as a way of satisfying his deep sense of history with regard to the development of his famed newspaper and Press.

“One should remember that the Tibetan newspaper is very vital and important to the Tibetan people.”



Not only was this vital role recognized on *this* side of the Indo-Tibetan border; likewise, the Tibetan government of that day—whether it have been the ruling Regent, Kashag and other high officials or even the new Boy-King Dalai Lama himself—offered tangible proofs of their appreciation of the important place the Kalimpong publisher and his press had by this time achieved on Tibet’s cultural and political landscape. Especially was this so with respect to the Tibetan newspaper which the newly inaugurated Mirror Press would henceforth be responsible for the continuance of its publication. For just a year later (in October 1949) Tharchin Babu would be the recipient of a large gift from the Government of the Great Closed Land as its way of expressing gratefulness to the Indo-Tibetan publisher for his work in keeping the insulated country apprised of what was happening outside her borders. In a letter to the Indian Political Officer of that time, Harish Dayal, Tharchin disclosed what he had received recently from Lhasa:

... just a few days ago I received a letter, together with the sum of Rs. 500/- from the Government of Tibet. In the letter it is written [and here the Babu provided an English translation] that “as you have been sending your Tibetan newspaper to the Dalai Lama, Regent, Kashag and all the other officials of the Government, the Government is pleased with this and herewith sends you Rs. 500/- as a present (*solre*)...”

At about this same time the Babu would receive another substantial gift, a private one, from one of these “other officials of the Government”: the Dalai Lama’s Junior Tutor, Kyabje Trijang Rimpoche. He it was, it will be recalled, who, along with the Senior Tutor, had introduced Tibet’s Boy-King to the *Tibet Mirror*. Writing retrospectively later about what he had received from this high official at Lhasa a few years before, the ever grateful Tharchin, in a letter to the Rimpoche and written in Tibetan, had this to say:

A few years ago [probably 1949] Your Eminence had sent me a letter and gift of Rs. hundred note that became [for me] a chief treasure. I had dispatched a Thank You Letter through Dekyi Lingka, but it is uncertain whether Your Eminence had received it or not. Recently, due to various problems, I could not send you the [latest] Newspaper on time, but I am very eager to send it soon.... In future, kindly send me [in relation to the Newspaper] your advices (on doing the right things and avoiding the wrong things) ... With *khata* and three books. From Tharchin, on Tibetan 1st month 10th day.

But, then, less than two years later the *Tibet Mirror* editor was extremely happy to receive what was probably the first of a series of personal letters and gifts which would be sent him by Dalai Lama XIV himself in recognition of Gergan Tharchin’s ongoing contribution, through his newspaper and other publications, to the entire Tibetan community. This initial expression of gratitude from His Holiness occurred in early 1951, a mere month following the transference from Lhasa of the Dalai Lama’s Government and himself to the Chumbi

Valley town of Yatung in southern Tibet because of the growing threat from Red China. It was the beginning of troublous times for both Tibet and her 15-year-old "god-king." In another letter to Political Officer Dayal, Tharchin took great pleasure in reporting the following item of news:

... I am very glad to inform your honor that on 27th January I received a very nice letter, with Rs. 300/- as a present, from His Holiness the Dalai Lama at Yatung. He is very pleased with the newspaper and asked me to continue it. I have been longing to go up to Yatung and pay my respects to His Holiness as well as all the officials there, but so far I failed [to do so] but still I am trying my best.¹⁸⁴

Though circumstances of one sort and another would prevent the Kalimpong publisher from ever making the short journey across the Jelep La to Yatung, there would be other opportunities to pay his respects during the traumatic years for Tibet which lay ahead. And on these latter occasions the Dalai Lama would express his gratefulness for the Tibetan newspaper with even larger monetary gifts as a way of encouraging the Babu—always short of funds for his newspaper operation—to carry on the work of keeping him, his Government and his people informed. As the news journal editor would himself explain three years later regarding the indispensable informational role of the *Tibet Mirror* for the Tibetan people but also regarding the constant financial situation he faced in keeping the journal afloat: "Since 1925 I am publishing a small monthly Tibetan newspaper, but it was never self-supporting and I have fallen under heavy debts.... The Tibetan people were just beginning to know the value of the Newspaper, then unfortunately the Chinese Communists arrived and now they are trying to stop its circulation in Tibet and I am facing great difficulties with my publishing work. Of course I am an anti-Communist and I generally write and guide the Tibetan public and it [has] helped very much but ... they never send their subscription [payments]."^{184a} For now, however, it must have gladdened Tharchin's heart to know that the young ruler of Tibet was not only reading the *Tibet Mirror* but also appreciating its pages enough to have taken the time and effort to offer his sincere thanks and financial support for it, a most tangible recognition indeed of the impact the paper was having on this and other power centers within his ethnic homeland. In fact, it is the opinion today of the Exile Government of Tibet that despite its small circulation back then, "the impact of the *Tibet Mirror*, though confined to a small circle of Tibetan aristocrats and an even smaller circle of Tibetan reformists,... was enormous. It brought news of the world to an isolated Tibet."¹⁸⁵

*

With the acquisition in 1947/8 of a modern printing machine for his recently established *privately*-owned and operated Tibet Mirror Press, Gergan Tharchin would launch a campaign to garner additional commercial and business advertisers for the *Tibet Mirror* beyond those he had previously enlisted. In the post-World War II era which was now exerting its impact

on Tibet, the Government of the Great Closed Land was beginning to realize that if she were to survive as a viable nation able to hold her own in the modern world, the country would need to have greater contact with the outside world than her closed-door policies of the recent and not-so-recent past had permitted. To this end, in fact, the Tibetan government had sent forth to the West and elsewhere in 1948 a Tibetan Trade Mission which, it was hoped, would engender on a more modern footing trade and commerce between the World's Roof and other countries beyond her past trading contacts with what used to be British India and with China.

With this ever-so-slight opening up of the Closed Land to greater trade, and now that British India was Independent India, Babu Tharchin thought he saw an opportunity to interest additional business and commercial companies in India and abroad in advertising in his Tibetan newspaper. Indeed, in his solicitation of new advertisers, the Babu would again and again emphasize Tibet as a newly developing country with every good prospect for business and trade opportunities and how his *newspaper* could facilitate those prospects for these companies. For example, in a letter he sent to the Sahny Commercial Co. at Bombay on 12 July 1948, here is how he approached the matter:

... Sometime past I met your proprietor Mr. Amrit Singh Sahny here at Kalimpong, and he has seen my Paper and advised me to write. Now herewith I send a copy of my Paper together with a card of my advertisement rates. I am sure you will like to advertise in my Paper and try to push your business into the Closed Land for foreigners but not restricted for trade. There is every prospect for business in the future, as Tibet is just beginning to develop the country along with the rest of the world. Other leading cos. are also doing the same, which you will notice by the advertisements printed in the Paper.

And three days later, the character of Tharchin's then current thinking on the subject came through in similar fashion when soliciting the Cooper Allen & Co. and The North West Tannery Co., both located at Cawnpore:

Dear Sirs,

I am sure that if you [had known] it before that there is a Tibetan Newspaper which is read by all ... high Tibetan officials as well as by traders, I am confident you would too have wanted to advertise in this Paper, which is the only paper that goes to Tibet.

Herewith I send a copy of the Tibetan Newspaper for your interest as a sample, together with a card showing the advertising rates. I am sure you will like to have a business connection with Tibet which is now a vast developing country. There is every prospect for trade in near future....^{185a}

*

At about this same time there appeared an article about Tharchin Babu and his newspaper in an important and highly respected trade journal published in London called the *World's Press News and Advertisers' Review*. Its appearance constituted a further recognition

of the significant role the Babu's news organ was assuming in keeping the Tibetan nation informed of what was happening outside its borders. Charmingly entitled, "Its Distribution Route Is by Mule over the Himalayas," the article—submitted by the journal's India correspondent—commenced its report on the *Tibet Mirror* and its publisher in the following engaging manner:

Unique in Asian journalism is the "*Tibetan Mirror*"—the only paper printed in the Tibetan language—which celebrates its 25th birthday shortly. Published in the North Bengal hill station of Kalimpong, this 8-page paper has several strange features that would make many hardened Fleet Street journalists raise their eyebrows.

The article, which appeared in this weekly trade journal's 25 May 1950 number, page 13, went on to describe some of the "strange features" of the Babu's unique news publication:

Although edited by a layman, G. Tharchin, both compositors are lamas dressed in the customary Tibetan red robes; distribution is by mule trains, which [literally] pass by the office door on their four-weeks trek over the Himalayas to Lhasa; if the deadline for publication is not attainable, the editor postpones it for another month; requests for back copies come from distant monasteries to which deliveries take as long as four months to effect.

Following this foreign correspondent's discussion about the *Mirror's* publishing history, the difficult logistical distribution to its most distant subscribers, and about Tharchin's personal and professional background ("a native of Gartok district in western Tibet" and "a Buddhist scholar of considerable distinction"), he took special notice for his readers of what he had pleasantly found upon looking through one of the newspaper's most recent numbers:

A copy of the February/March [1950] issue which I examined showed the paper to be well printed in the curious Tibetan script, with plenty of block photos of the Pandit Nehru-President Truman meetings in the USA and with a two-color photo of India's new President, Rajendra Prasad, on the front page. On page 7 was a paragraph relating to the trip of two Fleet Street newsmen, Ward Price, of the *Daily Mail*, and Sydney Smith, of the *Daily Express*, to Yatung, in Tibet, the English names standing out in the midst of the script.

Indeed, so intrigued was the *Press News* correspondent by the script used in Tharchin's newspaper that he included in his article an actual reproduction of the particular paragraph in the *Tibet Mirror* that was devoted to these two newsmen, with their English names and the names of their famous London newspapers highlighted amidst the surrounding quite neat and clear Tibetan script!

*

During this same period now under discussion another but very different instance of quiet recognition of the vital role which Tharchin's newspaper was playing in Tibet would

manifest itself. This would come from an altogether unexpected quarter and would even precipitate the possibility, as remote as it was, of the Babu relocating himself and his Press to Lhasa. It may be recalled from Chapter 17 of the present narrative's previous volume that as early as 1937 certain progressive-minded individuals at the Tibetan capital had approached the newspaper publisher with that very idea in mind.* In a letter quoted from earlier which he had written that summer from Lhasa to Sir Charles Bell, Tharchin had informed his esteemed English friend of the following bit of news: "All the officials are very much interested [in the *Tibet Mirror*] and some other officers advised me to bring a small litho press to Lhasa and also keep a radio [as an outside source for obtaining news which could then be incorporated into the newspaper] and publish a small daily newspaper in Lhasa. The Regent, Prime Minister and the Shapas are all very much interested." Circumstances then were not at all conducive to bring about such a move and the idea of shifting the paper and its press machinery to the Tibetan capital was shunted to the background. By the beginning of 1949, however, talk about the notion and even specific proposals to effect it commenced to surface from a totally unanticipated direction. And though Tharchin's establishment of a Press and newspaper at the political and ecclesiastical heart of Tibet never became a reality, it makes for quite a remarkable story and provides further evidence of the stature and respect which by this time Babu Tharchin and his *Tibet Mirror* paper had achieved among certain circles in both India and Tibet.

It all began quite innocently enough, it would appear, as gleaned from a series of letters written to and from the Tibetan publisher that were discovered among the voluminous Tharchin Papers. By this time (the late 1940s) the Scottish Mission Church (Presbyterian) in Kalimpong, of which the Tibetan "pastor" Tharchin was a part, had become a member of an amalgamation of affiliated denominational Churches in the northern areas of India known as the United Church of Northern India (UCNI, and precursor to the much larger present-day CNI, the Church of North India). Now it so happened that at this time, and for many years prior, Tharchin's Western missionary colleague, Scottish Mission medical missionary Dr. Albert Craig, was serving as the Superintendent of the Mission's Charteris Hospital in Kalimpong. Yet besides performing his superintendency at the hospital, Dr. Craig had also taken a keen interest in the medical, social and religious welfare of the Tibetan community in Tharchin's hill station and had become increasingly conversant—no doubt through his ever closer association with the Babu—with the religious if not the political situation in Tibet and among Tibetans on both sides of the Indo-Tibetan frontier. Indeed, just three years hence, he would be strongly encouraging the Tibetan catechist Tharchin to return to the Mission from which he was still estranged, resume his "pastoral" work among the Tibetan community in the hill station, and be ordained as a minister of the Church of Scotland.

Currently, though, Dr. Craig had other thoughts on his mind when on the 26th of March 1949 he penned a letter to the recently-installed Moderator of the UCNI's General Assembly, the Rt. Rev. Dr. A. Ralla Ram of Allahabad, who had paid a visit to Kalimpong just a few months before and had met and established a friendship with Dr. Craig and his family.

* But so, too, it may be recalled from earlier in the present chapter, both Phuntsog Wangyal and Ngawang Kalsang—two of the earliest Tibetan Communists—had approached the Babu in 1944 with the same proposal.

Dr. Ram had no doubt informed the Hospital Superintendent that he was also serving that same year as the Convener of the General Assembly's newly-formed Foreign Mission Committee and was on the lookout for a land where the United Church's Foreign Mission might plant its first ever missionary work abroad. And so, as a follow-up to Dr. Ram's visit to Kalimpong, missionary Craig had written a friendly letter in which he had apparently, and on his own initiative, suggested that the Foreign Mission Committee might seriously wish to consider establishing its initial work abroad in Tibet. And though it is not clear from the extant correspondence available (since Craig's letter was not found), it would appear that in his letter to the Moderator Dr. Craig had even mentioned Tharchin and his Tibetan newspaper within the context of suggesting Tibet as a foreign field of missionary endeavor.

Now it is probable, from his interaction with Dr. Ram during the latter's visit to Kalimpong, that Craig was already aware of Ram's keen personal interest in Tibet as a region for planting a mission work; and therefore the enthusiastic response he received from the Moderator written just two weeks later most likely did not surprise him at all; on the other hand, he may have been taken totally aback by the speed with which the United Church's Foreign Mission Committee Convener now advanced a very concrete set of proposals by which to put such a plan into immediate effect! For in his reply to Dr. Craig of 9th April, the Rev. Dr. Ram set forth the broad outlines of his scheme to plant a work in Lhasa. His entire letter reads as follows:

I am grateful to you for your very kind letter of 26th March. You hardly know what a joy it will bring to me personally if our Foreign Mission should actually be located in Tibet. My initial difficulty is that I am told that Tibet is a closed land for Christian Missionary work. Is it that that baffling country only objects to European missionaries, and that Indians and Tibetans doing this work are acceptable to the authorities in that land? When I was in Kalimpong the same opinion was given to me by everybody, which you have now expressed in your letter. Everyone said that Mr. Tharchin is the man who should take up this work. I am at once writing to him and a copy of my letter is enclosed.

I believe that no sooner the details regarding Foreign Mission work in Lhasa are settled your Church Council would be only too delighted to send him forth with the blessings of the whole Church and laying hands on him as an ordained minister of the Gospel.

I should have no difficulty in letting him go to Lhasa with his Printing Press and the expense of the journey would be gladly borne.

Your letter is truly a breeze from the hills and has proved to be a tonic in hot Allahabad.

With my kindest regards to you and the family, I am, Your grateful friend, A. Ralla Ram.

It is of interest to note that Dr. Craig must have passed on this very letter to Tharchin, since the original of it, along with the said enclosure of a copy of Ram's 7th April letter addressed to the Tibetan newspaper editor, were both found among the Tharchin Papers; whereas the *original* of Ram's letter to *the Babu* was nowhere to be found, although when Ram had by late May not received any reply from Tharchin, a *copy* of it which the Convener promptly forwarded to the Babu was found among the latter's Papers, accompanied by a

brief 20th May cover letter from the Convener which said: "On the 7th of April 1949, I wrote you a very important letter, but I have not so far had a reply from you. Fearing that the letter has gone astray, I am writing you again on the subject and am sending herewith a copy of the letter I wrote you at that time. Looking forward to hearing from you soon ..." Most likely, therefore, Dr. Craig, upon receiving his own letter of 9th April from Dr. Ram with its enclosure of a copy of the latter's letter to Tharchin, had no doubt approached the Tibetan publisher for a thoughtful discussion on the matter; but upon learning that Tharchin had never received the original of his own letter from the UCNI Moderator, he had given to the Babu the two letters he had himself safely received so that Tharchin could reflect upon them and their solemn implications, react back to the Superintendent, and respond to Ram accordingly.

The Rt. Rev. Dr. Ram's 7th April letter to Gergan Tharchin is, to say the least, an absolutely astounding one. Upon a first reading of it and the one sent Dr. Craig, the Tibetan publisher-evangelist-pastor must have been left reeling and stirred to the very foundations of his being. For it is a missive whose subject and proposals must have initially moved him to tears of great joy at the prospect of being able to fulfill at last a long-held ambition of possibly leading a Church mission of his own to his ethnic homeland, planting a work in the very heartland of Tibetan Buddhism, preaching the gospel of Christ unhindered there, and continuing to open the eyes of his blood brethren to the ever-changing world outside their country's borders through the publication of his newspaper on a daily basis as his contribution in helping to effect an absolutely essential reformation of Tibet before it was forever too late. Here, then, in its entirety is what the highest ecclesiastical official of Tharchin's "umbrella" Church body had to say and propose to him for his earnest consideration:

My dear Mr. Tharchin:

A few months ago I was in Kalimpong and I wanted very much to have an interview with you, but at that time you were away.

You are doubtless aware that the United Church of Northern India is very anxious to start Foreign Mission work abroad, and to me personally it is Tibet that calls more than any other country, and all of us will hail the day when the Church in Northern India erects an outpost in the capital of Tibet to undertake missionary work.

I personally feel that we can find no better person than yourself to lead this mission, and if you should be our first missionary in Tibet I shall greatly welcome such an adventure. Let me make my proposals to you in definite terms: —

(1) Would you be willing to become our missionary in Lhasa, Tibet? If you should agree to this proposal I shall approach the Eastern Himalayan Church Council to ordain you to be our first missionary.

(2) I understand that you are running a Printing Press from which literature pours forth into Tibet. What will you do with the Press in case you had to go to Lhasa? In case you wish to carry it to Lhasa we shall be responsible for all the expenses that you will incur.

(3) You have to kindly help me in determining the salary and whatever allowances you find necessary. I will do all I can to make your burden as light as possible in this respect.

(4) If you are able to undertake this missionary work of preaching through the printed page and in any other ways, would you like that we should also associate a

Christian doctor with you so that medical and evangelistic work may go on together?
Please advise me as to what should be done in this respect.

I hope you will read over my letter prayerfully and that you will send me your decision in as near a future as possible so that I may move in this matter as quickly as possible.

Looking forward to hearing from you soon, and with my kindest regards,
Yours sincerely,

Sd. A. Ralla Ram,
Convener, Foreign Mission Committee
of the General Assembly of the
United Church of Northern India

Could any other proposal of like content have been more stunning and all-embracing in its scope? It was as though a huge magic flying carpet had descended to earth and been placed at the Babu's disposal which, were he merely to give the word, would carry him, his family, his Press and his vibrant Christian faith to the Vatican of Central Asia's vast realm of Mahayana Buddhism where, now relieved of all the perennial financial anxieties associated with Press and family obligations of yesteryear, he and his mission could undertake what countless Christians had prayed for but which few if any others before him had been able to do: spread the Light of Life in a Land Dark and Closed for centuries. He and his esteemed friend and co-worker in the gospel of long ago, Sadhu Sundar Singh, had always longed and hoped for just such an opportunity as this of penetrating the tradition-bound Land of Monks and Monasteries with the message of Christ in an unhindered way; and now at long last it seemed as though that dream was about to come true!

Yet strangely enough, Gergan Tharchin apparently temporized for the longest while before answering the proposal, during which time Dr. Ram sent him at least one follow-up letter on 9 November inquiring what might be his decision on the proposal that at this late date was still on the table for the taking. Even in this instance, however, the newspaper publisher waited for nearly six weeks more before beginning what the records show as an original and carbon copy of an *unfinished* missive he attempted to compose that was dated 19 December and typed on his Tibet Mirror Press letterhead stationery. Its brief text reveals his continuing uncertainty and lack of any action taken in securing the required permits for such a venture:

My dear Dr. R. Ram,

Thank you for your kind letter of 9th November 1949.

If it is God's will that I should go to Lhasa, I am willing to go. But I have to apply to the Tibetan government to get the permission, as well as, I have to take permission from the Government of India.

There is no evidence extant as to whether the letter finally sent, if such was ever sent at all, was couched in the above language or was subsequently revised to reflect any further or different thinking on the matter. Nonetheless, as will be seen shortly, Tharchin was still temporizing on the issue into late February of the following year.

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United Church of Northern India

Could any other proposal of like content have been more stunning and all-embracing in its scope? It was as though a huge magic flying carpet had descended to earth and been placed at the Babu's disposal which, were he merely to give the word, would carry him, his family, his Press and his vibrant Christian faith to the Vatican of Central Asia's vast realm of Mahayana Buddhism where, now relieved of all the perennial financial anxieties associated with Press and family obligations of yesteryear, he and his mission could undertake what countless Christians had prayed for but which few if any others before him had been able to do: spread the Light of Life in a Land Dark and Closed for centuries. He and his esteemed friend and co-worker in the gospel of long ago, Sadhu Sundar Singh, had always longed and hoped for just such an opportunity as this of penetrating the tradition-bound Land of Monks and Monasteries with the message of Christ in an unhindered way; and now at long last it seemed as though that dream was about to come true!

Yet strangely enough, Gergan Tharchin apparently temporized for the longest while before answering the proposal, during which time Dr. Ram sent him at least one follow-up letter on 9 November inquiring what might be his decision on the proposal that at this late date was still on the table for the taking. Even in this instance, however, the newspaper publisher waited for nearly six weeks more before beginning what the records show as an original and carbon copy of an *unfinished* missive he attempted to compose that was dated 19 December and typed on his Tibet Mirror Press letterhead stationery. Its brief text reveals his continuing uncertainty and lack of any action taken in securing the required permits for such a venture:

My dear Dr. R. Ram,

Thank you for your kind letter of 9th November 1949.

If it is God's will that I should go to Lhasa, I am willing to go. But I have to apply to the Tibetan government to get the permission, as well as, I have to take permission from the Government of India.

There is no evidence extant as to whether the letter finally sent, if such was ever sent at all, was couched in the above language or was subsequently revised to reflect any further or different thinking on the matter. Nonetheless, as will be seen shortly, Tharchin was still temporizing on the issue into late February of the following year.

One of the reasons most likely to account for the Babu's ongoing hesitation was the lingering tense and even ominous atmosphere in Lhasa and in much of the rest of Tibet that had been created by the sudden and explosive expulsion order handed down in the late spring of that year by Tibet's National Assembly and Cabinet and discussed a few pages earlier. Given the uncertainty which now obtained at the Tibetan capital and the triumph of Mao and the Communists in the Chinese Civil War just concluded, together with Tharchin's continuing intimate involvement in undercover intelligence-gathering activity on behalf of the Indian government (see Chapter 24a for the details), Tharchin was in no position to give a definite answer. On the one hand, the proposals by Dr. Ram and the UCNI were most tempting in the extreme, and he was not about to make a hasty negative judgment were the Sino-Tibetan situation to stabilize sufficiently to allow for a relocation to Lhasa; on the other hand, the Babu had to consider seriously the dangers which might befall him, his family and his mission in Lhasa were a becalmed international situation between the two countries which would have encouraged him to shift his residence to the Tibetan capital to suddenly explode in his face for the worse and negate the very reasons for having relocated to Lhasa. Furthermore, as will be learned two chapters hence, the newspaper publisher had by this time become a target for ill of the Chinese Communists.

For the time being, therefore, Tharchin, it would appear, had decided to bide his time and wait and see how the fast-changing events in the international arena might play out. This, in fact, became his stance well into the year 1950. For in the last extant document found among the Tharchin Papers which dealt with this subject, the Christian publisher was still waiting to know what the will of his God was in the matter. Writing on 24 February to Norman Ellis of the Baptist Mission Press in Calcutta, the Tibetan publisher-evangelist made the following observations, he apparently having in the meantime approached some Tibetan government officials about the proposal to shift his Press to the Tibetan capital:

... I am so glad as you were in Nagpur [India] for the Christian Council of the Literature Board and mentioned especially the needs of Tibet at this time. I received some papers about the Conference in Nagpur. [They were] very interesting, and we hope that the Christian Presses will do great helps to Tibet, Bhutan and Nepal, as well as to India. Now the Tibetans are taking more and more interest in modern printing works, and several officials suggested to me to go to Lhasa with my small press. I am praying that if it is God's will I will go there....

In hindsight, and given the now well-known obsequious attitude of the Nehru government of India towards Peking's emergent Maoist regime at this early stage in Sino-Indian relations regarding Communist China's designs on Tibet, it is *extremely* doubtful that the Indian Foreign Office would in the slightest degree have allowed Gergan Tharchin to relocate his staunchly anti-Chinese Communist publishing house in Lhasa or to plant a Christian mission there: and even if the Tibetan government would have pronounced its own blessing upon these primary features of the Ram proposal. As a matter of fact, so obsessed had Nehru become by this time—and despite his better judgment—in viewing the Communist Chinese as post-colonial allies and co-leaders in Asian and world affairs, that before the year 1950 had come to a close the Indian government had essentially abandoned the longstanding *de facto* recognition

of Tibet's autonomy which New Delhi had inherited from the departing British Raj. Caving in to mounting Chinese pressure during that entire year, India, having in January 1950 granted diplomatic recognition to Peking's Communist Government, decided in the end to avoid debating the issue of Tibet's status *vis-à-vis* the international community when later that same year the matter was raised by a few lone supporters of Tibetan independence at that year's General Assembly session of the United Nations.

Furthermore, by late 1949 the Indian government had become very much aware, as had Tharchin himself, that the Kalimpong publisher and his newspaper had been singled out specifically by the Chinese Communists as having been chiefly responsible for provoking the Tibetan government's precipitate action earlier that year of expelling all Chinese from the Roof of the World (see Chapter 24a for details). In addition, during the ensuing decade both the Chinese and Indian governments would be exchanging diplomatic notes which were jointly and harshly critical of Tharchin's newspaper for its articles "hostile to the Chinese Government and people" on the one hand and for its "anti-Government of India" editorials opposing the latter's Tibet policy on the other, with both Governments equally determined not to allow the *Tibet Mirror* to mar "the friendly relations between India and China" (see Chapter 27 for details).

And hence, for the Nehru government to have given its imprimatur to the proposed private mission to Lhasa would have greatly antagonized Beijing. That development, one may be sure, the Delhi authorities would never have permitted to happen had such a request from Tharchin and/or the UCNI Foreign Mission Committee ever reached the desks of the relevant Indian governmental bureaucrats for their approval.

In the end, the proposed Ram foreign missionary venture proved to be highly misguided and far too unrealistic for this late date in Tibetan history, given the geopolitical realities of the Sino-Indian, Sino-Tibetan and Indo-Tibetan relationships of that day. These realities and these relationships would prove to be even more unsuitable and far less salutary for relocating to Lhasa some three years later when still another call would be issued for the Babu to shift himself and his Press to the Tibetan capital. The peculiar circumstances surrounding the call would once again, however, not be conducive to the relocation of the Tibet Mirror Press and its proprietor to the heartland of Central Tibet (see next below). And thus, the missionary dream which Gergan Tharchin had for so long prayed of one day personally spreading the Christian message far and wide in unhindered fashion throughout the Great Closed Land would remain unfulfilled during his lifetime. He would have to be content with the longstanding more restrictive methods of communicating the gospel inside Tibet: intermittent and mostly anonymous tract distribution (with much of such evangelistic literature continuing to be printed at the Babu's Press), word of mouth transmission one-on-one, and infrequent publication and distribution there of his *Tibet Mirror* newspaper with its one page devoted to Christian themes. Nevertheless, Babu Tharchin continued to pray till his very last breath that others after him would have the privilege which had been denied to him and to so many others before him.



As alluded to already, yet another and more bizarre summons to relocate his Press to Lhasa would be received at Kalimpong by the Christian Babu. This, however, emanated from a familiar Communist source! The author is indebted for information about it to the sometime-resident trader at Lhasa, the Ladakhi Moslem Abdul Wahid Radhu. The latter had learned of it from the Communist source himself, Phuntsog Wangyal, with whom by now the reader is well acquainted. It so happened that Radhu had arrived in Lhasa (for a stay of two years) just a month before Phuntsog would himself arrive at the head of the first contingent of the dreaded People's Liberation Army to enter the Tibetan capital. This would be the late summer of 1951.

Shortly after his triumphant return with the PLA, Phunwang would contact Tharchin down in Kalimpong to come up to Lhasa with his Press. This summons would most likely have occurred in early 1952 and concerned itself with the work of the Translation Bureaus which this very early Tibetan Communist had helped establish at the Tibetan capital. It will be recalled from earlier in the present chapter that the primary purpose of these Bureaus—and others like them elsewhere in Tibet and perhaps also in western China—had been to translate into Tibetan the works of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Mao as an essential preparation for the eventual and total transformation of Tibet into a socialist society. Here is how, in his autobiographical volume, Radhu had informed his readers about the call which went out to the Christian publisher:

To accelerate the printing of all this new literature, according to what Phiwang [Phuntsog Wangyal] told me, they had recourse to an old press which a certain Tharchin possessed in Kalimpong where he published a journal in Tibetan, *Pho-i Melong* [*sic*] (The Mirror of Tibet), after having for a long time printed works ordered by Christian missionaries. Tharchin was called on to return to Tibet to participate in this work of "progress."¹⁸⁶

How ironic that this summons from the Communist Phunwang would arrive during the precise period in which the Babu would be engaged in an intensive theological study and training as preparation for being ordained a Christian minister by his Church that took place in early 1952!

Given this development in the Babu's life and given also his already several-years-long editorial views expressed in the *Tibet Mirror* sharply critical of Communist China's horrendous treatment of his ethnic homeland and of the Marxist-Leninist anti-religious philosophy which informed that treatment, one can state with absolute certainty that Rev. Gergan Tharchin would not in the slightest degree have taken kindly to such a call to relocate himself and his Press northward. His earlier fear that his Press and newspaper might possibly be hijacked for Communist purposes inimical to Tibet would now seem to have been justified. Phuntsog Wangyal's sanguine expectation that Tharchin, with his admittedly progressive reformist views about Tibet, would have been interested in participating in this Communist venture up in Lhasa, was, to put it mildly, considerably off the mark. The Tibetan Communist had apparently concluded from his many conversations with the Indo-Tibetan

back in 1944 that he well knew Tharchin's true thinking and desire concerning Tibet: but he had seriously misread the Babu's heart. As it turned out, Phuntsog Wangyal and his Communist compatriots would have to inaugurate a press and newspaper of their own at the Tibetan capital.

*

That the *Tibet Mirror*, and its printing house, the Mirror Press, came to be widely respected, appreciated and greatly valued for their varied contributions to the Tibetan-speaking people in general and to the governmental and cultural circles in particular was no better demonstrated than by what happened less than three years following the new Mirror Press inauguration. As the month in the Silver Jubilee year of the *Tibet Mirror's* publishing history approached, and the day when its Twenty-Fifth Anniversary Issue was about to roll off the press, messages of recognition, congratulation and felicitation poured in from many quarters—including, it may be recalled, a congratulatory message from Lhasa sent to the *Mirror's* editor by none other than Gedun Chopel. Space would not be enough to quote them all fully. Only a representative few can be cited here; but all of them struck a particular note of profound appreciation which the one or the other of them had for this or that aspect of the *Tibet Mirror* that each liked best or from which each benefited the most. The complete text of all the following appeared in English (as well as what appear to be summaries in Tibetan) in the Silver Jubilee Number of the newspaper that was issued as Volume 19, nos. 1-2 dated 1 December 1950-1 January 1951 and which appeared in late January 1951.

Writing from Gangtok, Mr. Harish Dayal, representing the Indian government in his capacity as the then Political Officer in Sikkim who had succeeded Arthur Hopkinson later in 1948, considered it "a remarkable achievement" that the newspaper had continued for so long "in spite of various difficulties." The *Tibet Mirror*, he noted, "performs a valuable function in bringing the Tibetan reading public into touch with affairs throughout the world." The "neatness and clarity of printing" in both text and illustrations "might furnish an example to many better-known journals," he concluded.*

* During his few years in office as the Political Officer in Sikkim, Dayal would become one of the *Mirror's* staunchest advocates within Independent India's governmental bureaucracy. Even when he had to be the bearer of the negative response from the Indian government ("all Ministries of Government are having to reduce their expenditures," he explained) to one of Babu Tharchin's several appeal letters he had submitted from time to time (this one sent the P.O.S. on 27 July 1949) for the purpose of being granted a resumption of a previously-lapsed monthly subsidy, Dayal had nonetheless softened the blow by declaring in his sincere letter of regret that "if conditions justify it and if my own budget allows, I shall consider the possibility of extending occasional assistance to you from funds at my disposal." Dayal to Tharchin, Gangtok, 5 Sept. 1949, ThPaK. This commitment the Political Officer did in fact faithfully fulfill on several occasions thereafter, the most notable instance having occurred just prior to Dayal's transfer to a new post abroad. On behalf of the Political Officer, a contribution of 500 rupees towards the Tibetan newspaper was remitted to the Babu from Rai Bahadur Sonam Tobden Kazi, India's Trade Agent at Yatung, who happened to be at Gangtok at the time. In his letter of 28 Feb. 1952 to Tharchin, the Kazi wrote: "Reference our talk yesterday, please get Rs. 500/- from Messrs. Jetmall & Bhojraj, Agent at Kalimong. The P.O. in Sikkim has been pleased to contribute the above sum out of the funds at his disposal." ThPaK.

From the Himalayan Hotel in Kalimpong came a stirring message of support from Tharchin's longtime friend David Macdonald, the retired British Trade Agent at Gyantse and Yatung in Tibet. It is worth quoting in its entirety.

All readers of the *Tibet Mirror* and all Citizens of Kalimpong will join with me in wishing our fellow Citizen and Editor, Mr. Tharchin La, all possible success in the production of the Jubilee Number of the magazine.

The twenty-fifth Jubilee is a big event in the history of a paper and Mr. Tharchin La must look back with keen interest in the early struggles before his paper established itself and gained its present high authority. Mr. Tharchin La is a Tibetan scholar, and his deep knowledge of Tibetan culture is always evident in the Newspaper. He has long been associated with this part of the world and has paid many visits to Lhasa.

As a School Teacher at Ghoom, Kalimpong, Yatung, Gyantse and Lhasa, he has earned the gratitude of his former pupils, and from his long stay in our midst has earned a reputation as a highly respected citizen whose truth and integrity is widely recognized.

The *Tibet Mirror* is the only Tibetan Newspaper in the world and is a strong bridge between India and Tibet. It is also circulated to many countries overseas.

We all wish Mr. Tharchin La the greatest possible success in the managership of the *Tibet Mirror*. May he and his wife have a long, happy and prosperous life. TASHI DELEG.¹⁸⁷

From the SUM Institution in Kalimpong came a message of reminiscence sent by the Rev. William M. Scott, a former Head of the Scots Mission, as follows:

I well remember the appearance of the first number of the Tibetan Newspaper, and I am very glad to be able to send to my friend, the Editor, congratulations on the completion of 25 years of publication.

Mr. Tharchin has overcome many difficulties during these years and I admire his courage and determination in keeping the paper going. Long life and success to him and to the Tibetan Newspaper.

The editor of the (Darjeeling) *Himalayan Times*, Suresh Chandra Jain, joined his voice to the growing chorus of well-wishers and those who expressed their indebtedness to Tharchin and his newspaper:

Indo-Tibetan culture is obliged to the *Tibet Mirror* and its founder Tharchin La who have been real assets in its advancement all these twenty-five years. Tharchin La has fought his battle single-handedly and has emerged from it successfully showing to the world what it means to have sincerity of purpose.

On this happy celebration of the Silver Jubilee of the *Tibet Mirror* I extend Tharchin La my warmest greetings and pray to the Almighty for his long life to enable him to serve the cause which he has undertaken. The *Tibet Mirror*, I hope, will continue to be the torchbearer of everything that is noble in Tibet and India.

From His Highness the Maharaja of Sikkim, Tashi Namgyal, came a lengthy accolade on behalf especially of the Tibetan-reading public in his country. "It has given me great pleasure," the Maharaja began, "to learn that the *Tibet Mirror* is celebrating its Silver Jubilee this month.... Mr. Tharchin's publication has done a most useful service to the country, particularly to the Tibetan-speaking people. It is widely read in Sikkim and rightly appreciated for the sanity of its views and charity of thought." Its circulation in Tibet, he

noted, "has been appreciable, and it probably is the only vehicle of world news to most of the people of that land." Constant and faithful service to one's country for twenty-five years, continued the Maharaja, "must be a proud performance for any journal; but for the *Tibet Mirror* which is printed in a script comparatively little known in India, this glorious record should be particularly flattering." From a relatively humble beginning that saw it published in lithographic type, he observed, the Tibet Mirror Press now possesses "modern printing machines of its own." Commenting on the pictorial aspect of the newspaper, the Maharaja acknowledged that this "has always been its most pleasing feature." In conclusion, His Highness wished the publication and its editor Mr. Tharchin "very great success in the modern democratic era."

The Sub-Divisional Officer of Kalimpong, M. C. Pradhan, added his plaudits to the newspaper's longevity but recognized the fact that "it has been a great strain on its editor sree G. Tharchin" in maintaining its publication "all these years." And M. K. Pradhan, the Vice-Chairman of the Kalimpong Municipality had this to say in his note of appreciation to Tharchin Babu: "I heartily congratulate you on your efforts to seek honestly and with industry to serve your country. Please accept my good wishes for its prosperity and wider circulation."

N. Dutt-Majumdar of the Judicial Department in Calcutta gave recognition to the "valued service rendered to the Tibetan-speaking people" in India and elsewhere by the newspaper. "I hope," he added, that "it will be able to maintain its high standard in the years to come and be a distinct contribution in the world of journalism." The Deputy Commissioner for Darjeeling, N. Raychaudhuri, expressed the view that Tharchin's newspaper had done "a great deal to foster very friendly relations between the Indians and the Tibetans" through its "mutual appraisement of each other's culture and civilization."

And from the Babu's close colleague and superior in clandestine Tibetan Intelligence operations, Lha Tsering (see hence in Chapter 24a), came forth the following heartfelt encomium on Tharchin La's newspaper achievements:

I send you my hearty greetings on the occasion of the Silver Jubilee of your Tibetan newspaper ... I remember how, twenty-five years ago, you started your paper with meager resources, how you struggled single-handedly through difficult times; until now, yours is a modern and up-to-date Press. A newspaper, particularly in Tibet, is the chief source of information to enlighten the Tibetan people about world events and the international political situation; and yours, the only one in Tibetan, is admirably serving the purpose. I know that it is greatly appreciated by the Tibetan-knowing public and that it is eagerly waited for and read by all Tibetans and Tibetan-knowing people.

It is remarkable that you, a Khunupa [i.e., a Khunuwari], should have embarked on such an enterprise, and I wish you and your paper long life and increasing prosperity.

Yours sincerely,
L. Tsering
Assistant Director,
Subsidiary Intelligence Bureau,
Ministry of Home Affairs
Government of India.

Among those congratulatory messages that cited the newspaper on its Jubilee celebration was an unusual one by Sri Krishna Das Mukerjee of Parganas, West Bengal. He wished to draw the attention of the Indian government “to the acute financial difficulties under which” the journal had been “struggling during the 25 years of its existence, though the Ideal of the paper to foster the Indo-Tibetan cultural and spiritual friendship has all along been kept in the forefront under the able guidance of the learned editor.” Mukerjee made an eloquent appeal to the Government of India to “come forward and liberally finance the paper” so that it might not only grow in size but also be published more frequently—“say, once a week.” The *Tibet Mirror*’s subscribers in India and abroad, he added, “eagerly await the next step of the Government ... in this direction.”

One final congratulatory message should be mentioned. It came from His Royal Highness Prince Peter of Greece and Denmark (1908-80) who at the time was still based in Kalimpong conducting anthropological research in several directions. It will be recalled that one of his *munshis* in the Tibetan language was Gergan Tharchin himself. Moreover, the Babu’s Press would even print and publish for Prince Peter one or two of his smaller works of scholarship in the ensuing years of their friendship.* In his note of appreciation for the newspaper and its publisher the Prince wrote:

It is now twelve years since I first made the acquaintance of Mr. Tharchin and of his Tibetan newspaper here, in Kalimpong. Since then, I have come to appreciate to the full the good work that is being done throughout Tibet by the publication and, consequently, to wish it a long life of continued, regular appearance.

I take great pleasure in congratulating its founder on the occasion of the twenty-five years Jubilee. This is indeed a splendid record of which Mr. Tharchin can be justly proud, and which all well-wishers of the Tibetan newspaper rejoice over.

May there still be many, many years to come in which we shall have the pleasure of reading the Tibetan Newspaper!

*

The *Tibet Mirror* would indeed continue to appear for another decade and more, years that were fraught with incredible upheavals and momentous events both within and without Gergan Tharchin’s beloved Tibet, precipitated as they were by the aggressive and bellicose designs of the Communist Chinese to the east. This tumultuous period and the Babu’s deep involvement in it all by means of his print medium are recounted in some detail in the chapters that are yet to follow in the present narrative. Just here, however, it may be well to allow the reader to have another close-up view of the Tibetan newspaper, this time as it

* A few years later, however, he and his White Russian wife Princess Irene, would be expelled by the Indian government for his having spoken out publicly on several occasions against India’s passive policy during the 1950s regarding Tibet. “Long resident in Kalimpong,” notes John Knaus, “the prince ... published his [anthropological] studies of the Tibetans and regional hill tribes. This and his friendship with [the Dalai Lama’s elder brother] Gyalo Thondup led to suspicions that he was a spy. Thondup, a frequent tennis partner, dismissed this as nonsense. He noted that the prince’s interest in Tibet was limited to measuring their skulls. 7,000 of them so far, as part of his encyclopedic study of Himalayan polyandry. (After his banishment from India to Denmark [in 1957], Prince Peter took an active role on behalf of Tibetan refugee children.)” Knaus, *Orphans of the Cold War*, 171.

appeared in the early 1950s to the eyes of a keen European observer who would become a good friend of the publisher's.

This latest delineation of the *Tibet Mirror* is to be found, surprisingly, among the pages of a rather scholarly yet highly readable volume that has already served as a valuable source for the writing of the present biography. In his book, *Where the Gods Are Mountains; Three Years among the People of the Himalayas*, Baron René de Nebesky-Wojkowitz has recorded, among other things, his impressions of Kalimpong, the particular place chosen as home base for his ongoing research and writing about the Tibetan culture and religion to be found along the Indo-Sikkimese borderland. Because he remained at Kalimpong from August 1950 to February 1953, the young Austrian Baron had innumerable opportunities to observe and record the life and times of the people and society in the Indian hill station itself. And it was while he was at Kalimpong during this period that the Austrian became intimately acquainted with Gergan Tharchin, who now and then obliged the European, as the reader will learn in the following chapter, by serving as the foreign scholar's interpreter on a number of occasions when the Baron wished to have interviews with significant people in the area. As a matter of fact, Tharchin's name appears on many pages of the Austrian's volume, which thus reflects further the important place the lowly man from Poo had by this time so well assumed in his community.

Now Nebesky-Wojkowitz devoted considerable space in his book to Tharchin's influential newspaper. He is therefore worth quoting at some length here since what he wrote can provide a very good idea of the further development of the journal's format and content since the time when some twenty years earlier it had been critically reviewed by "Tibetan" in Shanghai's prominent English-language weekly, the *North-China Herald* (see earlier in the present work, Volume II, Chapter 17). The Austrian Baron began by briefly describing the physical location of the editorial offices of the newspaper and then proceeded to discuss the paper and its content in great detail:

In the middle of the Tibetan quarter stands a corrugated-iron shed, from which a steep flight of steps runs up to a small stone building. The two buildings house the editorial offices and press of the oddest newspaper in the world. This is the *Mirror of News from All Sides of the World*, as its title means literally ... Until the occupation of the Land of Snows by Red Chinese troops, this was Tibet's only newspaper. It was founded as long ago as 1925. The editor is Kusho Tharchin, an affable Tibetan who prefers European clothes and has mastered English as thoroughly as the tortuous formulas of honorific Tibetan. This paper is an exception among Tibetan printed works: it is not printed with wood blocks, but with lead type ...

The *Mirror* generally consists of only six or eight small pages of print, but it offers a wealth of absorbing news to him who can read it. There are columns headed "News from Lhasa," or "Reports from Bhutan." Next to the latest rumors from the caravan routes* stands a report on the most recent sitting of the Tibetan Council of Ministers,

* Ever the enterprising publisher of news, Tharchin Babu sought to interest Indian and other Government officials in various places along the caravan routes to subscribe to the *Tibet Mirror*. A letter he wrote to the Political Officer at far-off Sadiya in Assam is a classic case in point. Sadiya sat astride the trade route from India to eastern Tibet and beyond. This particular letter the Babu sent in 1948 to the then Political Officer there, Mr.

followed by intelligence from the land of the U-ru-su (Russians) and the Sog-po (Mongolians), from Gya-nag (China), Ko-ri-ya (Korea) and Ri-pin (Japan). In between are to be found the "Legend of the Parrot that spoke several Languages," proverbs, the "Honey-essence of Good Sense contained in the Wise Sayings of the Lama White Lotus," and news of the opening of a new "skyway"—the Tibetan term for an airline.... A column under the heading "News from India" contains the outline of a peace speech by Pandit Nehru and in the section "News from the Western Continent" may be read a declaration by President Ai sing-hu-war (Eisenhower) on the Formosa conflict. The name of the island is spelt Phormosa, for the Tibetan language possesses no "f".

Western personal and geographical names are transliterated into Tibetan characters according to the English pronunciation; but the familiar names are not always easy to recognize in their Tibetan guise. Thus the section "News from the Western Continent" contains an account of the Diugophe E-den-bara's (Duke of Edinburgh's) Canadian tour, a note about international discussions taking place in Pe-ri-si (Paris) the capital of Pha-ran-se (France), and the gist of a declaration made by Char-cha-hil (Churchill), all of them telegraphic reports, "wind-tidings," as the Tibetans say.

Most issues of the paper carry a few photographs. A picture of the young Dalai Lama often graces the front page, but a photograph of the Communist National Assembly at Lhasa is quite likely to appear as well. A few pages farther on a true marvel is shown: a new-laid egg, the natural markings on whose shell form the party symbol of Chiang Kai shek's Kuomintang. The back page of the *Mirror* also has interesting information to offer. Under the heading "Commercial News" it gives the current prices of Tibetan wool, fox and snow-leopard skins, black and white yak's tails, hog's bristles, and musk. Next to this are announcements by the Association of Tibetan Merchants in Kalimpong and a few advertisements, such as the statement that Ballisandas Shyamrata pays the highest price for musk, or a price list of the goods just arrived at Haji Musa Khan's shop on the Tenth Mile.¹⁸⁸



This fine summary of the contents of Tharchin Babu's news journal dating from the early 1950s has anticipated in one very important respect the remarks most recently put forward by the exile Tibetan literary critic, scholar and novelist, Jamyang Norbu, on the

L. Sharma, informing him of an article he had published in the paper about Sadiya "and the important trade route" which ran through it and enclosing two copies of the pertinent issue of the *Mirror* as a way to whet the Officer's interest in the newspaper. In the article, wrote Tharchin, "I was able to publish a few photos of your honour and some news of the Sadiya Trade route." Then reminding the Political Officer that his predecessor "used to subscribe to 30 copies from November to the end of March in every year for distribution to the traders," the Babu next expressed the hope that Sharma might "favour the same and order me to send the copies" by post. Tharchin added, suggestively, that he "thought that copies, if distributed to traders who pass through Sadiya, will be very pleased to read the article." He went on to say that many Khampa traders at Kalimpong had shown "very much interest in the article," and held out the prospect that were "the Sadiya route properly developed," he was "sure that all the Eastern Tibetan traders will come to Sadiya" and that the latter would "develop into a big trade centre like Kalimpong." Tharchin to Sharma, Kalimpong, 26 Nov. 1948. ThPaK. In early 1950 the news publisher would receive a request by letter not from the Political Office but from the Assistant Central Intelligence Officer there, stating that "a copy of the Tibetan Newspaper is required for my office use" and requesting that its subscription to him be supplied "at a very early date." T.T. Samdup to Tharchin, Sadiya, 25 April 1950, ThPaK.

tremendous contribution which the *Tibet Mirror* had made in modernizing the Tibetan language. Taking radical exception to those apologists of Communist China like Melvyn Goldstein and Han Suyin who have expressed in their writings "wholehearted enthusiasm" for Beijing's so-called reforms in the Tibetan language, Norbu accuses them of having totally ignored the contributions of others in the modernization of Tibetan language and literature. In this regard, he cites the considerable modernizing influence exerted on Tibet and her language by publications like the *Tibet Mirror*, the linguistic activity of Christian missionaries, British military and diplomatic advances into Tibet, the acquisition of products that were continually being imported into the country and which were the results of contemporary Western technology, the impact of trade and commerce on Tibet—particularly during the period of the Second World War, and "most significantly," the modernization program of the Great Thirteenth. These all, in Norbu's opinion, constituted "the true beginnings" in the process of modernizing Tibet and her language and had all begun to occur a half-century and more prior to Communist China's invasion and occupation of Tibet.

Norbu has enunciated and discussed these and related ideas and claims in a lengthy five-part essay entitled, "Newspeak and New Tibet: the Myth of China's Modernization of Tibet and the Tibetan Language." In this essay he has taken Goldstein to task in particular for having been completely silent on what Norbu firmly believes was the considerable influence which the *Tibet Mirror*, in its nearly four-decade publishing history, had exerted on modernizing the Tibetan language by having contributed in a major way to the creation of a new Tibetan vocabulary of political, technological and scientific terms. In fact, this well-known Tibetan critic has gone out of his way to heap much praise on Babu Tharchin and his pioneering newspaper for this particular linguistic accomplishment. In a most laudatory discussion of the Babu's contribution, Norbu in effect has placed the Indo-Tibetan editor in the forefront of those who need to be credited for having achieved much in this literary endeavor "long before Communist China's language 'reforms'" had been inaugurated "or for that matter [long before] Goldstein's own language books and dictionaries" had been published (see the introduction to the latter's *Modern Literary Tibetan*, 1973; the foreword to his *Tibetan-English Dictionary of Modern Tibetan*, 1975; and his much later volume, *Essentials of Modern Literary Tibetan*, 1993).

Highly detailed and extremely well-documented, Norbu's essay presents a most persuasive case for his claim that well prior to Communist China's "reforms" of the Tibetan language (which, he argues, were "ill-conceived, unnatural, arrogant and imposed" and "seriously damaging" both to "traditional writing and literature" and to "the spoken language"), Tibet had already witnessed significant beginnings in "the creation of a modern Tibetan vocabulary" and that this "evolutionary organic process" had been "undertaken mostly by Tibetans themselves" and done so "in a matter-of-fact, non-academic and non-official way." And according to Norbu, Gergan Tharchin, through his famous newspaper, had contributed greatly to this process. Yet this lengthy successful episode in Tibet's modern linguistic and literary history both Goldstein and Suyin, "the mother of all Chinese propagandists herself" (see her 1977 volume, *Lhasa the Open City: a Journey to Tibet*), had chosen to ignore.

Here, then, is the laudatory manner in which Norbu, writing in 2005, commenced that part of his essay which is centered on the Indo-Tibetan publisher and his contribution to Tibet's modern language:

Any discussion on the modernization of the Tibetan language would be inconceivable without mentioning the major contribution of the pioneering Tibetan-language paper, the *Tibet Mirror*, and its founder/editor, the Reverend Gergan Tharchin. It is therefore astonishing that nowhere does Goldstein make any mention of either. The first issue of the *Tibet Mirror* appeared in October 1925 and carried on for thirty-eight years until 1963-64. The circulation was certainly small, but copies were passed on and re-read on quite an extensive basis. The 13th Dalai Lama, a personal friend of Tharchin's, who encouraged and supported him in his venture, received the paper regularly as did some other lamas and aristocrats. Other Tibetans in Lhasa also subscribed. Copies of the paper even reached Chamdo and Derge.

Norbu then quotes from Tibetan scholar Tashi Tsering's biographical sketch of the Babu which bears repeating here within the present context, even though the passage has previously appeared already in the present narrative (see Volume II, Chapter 17, where a slightly different text version can be found). Writes Tsering:

Inspired by the British liberal press, the *Mirror* published articles on world events and especially reported what was taking place in India, Tibet and in the region of Kalimpong. It was a rich source of information on the world of High Asia at the time. It reported on the movements and diplomatic activities of government officials of Bhutan, China, Britain, Sikkim and so on, as well as the goings-on within the aristocracy and the endeavours of Tibetan scholars. The paper also debated the question of the status of Tibet and the position of Tibet *vis-à-vis* China.

The *Mirror* carried profiles of contemporary political personalities such as Gandhi, Stalin and Hitler as well as prominent Tibetans. It also reported on the doings of the great military powers, developments in weapons and the latest scientific discoveries and inventions. Important international events such as the Olympic Games as well as the anniversaries of the India Empire were also reported.

But Norbu next provides a summary of the results of his own admittedly cursory review of the *Mirror*. This summary reveals an amazing amount of data supporting his contention that the Babu and his unique news publication had contributed greatly to Tibetans' knowledge of modern developments in business, commerce and trade, in science and technology, and in politics. But most importantly, this summary also makes clear the considerable contribution the Babu made in modernizing the Tibetan language (e.g., his coining of new Tibetan terms and other creative vocabulary) which was essential in aiding his ethnic countrymen in their understanding of, and communicating among themselves about, these various cultural developments. Explains the Tibetan critic:

The *Mirror* ran classified ads, and reported on the Kalimpong wool market as well as international gold and silver prices. An occasional feature was a science and technology section where new inventions and natural phenomena were explained. The June 1929 issue carried an article on how eclipses (*ze-rin*) occur, accompanied by a diagram of the sun, the moon and the earth. Another explained the workings of the camera with

the kind of school text-book diagram of a cutaway box-camera with the two symbolic lines representing light reflecting off the top and bottom of an upright person, intersecting at the lens, entering the camera and casting an upside-down image at the film on the back.

Some of the advertisements in the *Mirror* clearly demonstrate how the products of modern technological civilization had already made substantial inroads into Tibet. The May 1927 issue has an advertisement for a folding bellows camera, Primo No. 12, along with a notice on *par-shok* (photographic paper) and *par-men* (photographic chemicals). In the June 1926 issue there is an ad for alarm clocks (*chutsoe-khor lo*), specifying that these could be ordered by mail. The April 1926 issue features an ad for a horn gramophone (*kyepar dhungchin-chen*) on the front page. The ad goes on to mention that with the gramophone you could listen to melodious songs, opera arias (*namthar*) and music (*baa-ja*) from many different countries. In fact, the *Mirror* of June 1927 has an advertisement for a series of six gramophone records of Tibetan light classical music (*toeshay/nangma*) and Lhamo opera arias.

Since the first issues of the *Mirror* were mimeographed, it is possible that the Tibetan term for this, *numpar* (oil-print), could have been coined at the time. The *Mirror* was later printed on a lithographic machine that Tibetans called *dopar* (stone-print) which is close to the Latin. The letterpress was called *chakdru*, certainly derived from the Tibetan term for individual letters, *vingdru* (letter-seed)....

Much of the political vocabulary Tibetans use today seems to have appeared in the *Mirror*: *rangwang* (freedom), *rangzen* (independence), *miser-gyalkhap* (republic), *chogtripangpa* (neutrality), *chabsi* (politics), *chab-bang* or *miser* (citizen), *wö* (adopted from the English "vote" but spelt as meaning "worthy or deserving" *wöpa*). *wöshok* (ballot-paper), *wödu* (elections), *silon* (prime minister), *sidzin-chikyap* later *sidzin* (president), *chigyal laykhung* (Foreign Bureau), *tawa* (ideology, doctrine) and *ghungtren* (Communist China). Earlier in the 'twenties and 'thirties the Tibetan word for Communism (more in reference to the Soviet model) was *ulang marpo* from the Mongol "Ulan" for red and the tautology *marpo* which is red in Tibet.... We cannot, of course, credit the creation of all of such political terms to the *Mirror*, but some of them were probably coined there. Nonetheless, the fact remains that the modern Tibetan scientific and political vocabulary that Goldstein and Han Suyin claim exclusively as Communist China's achievement was long before in currency at the *Mirror* and in the conversation of educated Tibetans.

The *Mirror* was also well qualified to undertake such a linguistic task, for at different times in its history it had such renowned intellectuals as Gedun Chopel, the Duke of Changlochen [Changlo Chen Gung] and others, working on its editorial staff. My delving into *Mirror* material has been cursory, and most of the information I have received has come from Professor Elliot Sperling, who, some years ago, generously presented his valuable collection of original *Mirror* back issues to the Amnye Machen Institute. It would make a worthwhile research project for an aspiring Tibetologist to go through the back issues of the *Mirror* and work out the contributions of this pioneering journal to the development of modern Tibetan language.

Yet Norbu, with much supportive data, effectively makes the point in the remainder of his Part III that besides Gergan Tharchin there were many, many others—mostly Tibetans—who also played key roles in the modernization process of the Tibetan language. Nonetheless, his concluding comments are most apt here; for upon reading them one can more readily appreciate "the major contribution" which the Babu had made during the many years of the *Tibet Mirror's* existence. Argues Norbu by way of conclusion:

It cannot be emphasized enough that this essay does not set out to prove that Tibet was, even in a marginal sense, a technologically and scientifically developed country, equipped with a modern vocabulary capable of expressing all contemporary scientific and political thought. There is absolutely no disputing the fact that we had so much more to do to modernize and reform our society.... The argument I am making is that, judging by the pioneering efforts of Tibetans in the past, no matter how seemingly modest, to bring electricity, modern communications and facilities to their country and people—and even think up apt and sometimes clever and amusing terms for these many new objects and ideas—it is clear that Tibetans could and would have done the job of modernizing their country and their language largely by themselves ... (as has happened in neighbouring Bhutan and Ladakh) ... [if only] Tibet had been left alone...¹⁸⁹

That, of course, was not to be, as the next chapter in the present narrative will make abundantly plain. Even so, given the actual history of *de facto* independent Tibet during the first half of the twentieth century that included in that history the kind of modest but steady, progressive, largely indigenously-undertaken cultural, scientific and technological advance as described and documented by Jamyang Norbu, no one today can deny that the contribution of Gergan Tharchin and his *Tibet Mirror* newspaper in furthering that advance had been considerable. And for that the Babu could be justly proud.



As can readily be discerned from this rather full delineation, Tharchin's paper, as the publisher himself was wont to say, "had everything in it"—and more—that would appeal to most every Tibetan reader. So much so that especially during the first decade of Communist China's occupation of Tibet (1950-59) the demand for it by the literate citizenry of the land, as might be expected, increased considerably. So concerned during this decade were the Chinese about the newspaper's growing cultural influence, its anti-Communist editorial policy, and perhaps even by its openly Christian orientation, that again and again—having banned the paper in Tibet—efforts were made by the anti-religious Chinese to prevent its further entrance into the Great Closed Land. In mid-year 1954, for example, Tharchin was moved to write Hugh Richardson about the following developments:

I am trying to continue my Tibetan newspaper [in] spite of the Chinese Communist objections [against Tibetans] reading it, but still the paper goes [into Tibet] and now the Tibetan public knows the value of the paper, and I am getting many letters to be published in my paper ...¹⁹⁰

Several methods were employed by the *Tibet Mirror* proprietor in making sure copies of the news journal reached readers inside his ethnic homeland. In a letter sent in September 1961 to a correspondent who had been offering financial support for Tibetan refugees in India, Babu Tharchin described briefly how he was able to do so throughout the decade of the 1950s:

In 1950 the Chinese Communists came into Tibet. I started to write against the Communists, so they have band [banned] the paper. The Tibetans were longing to read [it] but I could not send by Post [any longer]. From time to time secretly some traders or pilgrims used to take a few copies and they [those inside Tibet] used to read it secretly. But since 1959 [the paper was] totally stopped [from gaining entrance into Tibet].^{190a}

And as late into this same critical decade as December 1957 the Christian Babu could write the following to a Christian recipient of his letter concerning his news journal's then present situation and ask for prayer on behalf of its informational, cultural and evangelizing outreach:

The Chinese Communists are trying their best to stop the paper going into Tibet, but so far they have failed and the demand is increasing more. But I have to send them [i.e., copies of it] through reliable friends and it goes even into the monasteries, and the monks there are very pleased with my paper.

Please do pray for it and [for] the [printed Gospel] messages [so that they] may yield [spiritual] fruits in time to come.

... May God bless us all during this coming Christmas [and] may our Lord Jesus Christ be reborn in every heart.¹⁹¹

Gergan Tharchin's news journal could not, however, continue to be published forever. A day would finally come when the presses of the Babu's beloved newspaper would have to cease. Indeed, for all practical purposes the *Mirror* (but *not* the *Mirror Press*) came to an end with the September 1961 issue, although several more numbers of the paper (seven in all) did make their appearance from December 1962 to November 1963 when in this latter month the curtain did finally fall on the *Tibet Mirror's* illustrious publishing history with the publication of Number 6 of Volume XXVIII.* But not before the Babu would make one last-ditch effort to secure the resumption of a long-lapsed Government subsidy in support of the newspaper. In an apparent bid to open up a new and most likely final chapter in the *Tibet Mirror's* long and distinguished publishing history, the indefatigable newspaper editor had felt impelled to send a lengthy letter to India's Political Officer Sikkim on 16 December 1963. In it the Indo-Tibetan Babu reviewed the highlights in the chronology of events surrounding the publication of his news organ up to the moment when he had fallen ill two years earlier and was struggling to keep the paper afloat (see next below). He ended his appeal letter to the Political Officer in the following manner:

Although now there are several Tibetan papers, yet all the Tibetans in India as refugees [including] even H.H. the Dalai Lama like my paper very much, and they request me to continue its publication as they have great confidence about the news published in it, and I am trying my best to do so. But now I find [it] very hard, with my financial position, for upkeeping the staff, to continue its publication unless I get some help. I therefore pray Your Honour to consider my case and grant some subsidy as I used to get before,.... for which act of kindness I shall be ever grateful to Your Honour.¹⁹²

* This publishing history dating from September 1961 to the *Tibet Mirror's* final demise in November 1963 is per two letters Tharchin sent from Kalimpong to the Assistant Press Registrar, Office of the Registrar of Newspapers, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, in New Delhi, dated 25 July 1963 and 6 March 1965, office copies for which are among the ThPaK.

His appeal for Government assistance, unfortunately, would once again fall on deaf ears as had happened several times earlier. Meanwhile, a year prior to this final appeal, the ailing editor-publisher took the opportunity in the December 1962 number of his paper to explain what had happened so abruptly and without warning the year before. Writing in the third person, Tharchin Babu confided in his readership as follows:

Since September of last year (i.e., September 1961), the publishing of the *Tibet Mirror* was suspended. The reason for the suspension was the editor's ill-health due to old age and his having to undergo medical treatment [for heart weakness—present author]. According to the doctor, all his work had to be stopped immediately, and a complete rest for about six months—in a quiet place—was advised. Conversing with people at home [as was his habit with a constant stream of visitors wishing to discuss, frequently at great length, the geopolitical situation in Tibet between India and China—present author], and concentrating on the paper work, could have been very fatal for the future. So all newspaper work was stopped.

Meanwhile, since a few months back, by God's grace and through the good work of the doctor, the ailment improved a little. But the energy to work as before was withered, and therefore it was thought better to give up the newspaper work completely. For the Tibetan folks, the weekly "Tibetan Freedom Paper" and the "Government's Daily News" are being published; and hence no necessity is any longer found for the paper of the old man [Tharchin]. But several known people asked the reason for the paper's closure and requested that it be published again, if possible.

In making these last attempts at resuming the suspended dissemination of news to the Tibetan readership, the ever faithful Babu, even in the final seven issues of his beloved paper, gave a good accounting of himself in doing his best to provide the kind of news coverage for which the paper had always been famous. In the December 1962 issue of the *Mirror*, for example, the editor had apologized for the disruption of its publication and for the great accumulation of news stories unreported during the interim period, but went on to explain in a sort of summary what his readers could anticipate finding in the pages of this current issue:

In September of the previous year, only a few pages could be published. Because of that, and due to a health breakdown, I am now giving the delayed and incomplete old news about the sudden damage of the United Nations General Secretary's plane, the grand observance of the birth centenary of the great teacher, Dr. John A. Graham, held at the school and church of the Dr. Graham's Homes, his daughter Mrs. Odling's and Major Sheriff's wife's visits to Kalimpong by air, etc., and the other incomplete news. It is requested that all note these news items carefully.¹⁹³

Once again, his Tibetan readers would not be disappointed in the kind of news coverage they had consistently come to expect when receiving their copies of the newspaper that always seemed to live up to the English translation of its Tibetan title: *Mirror of News from All Sides of the World!*



It should be pointed out that Tharchin's age and failing health had compelled him to cease publishing the *Tibet Mirror* at a time, acknowledged by the editor himself in the paper's September 1961 issue (see above), when Tibetan refugees had already begun to produce in Darjeeling their own weekly newspaper in 1960 which they entitled, significantly, *Rangwang*—meaning in Tibetan, *Freedom*.^{*} The late Dawa Norbu, editor-in-chief of the *Tibetan Review* in the 1970s and a close friend of Kalimpong's late editor, told of a humorous literary device the Babu perpetrated in one of the final issues of the *Tibet Mirror*. No doubt with a twinkle in his eye, he saw an opportunity to pull a pun on the word *rangwang* when for a moment he waxed poetical with the following quatrain that appeared in his newspaper:

When there was *rangwang*,
There was no "Rangwang";
Where there is no *rangwang*,
There is "Rangwang"¹⁹⁴

In the years that were to follow the voluntary demise of the *Tibet Mirror* there commenced to appear a plethora of Tibetan periodicals published wherever Tibetan refugees began to settle in larger numbers: in places both near and far away from Kalimpong in other lands around the globe. Not the least of these was the beginning of the soon-to-be respected, if not always liked, *Tibetan Review*, the English-language monthly magazine just mentioned, and now published at New Delhi. A "remarkably free and at times hard-hitting" independent journal (Nowak), *Tibetan Review* has over the years since its inaugural issue come to be widely acknowledged in many parts of the world as being a considerably valuable periodical. Its value, notes Paul Ingram of the London-based human rights organization known as OPTIMUS (formerly the Scientific Buddhist Association), "lies in the fact that for many years now under various editors it has not hesitated to take an independent line and has sometimes even found itself at odds with the Tibetan [exile] authorities ... It contains much

^{*}Indeed, competition from other newly-sprouting Tibetan periodicals such as the *Rangwang (Freedom)* was one of the reasons Tharchin Babu had given to India's Registrar of Newspapers to explain the ultimate cessation of his newspaper. In what proved to be his final annual report from Kalimpong to that Government Office, the Babu in July of 1966 was resignedly compelled to acknowledge the inevitable:

... I wish to state ... here [that] the reasons for cessation of my publication [are] chiefly due (1) to ill-health, (2) to lack of finance, and (3) to competition from other papers.

Formerly, my paper was the only Tibetan newspaper, but now the Government of India publishes a daily bulletin from Gangtok, Sikkim, which is freely distributed [most likely the "Government's Daily News" Tharchin had referenced in his *Mirror's* December 1962 issue]. There is as well a daily newspaper entitled *Freedom*, published in Darjeeling ... [and which] gets funds from various sources [supporting] the refugees. There is another paper entitled *Central Weekly News* published in Calcutta by the KMT [i.e., the Kuo-Min-Tang or Chinese Nationalists of Taiwan]; and so, all these publishers have funds and means, whereas no funds [for me] is the second reason ... [as stated above]."

Source: Tharchin to Office of the Registrar of Newspapers for India, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Press Villa, Simla, Kalimpong, 4 July 1966, ThPaK.

valuable information and gives space to those sympathetic to the Chinese presence in Tibet as well as giving the Tibetan outlook on a wide variety of matters connected with Tibet.”¹⁹⁵ There would also arise another widely-read though more scholarly-oriented periodical for Tibetan exiles and academics, the *Tibet Journal*.

Nevertheless, despite the recent appearance of several different news publications for Tibetans, it would seem, from what the Babu would report to Hisao Kimura by letter a couple of years later, that many Tibetans were still requesting him to continue the *Tibet Mirror*. This, he added, was because “they like my paper the most.” Then, after citing three new Tibetan newspapers which were now available—one published by the Nationalist KMT down in Calcutta and two by the Tibetan Exile government at Darjeeling—the *Tibet Mirror* publisher proudly declared the following: “Even so, I am glad that now the Tibetan people know the value of a newspaper.” But turning the discussion in his letter next to what he himself had been able to contribute to Tibetan journalism, the Babu had this to say about the humble role he had played in its rise, likening journalism to a Road which, by force of circumstances, had developed in stages: “I have surveyed the [present] Road, a small part of which I had started; but now the Road has been widened and lengthened [by others].” And even though the *Mirror* editor had wanted to respond positively to those many Tibetans who wished to see his contribution to that Road continue, he knew in his heart of hearts that it must come to an end.¹⁹⁶

Despite the *Mirror*'s inevitable discontinuance, Thubten Samphel, speaking as spokesman for the current Exile Government of Tibet, could nonetheless assert that “for nearly four decades of its existence the *Tibet Mirror* chronicled some of the most important events in the history of modern Tibet. It encapsulated an entire era during which Tibetan nationalist and reformist stirrings collided with the weight of tradition and conservatism. Naturally Tharchin Babu and the office of the *Tibet Mirror* became the meeting point of intellectuals and reformists who wanted to modernize Tibet so that it would effectively counter the challenges posed by a resurgent China.”¹⁹⁷ It was therefore a journalistic record of accomplishment of which Gergan Tharchin could once again be justly proud.

Yet long before Gergan Tharchin had ceased publishing his own news organ, there quickly began to arise within Communist-occupied Tibet herself new journalistic organs of information dissemination. This was not a surprising development to Gergan Tharchin in the least. In fact, he had predicted it when publishing the 1 November 1950 issue of his *Tibet Mirror* newspaper, which was less than a month following the invasion of the Great Closed Land by Red China. “When the Chinese arrive in Lhasa,” he had prophetically warned, “surely the first thing that they will do is to establish a printing press, because they know that the distribution of newspapers is more powerful than any military.”¹⁹⁸ Doubtless his discussions with Phuntsog Wangyal and Ngawang Kalsang back in 1944 had partly contributed to this assessment. Unfortunately, these newspapers wherever they would now be found in Tibet would not be reflections of the freedom of the press as is known in democratic India and much of the West, but would be news organs that had to follow “the party line.” As early as 1951, just a few months after General Chang Ching-wu had entered Lhasa with his Chinese Communist Party cadres (see next chapter), the *New York Times* could report that “in eastern Tibet, the Chinese have established a large, modern printing press to publish a

newspaper and Marxist literature in Tibetan."¹⁹⁹ Though the *Times* article was datelined December 1951, more than likely the reference to a Tibetan-language newspaper and Tibetan editions of Marxist literature in East Tibet is the same publishing activity as that which the contemporary Tibetan historian, Tsering Shakya, has more recently reported as having been established in the Northeast ethnographic Tibetan territory of Amdo a year earlier, probably even prior to the surrender in early October 1950 of all Tibetan Army troops in East Tibet at Chamdo in Kham Province just to the south of Amdo. Writes Shakya:

In the 1950s, after the Communists had established effective control over Tibetan-speaking areas, they set out to publish Communist propaganda literature in Tibetan. The first Tibetan-language newspaper was started in 1950 in Amdo, from where it was issued every ten days. Monks from Labrang monastery were recruited to the work of translation from Chinese and the paper also carried speeches given in Tibetan by the Panchen Lama and Geshe Sherab Gyamtsho [the same Amdowa monk discussed earlier in the present chapter who was Gedun Chopel's teacher]. The first Communist literature to be translated was the Eight Point Proclamation of the PLA, which embodied the basic policies of the CCP. Whenever the PLA entered Tibetan-speaking areas it was this document that was distributed.

But Chamdo, too, would become a publishing center for the enterprising Chinese Communists in their intensive efforts to indoctrinate the Tibetan populace into the thinking and ways, ultimately, of a radical socialist state. As Amaury de Riencourt has observed:

The Communists did not concentrate wholly on Lhasa. They had also decided to develop Chamdo into the real political and administrative capital of Tibet, since it was easier to control because of its proximity to China than distant Lhasa. That is where they set up a printing plant and it was from there that they began flooding Tibet with printed Communist propaganda and Marxist literature, along with a regular newspaper.

Furthermore, author Francis Moraes could report in his book, *The Revolt in Tibet* (1960), that within just two years after Lhasa's occupation the Chinese Communist Political Department of the Tibet Military District there had begun to publish a monthly newspaper called *Tibetan News*. And this, he added, was reinforced three years later (on 22 April 1956) by the appearance of a daily newspaper, the *Hsi-tsang Jih-pao* (the *Tibet Daily News*), a Communist news sheet published in Lhasa and intended primarily for the working cadres. This was printed in both Tibetan and Chinese, and within its pages could be found, regularly translated into Tibetan, the works and speeches of Chairman Mao. But the *Tibet Daily* (as it later came to be known) also served as the mouthpiece of the Chinese-controlled indigenous-membered Preparatory Committee for the Tibet Autonomous Region. This daily paper was no doubt the very publication which the founder of the Tibetan Communist Party and leading Tibetan cadre within the Chinese Communist Party at that time, Phuntsog Wangyal, was himself responsible for inaugurating in early 1952 at the Tibetan capital. Although according to this Tibetan Communist the ultimate name of the newspaper he and his colleagues had created bore a variant masthead name to the one mentioned above (his being entitled in English as the *Lhasa Daily*), it was doubtless the same publication. (And more than likely

he had been inspired to commence this publication in part by his association for six months some ten years earlier with Gergan Tharchin's *Tibet Mirror* down in Kalimpong and his lengthy discussions with the Babu about the benefits to his reformist cause of publishing a newspaper.) The paper at Lhasa could also boast some very prominent Tibetan intellectuals among its translators of the material from the Chinese language into the indigenous one of Tibet. Explains Tharchin's erstwhile friend Phuntsog Wangyal in his published political autobiography of 2004:

I headed a new research committee that translated news and directives into Tibetan. This meant inventing new terms in Tibetan, so I brought some of the best-known Tibetan intellectuals into the committee, men like Janglojen Kung [Changlo Chen Gung, who by this time, as will be noted in Chapter 24, had returned to Lhasa from exile abroad], Tsadrü [Tshatrul] Rimpoche, Geshe Chödrag [Tharchin's "Bad Mongolian Lama," Geshe Chodak], Demo Rimpoche, and Kheme Dzasa [aka Dzasa Kunsangtse, the Tibet Army Chief]. We ... worked together translating materials from the [Peking] central government. In the beginning, once a week we posted a "newspaper" in Tibetan on the walls of the Barkhor. We initially called it "Brief Communications in Tibetan" ... Then we mimeographed the newspaper and distributed it once a week, then once every three days, and finally once a day. A few years later this officially became the *Lhasa Daily*.

And as Tsering Shakya has observed, in spite of a very high illiteracy rate in Chinese-occupied Tibet, these Communist propaganda-oriented "newspapers became one of the main media of communication." In fact, the various Tibetan communes and work units which were eventually established throughout the land "were encouraged to institute group reading and discussions" of the contents of their biased pages.²⁰⁰

It had become obvious in a very short time, therefore, that whatever freedom in the printed dissemination and exchange of ideas and information there had been in and around Tibet as exercised for so many years by Gergan Tharchin and others on behalf of his ethnic countrymen was now totally extinguished in the occupied land. In its place rose an increasing chorus of laments—for example, among the inhabitants of Lhasa—that prompted Tibetans, amidst near-famine conditions and astronomical food prices in the 1950s, to "ask each other bitterly when the incessant procession of Chinese troops into their city would at last bring with it food instead of more 'chop sticks and empty rice bowls,' weapons, loudspeakers, and printing presses"!²⁰¹

*

Gergan Tharchin's age and failing health would prevent not only the continuance of his celebrated newspaper, these personal factors as well as lack of funds would also ultimately preclude from being published what one friend of the publisher would shortly hereafter refer to as the Kalimpong editor's "crowning literary endeavor": the publication of a great lexicon of the Tibetan language. When European-born but Canadian-reared missionary

Margaret Urban visited in the Tharchin home for two weeks in the spring of 1964, she asked the venerable owner of the Tibet Mirror Press if he printed anything else besides the newspaper. "Oh, of course," came the instant reply: "tracts, those that I deem appropriate.... Also, a school atlas should come about. But above all, I have one very important work ready for printing and only awaits financial help." This was a reference to an immense Tibetan-Tibetan dictionary the Mirror Press proprietor had compiled over many, many years and which was briefly touched upon in the discussion about Geshe Chodak.* Miss Urban went on to detail it in the following terms:

a collection which encompasses his life work ... a great Lexicon with 58,551 words: the classical Tibetan described in modern Tibetan. The University of Washington is very interested in this work. They have underwritten half the printing costs, Rs. 16,000 [i.e., \$3500 x Rs. 4.5714/-]. But Tharchin can first begin with the work if patrons will assure for him the other half. One thousand copies have to be published, with Washington taking ten copies, and the others for which he must personally deliver to people. He believes that the major university libraries in Europe and America would each gladly acquire a copy and naturally, also, the linguistic research institutes.

As was intimated two chapters earlier when discussing the Bad Mongolian Lama, the Babu had begun compiling the Tibetan-Tibetan dictionary as far back as 1930, and by 1950 he was seeking advice from various scholars in Tibetan studies about its proposed publication. In that year he had written the famed Tibetologist in Paris, his good friend Professor Jacques Bacot. The latter wrote Tharchin as follows:

Many thanks for your kind letter.... As for your Tibetan dictionary, it is true that it would not be sold easily without the English words. With English words, it is fit for India, England, America, and the whole of European scholars and great libraries.

Over time Tharchin would even write Dalai Lama XIV about the matter, seeking his advice and prayers with regard to all things this Indo-Tibetan educational publisher might be able to do which would be beneficial to Tibetans. This he did in July 1965, the Babu writing His Holiness in part as follows:

Due to financial problems I could not publish till now my new more detailed Tibetan dictionary having 60,000 words and consisting of more than 2000 pages that I have composed after years of hard work.... Even though I am 76 years old this year [and in order] to make a lasting impact upon the education of future generations of the Tibetan people, I have already published many Tibetan cultural books, stories and folklore, moral teachings, biographies, and textbooks, and am still praying from the bottom of my heart to compose and print many new ones [of which the Tibetan-Tibetan lexicon was to be one]. Therefore I am urging you to pray for the fulfillment of my cherished goals and give me advices regarding everything that is beneficial to Tibetans.

* See again the last section of Chapter 21 where is provided a detailed analysis of this dictionary's format and contents.

And as indicated earlier, Tharchin would also correspond with Hugh Richardson about the dictionary project, once the latter had arrived as a visiting scholar at the University of Washington at Seattle in America where he would be teaching Literary Tibetan and other related subjects.

Truly, Gergan Tharchin was most anxious to see his ambitious linguistic undertaking fully printed and published before he took his leave of this life. But even as Tharchin had been describing the project to his 1964 visitor Miss Urban, the latter “looked at him fearfully.” “Will this 75-year-old sickly man,” she asked herself, “actually live long enough to see this possibility go to print? It would mean his crowning literary endeavor, whose value would be not only for the Tibetans but especially for the missionaries who so want the possibility of meeting the Tibetans in love—which means [being able to communicate with them] in their mother tongue.” An echo, surely, of the sentiments expressed nearly a century earlier by another and greater Tibetan lexicographer, the Moravian linguist Heinrich August Jaeschke (see further about him in Chapter 28 below).

Having begun corresponding with Dr. Turrell V. Wylie in 1956, who would in time become the Executive Chairman of the Inner Asia Project sponsored by the Far Eastern and Russian Institute at the said University of Washington, Tharchin had eventually interested Professor Wylie in his Tibetan-Tibetan dictionary. These two would even meet during a brief visit with Tharchin at Kalimpong by the Professor in August 1964. Yet even prior to this visit, and through the sustained efforts of Wylie, an agreement had been happily struck on 1 June 1964 by letter between the Babu and Hellmut [*sic*] Wilhelm, the Director of the said Institute at the University, whereby a subsidy of \$3500 would be sent to Tharchin in four equal installments of \$875. Wrote Professor Wylie in a letter to the Babu in 1965: “Your Dictionary will be . . . a valuable and everlasting contribution to Tibetan studies . . .” And two years later, concerned over Tharchin’s slow progress in printing the lexicon, Wylie wrote again enthusiastically about the dictionary, as follows: “I and my students are looking forward anxiously to the day when your great Dictionary will be printed and available.”

Yet the Washington University stipend only represented half of the Babu’s estimated cost of printing this highly ambitious linguistic enterprise. The other half, after much correspondence back and forth, Babu Tharchin was able to obtain through his personal acquaintance and friendship with the surviving widow (Flora) and daughter Dorris [*sic*] of the late Dr. Albert L. Shelton, the well-known American medical missionary to the Tibetans in East Tibet during the first two decades of the twentieth century. Indeed, as a consequence of the visit in the spring of 1964 with the Tharchins by Dorris, who had married a Dr. Still, this other half of the Babu’s estimated printing cost was finally acquired. It was secured through a friend of Mrs. Still’s in the American state of Arizona where she was herself then living. This friend, Walter W. Ross, happened to be an officer of a pious national collegiate organization known as Beta Sigma Phi. Convinced of the worthiness of this lexicographical endeavor after much correspondence among the Babu, Mrs. Still and Mr. Ross (the latter two based at Scottsdale in Arizona), and involving even a requested investigation made to the American Consul-General at Calcutta by Mr. Ross, the latter—after all voting ballots on the dictionary project from all over America had been counted—was ultimately authorized in August 1966 to forward to the “highly grateful” Babu an English draft of over 1875

British pounds!

Now during the University of Washington academic year of 1965-66, Professor Wylie was to be on sabbatical leave, and so he reported this fact to Tharchin in advance and indicated that Hugh Richardson would be taking his place in teaching Professor Wylie's Tibetan language and literature courses. Towards the end of that academic year, the Babu wrote Richardson at the University on 29 August 1966, enclosing as samples the newly printed pages 97-112 of the Tibetan dictionary, and stating why the printing of the dictionary was proceeding so slowly:

The work goes rather slow, but I was [engaged in] printing some other books for the [Tibetan] refugee children [throughout India]. I was able to distribute freely 1000 copies of [my] English-Tibetan-Hindi Pocket Dictionary, as I got funds for it. Now the Tibetan dictionary is also going on much quicker. Only these few lines with my humble respects to self and Mr. T.V. Wylie.

Nearly a year more would go by and Professor Wylie, not having heard from Tharchin, wrote a letter of inquiry on 12 May 1967, enclosing a University check of \$875 as the third installment of its support subsidy "for your Tibetan dictionary publication." He added:

I hope that your work on the dictionary is progressing well. I have not heard from you for so many months that I wonder how you are. Please write to me and let me know if you receive the check all right. Also, would you send me a brief report on the current status of your dictionary publication. This is needed for our files here.

In response to this anxious inquiry, Tharchin sent Wylie a lengthy letter explaining the reasons for the slow progress in printing his dictionary. Dated 10 June 1967, it read in part as follows:

Thank you so much for your kind letter of 12th May 67 enclosing a cheque for \$875 as the third instalment ... The work is going on although it goes very slowly. The first letter [of the 30-letter Tibetan alphabet] is finished. A completed portion of [it] ... will be sent by separate cover for your kind information [it was indeed sent later that year; see below—present author]. The second letter has been started and the rest may go quicker, [now that] I am getting half of its cost from Beta Sigma Phi through a missionary lady who was in Eastern Tibet. [Here the Babu explains in great detail about Dr. Shelton, Mrs. Shelton, Dorris Shelton Still and the latter's one-week visit with him in 1964, and about the Tibetan books which in 1922 had been printed for the Tibetan children by Mrs. Shelton, and about his desire to reprint these out-of-print books for free distribution to the Tibetan refugee children.] Mrs. Still and I talked together about the reprinting of the books as well as my Dictionary, about which I told her that I would get the half cost [of printing it] ... from the kind favour of Washington University, and I have to find out the [other] half.... By this way I was able to get helps [i.e., the other half subsidy for printing the dictionary and some financial assistance for reprinting the Shelton books] ... So far I have distributed [free of charge] about 1000 copies of my ... Pocket Dictionary, 4000 [of my] Hindi-Tibetan Self-Taught, and 3000 of [my] Tibetan Primer of Current Hand Writing. The [Shelton] Geography and Story Book are in the press. This way the

work goes very slowly, but one Compositor is always engaged with dictionary-work and the rest attend the other works. I have eleven persons on the staff.

I am ... hoping to finish [the Tibetan dictionary] if possible at the end of 1968 & latest in 1969. I am adding some more words too & I hope this work may be useful to scholars as well as the Tibetans. Nowadays there are many small [dictionary] books coming out but so far I have not seen as large [a one] containing [as] many words as this one [of mine]. I heard that in Germany Dr. Hafman [i.e., Dr. Helmut Hoffmann] & some Lamas are compiling a large dictionary and it may come out after 3 or 4 years, so I hear....

Since last October my wife's health was not good and on 5/12/66 she had to be admitted into the hospital and was there till 6/2/67 [i.e., between 5 Dec. 1966 and 6 Feb. 1967].... Now she is gradually recovering her former health. My own health is not so bad and am able to attend to the works and go through the proofs, etc.

Having been sufficiently satisfied with this lengthy status report on the project, Wylie some eight months later wrote to the Tibetan lexicographer that the University was prepared to send the fourth and final installment of \$875 once he received from the Babu another status report on the then current progress in printing the dictionary and "an estimate of when you expect to complete the printing."

Exactly a month later, on 22 March 1968, Tharchin gave reply. He wrote that two days earlier he had sent to Wylie a copy of the second portion of printed pages, i.e., pp. 207-338, which covered the second Tibetan alphabet letter, and reminded the Professor that during the last part of 1967 he had sent the first portion of pages (pp. 1-206) covering the first Tibetan letter. He went on to indicate that once the third letter has been completed, the remaining 27 letters of the alphabet would have far fewer words involved; and "so, it may go quicker than the previous ones." He was not sure, he continued, if the project could be finished by the end of 1969 as previously promised, but "in 1970 it will surely be completed and I trust in God that I may survive till the completion of this work." The Babu further noted that once the work has actually been completed, "Prefaces, etc." would need to be added at the beginning of all the volumes. He now estimated that the entire dictionary when finished would run to some 3,000 pages in length.

But turning, then, to the matter of his staff, the Mirror Press publisher observed that six of his twelve staff workers were "totally engaged" in work on the dictionary, whereas the other six were "engaged with the printing of the school educational books for free distribution to the Tibetan refugee children, for which I am getting funds [from Mrs. Shelton, Mrs. Still and Mr. Ross]." He and another Tibetan scholar (a reference to the Babu's nephew-in-law Ringzin Wangpo) "are almost [totally] engaged in revising, adding new words and proofreading" tasks related to the dictionary project. Finally, the tireless publisher extended his apology for not having nearly completed the project by this time as earlier promised.

With this seemingly very favorable status report in hand, the University of Washington sent a check for the final installment, which was dated 8 April 1968. In his letter of acknowledgment and thanks of 14 May Tharchin wrote the following: "I hope you might [have] received the 'kha' portion of the book [the second Tibetan letter]. The 'Gha' [third letter] is being continued, half of which is nearly completed. The work is going on continually although it is slow, but I am trying my best to complete the work as soon as possible. P.S. As

soon as the Gha portion is finished, I shall send a copy."

No other letter would apparently pass between these two correspondents since none other was found among the Tharchin Papers. However, a letter which Babu Tharchin wrote to a friend a year and a half later represents the only other piece of correspondence extant having to do with the Tibetan-Tibetan dictionary printing endeavor. Written on 20 November 1969, the relevant portion of it reads as follows:

The [printing of the] large Tibetan dictionary on which I [have been] working for the last several years is purely a Tibetan-to-Tibetan one and there is no English in it [not quite accurate; see Ch. 21's discussion].... So far I have completed four letters containing nearly 3,000 words. The whole work contains about 60,000 words with about 3,000 pages [each measuring] 7" x 9 1/2" when it is ready. So it will be the largest of its kind so far published [anywhere].

Clearly, these various concluding extant letters go a long way to explain why it was that, unfortunately for scholars, linguists and Tibetans everywhere, Tharchin Babu, for a whole host of reasons, had to terminate the printing of his immense lexicon. Looming large as one of the chief reasons was the fact that at this particular period the Indo-Tibetan deemed his first priority in his Press work to have been to make available to the refugee population as soon as possible the printing and reprinting in Tibetan of those various publications which could assist in meeting the educational and cultural needs of the Tibetan refugees—both student and non-student alike. This therefore drew away from the dictionary project at any given moment sometimes half and sometimes the vast majority of his Press staff during the years from 1964 onward. Reluctantly setting aside the dictionary endeavor in favor of focusing on the several refugee needs, Tharchin had to endure delay after delay in furthering his lexicographical publication.

Another major reason was his second wife's ongoing health problems that eventually culminated in her death in 1974. Accordingly, his time and attention had to be divided between his professional work and family responsibilities. Moreover, his own health would prove to be not much better than his wife's during this same lengthy period, especially with regard to his enlarged and weak heart condition for which he suffered considerable pain and discomfort. As a matter of fact, the Tibetan lexicographer would suffer "a sudden heart attack" in early March of 1966 requiring him to be hospitalized for some two weeks before returning to his "normal health."

Still a third major reason was the lack of sufficient funds to see the dictionary project through to completion. For the Babu had grossly miscalculated the total amount which would be needed to underwrite the completion of the printing work—given the increased staff required, the cost of a huge quantity of paper, shop and press maintenance, etc. No evidence can be found in the extant documents among Tharchin's papers which indicated the receipt of any further support from Professor Wylie and the University beyond the original agreement's final installment sent the Babu in 1968. In fact, one can reliably assume that at some point, the University—faced with total silence from Tharchin's side—had decided it would not be wise to offer any further financial support in view of the fact that the

Mirror Press was unable to uphold its end of the agreement. Furthermore, no evidence can be found of any additional monetary aid having come from the Ross-Beta Sigma Phi source for continuing the Dictionary printing. And as it turned out, according to Tharchin's son Sherab, who had carefully perused for this author the two fat printed volumes of the dictionary which were found in the Babu's personal library, his father had only been able to fully print up through the tenth letter of the Tibetan alphabet and just barely into the beginning of the eleventh.

Tharchin, of course, had fervently hoped to complete by 1970 at the latest the entire printing of what—had he been successful—would have constituted one of his most significant contributions in expanding the availability of more and more works of Tibetan language and literature to all and sundry in opposition to the negative activities of the Communist Chinese, who, he had noted in his June 1967 letter to Wylie, “are trying to destroy it.” But, alas, this extraordinary linguistic undertaking the Indo-Tibetan scholar, despite his best efforts, could never completely realize during the final twelve years of his life. Most reluctantly, and with great sorrow and disappointment, such a grand achievement Tharchin Babu would have to leave to others to accomplish.²⁰²



There is one more matter which ought to be mentioned in passing with respect to the *Tibet Mirror*, its Mirror Press and the latter's various other publications over the years. In gathering additional material pertinent to the writing of the present narrative and that was available at a number of scholarly resource libraries in the United States, the present author noted the happy circumstance that the Kalimpong publisher and his Press are considered important enough to be represented at a few of these libraries in their holdings.

A significant example of this is the Collection on Tibetan history, literature and culture at America's national library in Washington DC, the prestigious Library of Congress that is one of the world's truly great research centers. The professional Library Staff there responsible for this Collection have seen fit in recent decades to add to its holdings a number of original issues of the Tibetan newspaper (plus even a partial run of the paper on microfiche) as well as many of the numerous works Gergan Tharchin's Tibet Mirror Press had produced throughout the many years of its printing and publishing history. These have included works written or edited by the editor-publisher himself in addition to those other Tibetan publications he deemed important enough to print or reprint in order to meet the informational, educational or cultural needs of the Tibetan-reading public. For it must not be overlooked that besides the publication of his widely-acclaimed news journal, Tharchin was known as well for encouraging and popularizing a body of Tibetan *lay* literature which he felt would help to stimulate further interest in the rich literary heritage of his ethnic people. As Jamyang Norbu has recently observed, Tibet's body of indigenous literature, third largest in Asia (second only to India and China), “was not just religious as some like to insist.” Admittedly, he went on to say, much of it was, “but there were also books on history, biography, poetry, epic poetry, grammar, language, geography, . . . music (secular as well as religious), painting.

medicine and architecture."^{202a} And many such kinds of secular texts, whether collected, authored or edited by himself or by others the Babu desired greatly to promote and disseminate among a growing Tibetan readership by means of his Mirror Press.

There were those works he published, for example, which were didactic in character: such instructive stories as *The Story of King Hashang Deo and His Young Minister*, *The Dispute between Tea and Beer*, and *The Dispute between the Mother and the Baby Mice*. Indicative of how helpful and in great demand were such didactic publications as these is the letter Tharchin received in 1954 from the Headmaster of one of the Sikkimese schools—in this case, the Sir T. N. High School at Gangtok. The subject of the letter: *Tibetan Books for Schools*. Wrote the Headmaster:

I was pleased to see your translation of *The Story of King Hashang and His Young Minister* [a story demonstrating the principles of statecraft] into Hindi together with the Tibetan original. My Tibetan Teacher tells me that this story is the first chapter of *Tibetan Reader No. 5* by Lama Mingyur. Could you kindly let me know if you have printed Chapter III of the same book containing the story of King Songtsen Gampo of Tibet with or without the Hindi translation? If you have not got it, could you not kindly print the same for us? As you are perhaps aware, Tibetan is being taught in all the schools in Sikkim and these books are in great demand. If you have got any such Tibetan books printed which can be used from Class I to Class VIII in schools, you should kindly let me know so that I can order specimen copies of the same.

Doubtless the Mirror Press publisher was only too glad to give response and to direct the Headmaster towards a whole range of such instructive materials which his Press had printed already or was contemplating doing in the future.

Being an active educationist himself, the Kalimpong publisher, as was intimated earlier in the present work, also produced a number of manuals and instructional materials that could be most helpful in the study of the Tibetan language; in addition, he published a number of popular self-help dictionaries for the study of not only Tibetan but of Hindi, Sanskrit and English as well. These various manuals and dictionaries—as well as grammars—became so popular, in fact, that it was necessary to issue many subsequent editions and/or printings. And finally, the prolific publisher issued from his Mirror Press a number of philosophical and devotional Buddhist texts for an increasingly wider and more sophisticated readership among Tibetans everywhere. An annotated representative list of the numerous volumes authored or edited by Gergan Tharchin and/or printed by his Tibet Mirror Press at Kalimpong has been prepared for the interested reader of the present narrative (see the Appendices).²⁰³



Before concluding this discussion of Tharchin Babu's newspaper and his various publishing achievements, a few words need to be appended as a way of rounding out the "on again, off again" story of the *Tibet Mirror's* friendly "rival" publication that had periodically surfaced

at the opposite end of the Indo-Tibetan Himalayas ever since 1904. It will be recalled from an earlier chapter in the present narrative that the Tibetan-language *La dvags kyi ag bar* (known in English at various times as the *Ladakh News*, *Gazette* or *Herald*) had initially been launched as a lithographed monthly *magazine* under the guidance of the world-renowned Tibetologist and Moravian missionary to the Tibetans, A. H. Francke, only to cease publication after but five or six years. It would not be revived until 1926, the year after Gergan Tharchin had inaugurated his own newspaper. This revival, it may be remembered, had been initiated under the able editorship of Moravian West Himalaya Mission Superintendent Walter Asboe, stationed not at Leh but at Kyelang for the most part. At this latter place it bore on its masthead the name of the *Kyelang News*. Rev. Asboe had carried it forward as an effective monthly newspaper whose primary function, by his own admission, was not to serve as a vehicle for the dissemination of news but to serve as “an evangelistic agency” for the spread of the Christian gospel among Tibetans on both sides of the Indo-Tibetan border. Nevertheless, it much more clearly bore the marks of a genuine newspaper than had the original model—the one created by Francke a quarter of a century earlier. One or two years following the Second Great War (1939-45) it once more ceased being produced after a long and successful run under Br. Asboe’s consistent editorship and management, first at Kyelang and finally at Leh again, where at the latter location its final issues had as their title: *La dvags pho nya* (the *Ladakh Herald*).

In 1952, however, a new Superintendent of the West Himalaya Mission, Pierre Vittoz from Switzerland, now saw fit to have the Mission revive once more, as he termed it, “the so-called Ladakhi newspaper that was first printed by A. H. Francke as far back as 1904.” With the help of Br. Eliyah (Elijah) T. Phuntsog, Rev. Vittoz—both of whom Tharchin himself came to know and would work with from 1960 onward on Bible revision matters—launched at Leh the *La dvags pho nya* once more in May of 1952. It would retain fairly much the same format it had always exhibited from its very inception, though it reverted back to being produced by hand, as the following description by Br. Vittoz makes plain in his two-year report of the Mission for 1951-2:

It is a small monthly review now containing parts of a Christian biography, a page of hygiene, and a sermon, together with some Tibetan legend or chronicle and world news in brief. Through Br. Elijah’s deep knowledge of the Tibetan language, this paper can be produced in the best conditions and satisfy educated laymen and lamas. Published since the month of May it soon met with a pleasant success. People buy it readily, even from distant places, and we are confident that the many hours spent in writing, copying and printing it on a hand-duplicator are not wasted but carry the Word of God to places and homes otherwise inaccessible.

Although the two co-editors had been publishing several short tracts which employed a reformed Ladakhi spelling as a way of bringing the written language closer to the spoken, their newspaper retained the good classical Tibetan in which it had always appeared—“in a style,” Rev. Vittoz once explained, that was “elaborate enough to please all varieties of bookworms.” As reported by John Bray, in his brief article on the up-and-down history of the newspaper since its inception in 1904, the first edition of this 1952 revival contained,

besides the usual news section, an interesting excerpt from a biography of the famous Catholic saint Francis of Assisi; a Tibetan legend; and a section dealing with the very practical matter of hygiene.

By this time, of course, Tibet had already been invaded by Red Chinese forces, and Br. Vittoz noted with evident disappointment the fact that copies of Communist propaganda reviews in Tibetan had recently found their way through "the Bamboo Curtain" into Indian Tibet which by comparison made his paper "look shabby" when placed alongside "the gorgeous color photographs displayed by the Chinese." But with a significant flourish of the pen he ended his report on the subject by adding with obvious pride mixed with defiance a statement that, if he ever had the occasion to read it, would have struck a responsive chord in the heart of Gergan Tharchin, the staunch anti-Communist Christian publisher that he was.

But we are proud to think that the only literature opposing atheism in Tibetan consists of the review printed in Leh and another one published in Kalimpong at the other extremity of the Himalayas by a Christian who was brought up in the old Moravian station of Poo.*

When both Br. Vittoz (in 1956) and Br. Phuntsog (in 1959) departed Ladakh, there was really no one left who could continue to produce the newspaper. According to Bray, however, the well-honored name of *La dvags pho nya* was briefly revived one final time in 1978 and 1979 when it served as the title of a Ladakhi government news sheet edited by one of the leading figures of the present generation of Ladakhi writers.²⁰⁴

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This chapter would be incomplete if it failed to include Gergan Tharchin's fond reflections on Marco Pallis (1895-1989), a naturalized Englishman, whom he knew so well during the years 1925 to 1937 when the famed Tibetan scholar from Britain—called familiarly by one American newsmagazine "a Kalimpongian"²⁰⁵—was resident off and on at Polhill Hall. But he would also have many encounters with Pallis throughout the 1940s and strike up a frequent correspondence with him that only ended with the Indo-Tibetan's death. Born in Liverpool, England, of Greek parents, he like Tharchin was a supporter of India's struggle

* Interestingly, at about this same time, Tharchin Babu was expressing similar comments about Chinese efforts to propagandize Tibetans wherever found both inside and outside Tibet and about his attempts to combat such Communist propaganda activities through his newspaper. Wrote the Babu to a close friend, himself an ethnic Tibetan official then in West Bengal's state administration:

... the Chinese are printing a very beautiful Illustrated Magazine in Peking and sending freely all over Tibet as well as here at Kalimpong.... Besides this, now they have started a press at Lhasa and ... are bringing out a newspaper which is nothing but their own propaganda. Still my newspaper is going into Tibet and I am getting many letters [advising] to publish articles against the Communists and I am doing so ... My paper is read in the District of Darjeeling, Sikkim, Bhutan, Assam, Almora, Garhwal, Himachal Pradesh, Kulu Valley and Ladakh in Kashmir by all the Bhutia [who are] Indian subjects, and the paper is doing good to keep out the Communist propaganda. Tharchin to T. Wangdi, Kalimpong, 8 July 1954, ThPaK.

for independence. In 1933 Pallis had the distinction, with Dr. Charles Warren, of making the first known ascent of Riwo Pargyul, the highest peak (above 22,000 feet) on the Tibetan frontier that is visible from Simla and located but two or three days' march from Tharchin's home village of Poo; at which village Pallis and his party lodged for one or two days in early August on their way to their historic rendezvous with the mountain. In fact, he devotes considerable space to the village and people of Poo in his well-received volume, *Peaks and Lamas*, already quoted from several times in the present narrative. Indeed, it was during this 1933 adventure along the Hindustan-Tibet Road so familiar to the young Tharchin that Pallis, according to the *Tibetan Review*, "made his first personal contacts with Tibetans and Buddhism and began to learn the Tibetan language, which he soon mastered."²⁰⁶ In fact, Pallis had diligently studied the language so well that he could engage in difficult religious discussions without any difficulty. His discovery of Tibetan Buddhism and related subjects is told about in the book already referred to, and which, as his first work, went through several editions and was also translated into French and Spanish. It marked the beginning of his writing sympathetically with understanding about the Buddhism of Tibet "well before it became fashionable."

So said Hisao Kimura, the 24-year-old ex-Japanese spy who became a close friend to both Pallis and Tharchin in Kalimpong during the latter half of the 1940s. At his own expense, Kimura related a serio-comic encounter—his first meeting, in fact—with Pallis which underscored the Westerner's love and understanding of Tibetan Buddhism. It occurred during the autumn of 1947. One day while working for Babu Tharchin in the latter's Press office, young Kimura saw two Englishmen, one of them Marco Pallis, come in and greet the Babu like old friends. They had come to pick up a package of finely crafted Tibetan *thankas* or scroll paintings which Tharchin had received from Lhasa by post from a mutual friend of all four gentlemen in the office that day, Geshe Wangyal. He was a respected Kalmuck Mongolian Lama-scholar who had been a guest many times already in Tharchin's home (for more details on his life and career, see two chapters hence). Opening the package, the two visitors fell quickly into a learned discussion between themselves on the religious meaning and significance of what they were then viewing, with Tharchin Babu and the Japanese ex-spy listening intently. Suddenly the latter broke into the discussion:

"Excuse me, Sir," I interrupted, and the three heads turned to me. "Do you really believe that someone from the West like you can understand how we Orientals think? It seems to me very arrogant of you." I do not know quite why I said it. For all my experiences I had still not grasped the fundamental truth that as a Japanese I was as different from most Asians as any European was.

"Whether we come from East or West, young man, we are all human beings," answered Pallis, "and I believe that men of good will can always understand one another—if they care to put forth the effort. I first came to this part of the world as a mountain climber, but soon discovered there are greater peaks to climb than physical ones, and have spent many years studying under learned Lamas in Sikkim and Ladakh—particularly under Geshe Wangyal who spent some time as a guest at my home in England. May I ask the name of your Lama?"

Of course I had none. My relations with Geshe Wangyal were complex: he had loaned me money, and I suspected that he knew I was Japanese and was protecting me,

but I had never received any religious instruction from him. "Everything is my teacher," I replied a little huffily. "The wind, the sky, and the nomads of the grasslands."

He laughed gently, not a man to take offense easily. "A good answer—particularly for avoiding the issue. Mr. Tharchin is coming to dinner tomorrow night at my house. You must come along."

"You will have trouble arguing religion with these men, Dawa Sangpo [Kimura's spy-alias], in English or Tibetan. Let me introduce you to Mr. Marco Pallis and Mr. Richard Nicholson. Our friend Geshe Wangyal tells me Mr. Pallis is one of the best students he has ever had: from any country."

This inauspicious beginning was to lead to a long and lasting friendship, and I was soon to learn how wrong my prejudice had been.²⁰⁷

Pallis, as he himself intimated to Kimura, made two other journeys in the Himalayas: one from March to May 1936 in Sikkim, the other during the summer of the same year in Ladakh where he became a good friend and admirer of Joseph Gergan, the devoted translator of the Tibetan Bible and one of the first two Tibetan nationals ever to be ordained a Protestant Christian minister (in 1920). But he also admired and appreciated another spiritual fruit of Moravian Mission endeavors in Northwest India besides Joseph Gergan: Gergan Tharchin of Poo, but now of Kalimpong. One token, in fact, of his esteem for the Babu was his gift to this Indo-Tibetan of a copy of the second edition of L. Austine Waddell's volume, *The Buddhism of Tibet or Lamaism* (1894; London, 1934), presented, as inscribed on its flyleaf, "To Tharchen [sic] from Marco Pallis, Kalimpong 1936." Tharchin, in turn, thought extremely well of Marco Pallis and was to some extent indebted to him. "He was one of my best benefactors," the printer and publisher recalled. "Through his generosity he helped me much in the press work."

Yet the Babu was not alone in his admiration of Pallis. There were others—whether from West or East—who, if they were interested in the deeper things of life and remained in Kalimpong for any length of time, would eventually meet up with Pallis and come to appreciate his friendship immensely. One of these was the educated and thoughtful Ladakhi Moslem trader, Abdul Wahid Radhu. During the early 1950s he would join in with "a distinguished group of Europeans who studied Orientalism and ethnology in Kalimpong"; or, "more simply," Radhu clarified, "took advantage of the inexhaustible resources that the region offered amateurs of mountain climbing." This small circle of individuals, one of whom was Marco Pallis, would meet at the famed Himalayan Hotel operated by Tharchin's bosom friend and fellow Christian, David Macdonald. Other members of this exceptional group of thinkers and scholars were the Tibetanist and gifted linguist, George Roerich; the anthropologist, Prince Peter of Greece, who, incidentally, was the one who had introduced Radhu to the author of *Peaks and Lamas*; and the Tibetologist from Austria, Baron René de Nebesky-Wojkowitz. In speaking of this remarkable circle of men, Radhu acknowledged that "the most important encounter that I made in Kalimpong was alien to the domains of business as well as politics. This encounter was to give me access to the unlimited avenues of the Spirit." And of this circle, Radhu had singled out both Roerich and Pallis for special mention.²⁰⁸

Many others, including Tharchin's good friend Sonam T. Kazi, held him in very high regard, too, the Kazi declaring that "everybody loved Marco Pallis."²⁰⁹

C H A P T E R 24

Tibet's Tragic Fall to the Red Menace, the Babu's Confrontations with Chinese General Chang Ching-wu, and the Tibetan Social Reformer Rapga Pangdatsang

... till thou know that the Most High ruleth in the kingdom
of men, and giveth it to whomsoever he will.

Daniel 4:25

The *philosophy* of history comprises those religious, social and political ideas that motivate, guide and control the history of man. The history of the world traces the development of man from the state of aboriginal serfdom to the highest political and cultural freedom attainable. From the Christian viewpoint, God has made every man a free moral being created in His image, and therefore man logically seeks to find the highest freedom that can enable him to realize his latent potentialities. In modern times this freedom has taken the form of fundamental rights claimed by every enlightened citizen and has also taken the form of national sovereignty, the latter of which claims freedom unconditional and unreserved in both the internal and external affairs of a nation.¹

But what of the *theology* of history? This perspective seems to have escaped the thought of many if not most modern thinkers, perhaps because in this day of scientific inquiry, they feel inclined to shy away from the concept of an all-ruling Deity and the belief that He could possibly be involved in the factors and forces of history which shape human destiny. Perhaps only in the period of the ancient Hebrews and in the early Christian era has man seemed to have been interested in looking upon God or Jehovah as the molder of human history. The highest expression of this viewpoint was offered by the ancient Hebrew prophet Daniel who, after deep thought and meditation, came to the conclusion, quoted already at the very head of this chapter, that "the Most High ruleth in the kingdom of men, and giveth it to whomsoever he will." From the Christian perspective, God is sovereign in all His works, and none of the political and historical developments—great or small—escapes His attention but on the contrary takes place with His permission if not after His best will.*

* Once again, the author is indebted to Gergan Tharchin's amanuensis for his brief but thoughtful essay which in substantially edited form now constitutes the text of these first two paragraphs of the present chapter. It has been excerpted from Babu Tharchin's unpublished "memoirs" and can be found in its original unedited version in GTUM TwMs, Ch. 21, p. 1. It should be noted, however, that the present author would here modify somewhat the above essay's statement found in the second paragraph's third sentence. As one of the present author's scholar-friends had remarked after reading the essay, there *have* been thinkers much later than "the early Christian era" who have indeed looked upon the Divine "as the molder of human history," he adding that certainly up through Reformation times and well beyond that era there have been those philosophers and historians who have espoused a Christian interpretation, "even if [such] is not entirely fashionable today." The name of Sir Herbert Butterfield, for example, comes quickly to mind to the present writer. Butterfield (1900-1979) had been Regius Professor of Modern History at England's Cambridge University between 1963 and 1968. And during 1965-67 Sir Herbert had delivered a highly acclaimed course of Gifford Lectures at the University of Glasgow that unapologetically included one lecture which he had entitled, "The Establishment of a Christian Interpretation of World History." It can be found in *Herbert Butterfield: Writings on Christianity and History* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1979), edited and introduced by C. T. McIntire.



ONE SUCH DEVELOPMENT which suddenly burst upon the world scene occurred at the precise midpoint of the twentieth century and irreversibly set afoot, in the words of one writer, "a vast, almost incomprehensible change in the history of Tibet."² For at that moment there was set in motion a fulfillment of a prophetic pronouncement which the Great Thirteenth Dalai Lama had included as a part of the political testament he had left to posterity just prior to his demise in 1933. Extremely concerned about the growing Red menace which had swept into East Asia out of European Russia in the 1920s, Tibet's Dalai Lama had grown intensely alarmed over the fate of his own Buddhist domain after witnessing from afar what Communism had only recently perpetrated upon both society and religion in the fraternal Buddhist land of Outer Mongolia north of the Gobi Desert. For just a few years prior to the death of the Grand Lama of Urga in 1924 a new Soviet state had nearly overnight been created under the name of the Mongolian People's Republic, making it the world's second Communist nation after the Soviet Union itself. This had all occurred in 1921.* Then and there, wanton havoc and destruction had soon become the order of the day, with the atheistic Communists inaugurating a methodical program designed to annihilate Lamaism totally among this people of one to two million. "Living Buddhas," explains one writer on Tibet, "were killed or imprisoned, monasteries were destroyed,³ monks unfrocked and put to work." (Riencourt) Not only were monks and lamas put to work, they were also forced to enlist in the Bolshevik army or else killed outright. A Russian Soviet state had replaced a Buddhist theocratic one in a very short time.

Almost immediately thereafter, and even prior to this development, the Soviets had begun to show palpable interest in Tibet. Sir Charles Bell, who otherwise believed "there is no danger of Bolshevism in Tibet" inasmuch as it was unsuited to Tibet's religion and culture, could nonetheless report from Lhasa by letter to Delhi in early February 1921 that a Russian agent was enrolled in disguise at Drepung Monastery. In fact, recent research by Russian

* A sketch of the recent history of both Outer and Inner Mongolia may be helpful here. This vast area, inhabited mostly by the Mongolian peoples, stretches from Manchuria in the east to well beyond the Ala Shan Mountains in the west, and from the lands of the Buriat Mongols in Siberia south throughout the two Mongolias to China's Great Wall. Now the division of this Mongol territory between Outer and Inner dates from the Ching or Manchu Dynasty in China (1644-1911). Inner Mongolia describes the area conquered by a nomadic people from the northeast, the Manchus, in the early years of the Ching Dynasty. In 1911 the Ching government of China was overthrown and Inner Mongolia, which had only been nominally under Chinese control, was incorporated into the Republic of China. Ten years later saw the theocratic Buddhist government of Outer Mongolia overthrown by Communist forces and the establishment of the Mongolian People's Republic—an unofficial satellite of Moscow. With the collapse of the Soviet Empire in 1989-90, of course, Outer Mongolia regained its independence as the Republic of Mongolia. Meanwhile, however, the Japanese, who invaded China in 1937 ushering in the Sino-Japanese War of 1937-45, won over Inner Mongolia to their side by encouraging its aspirations towards autonomy. Too weak against the Japanese forces, China could only stand by helplessly as Japan set up a puppet regime in Inner Mongolia called Mengjiang. To round out the story, after World War II the Chinese Communists assumed power in Inner Mongolia. They also looked with limited favor upon Mongol autonomy and consequently established the Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region in 1947.

historian Alexandre Andreyev has most definitely revealed that Tibet had become “attractive” to the Soviet leadership—from Lenin and Stalin on down—yet not so much for the Snowy Land’s own sake, explains this historian, but for two primary reasons that involved the position and influence in the affairs of Central and South Asia of Soviet Russia’s long-standing imperial rival: Great Britain. These reasons for Tibet’s attractiveness to the Soviets were, first, as a would-be “launching ground for ideological penetration into India,” the “citadel of British imperialism” in the words of one of the documents found by Andreyev in the USSR’s Foreign Policy Archives; and second, as a place where Russia could “reassert” its influence by a resumption—through the utilization of “the traditional Mongolo-Tibetan connection”—of friendship with the Dalai Lama: who himself had even encouraged, albeit in desultory fashion, such resumption. Both these reasons had as their clear aim the destabilizing of British presence on the Indian subcontinent and in the neighboring additional colonial areas of Great Britain in Asia, with the ultimate goal being her expulsion from the continent altogether.

To this end, then, as early as the spring of 1922, there arrived in Lhasa in disguise on 9 April the first of several covert Bolshevik “Lhasa expeditions,” this one consisting of eight individuals—six Kalmucks and two Buriats. For security reasons they all posed as Mongolian pilgrims. Though one of the Buriats was the nominal leader of the mission (ironically, he would die en route to Tibet), the actual head of it was a high-ranking Kalmuck cavalry officer and Bolshevik “propagandist,” Vasily Khomutnikov, who would carry out all political negotiations in the Tibetan capital. The expedition’s members, known widely among the Lhasan population as “the Red Russians,” would remain for three weeks and were received in several audiences by His Holiness as well as by some of Tibet’s highest Government officials, including Tsarong Shape, Tibet’s Army Chief.

Though not much of anything specifically was accomplished, due chiefly to the Dalai Lama’s uncertainty about the religious and social well-being of his numerous co-religionists now living under the new Soviet regime in Russia and Mongolia and doubt about the stability of the Bolshevik government currently holding sway in Moscow, the Communist leadership of the USSR was apparently content with the mission and happy about what was learned through its members’ direct contact with the Tibetan governmental hierarchy. Though the Dalai Lama, writes Andreyev, was then currently engaged in an “unwilling flirtation with the British,” this first Soviet mission to the Tibetan capital made it clear to its Lhasan hosts that Russia was very much prepared to assist Tibet, as her Sovereign had requested, in gunpowder, cartridge and shell manufacturing (since she could not secure this kind of expertise from the British). Moreover, Moscow promised to send telegraphists to operate a radio-telegraph set it had sent as a gift to the Dalai Lama. Furthermore, when asked by His Holiness, Khomutnikov emphatically asserted that the Tibetan people could “fully rely on Soviet assistance and support” against any encroachment by foreign powers, this latter phrase of which meant especially the British. Finally, the expedition leader, before his departure from Lhasa on 1 May, was careful to secure an agreement with the Tibetan Sovereign for a second Soviet mission to come in the near future—a mission which the Bolsheviks now hoped would lead to “formalizing the relations” between the two countries.

Two years would elapse before the arrival at the Tibetan capital of this second Bolshevik expedition. But arrive it did, and once again in secret, consisting of a twelve-man party, all of whom were Mongolians except for their leader. The latter, Sergei Stepanovich Borisov, would pose as a Mongolian pilgrim, by name, Tsering Dorji. By design he had been carefully chosen to lead this party because of his Turkic descent and dark skin, which thus gave him the appearance of a Mongolian and would therefore be someone far less likely to arouse suspicion and be turned back as a foreigner at the frontier checkpoint in northern Tibet, Nagchuka, that was situated astride the caravan route leading south to the Tibetan capital.

Now it so happened that this secret delegation had been organized at Moscow by none other than the former confidant and assistant tutor for ten years to the then teen-aged Thirteenth Dalai Lama, the enigmatic Buriat Mongolian Lama Dorjjeff. Even at this moment he still served the Dalai Lama as the latter's Plenipotentiary Representative to the Russian government that was now a Bolshevik one. Never once having ceased his endeavor to forge an alliance between Russia and Tibet for the primary purpose of unifying and protecting the Buddhist peoples of Russia, Mongolia and Tibet, Dorjjeff had been able to ingratiate himself not only with the former Tsarist government but with various Communist regimes which subsequently came to power at Moscow. With this in view he had apparently been willing to compromise with the Soviet authorities as he sought diplomatically and in private to resolve the most sensitive issues just as he had done with some success earlier during the Tsarist period. The Buriat Lama had even been willing to launch a reform movement in 1922 among the Kalmuck and Buriat Buddhist communities as a way of adapting Buddhism to Bolshevik atheism. Dorjjeff's most radical innovation had been to convert the monks into what he called "socially useful laborers" by establishing monkish agricultural communes. It was at this time, in fact, that he had coined the now famous slogan: "Buddhist Doctrine is largely compatible with the current Communist tradition." It would appear, adds Andreyev, that Dorjjeff wanted Buddhism—which to him was fundamentally a godless ethical teaching rather than a "religion"—to merge with or even replace the officially supported atheism of the Soviet state at some point in the future.*

Dorjjeff's compromise measures were no doubt designed to gain the necessary support of the Russian Communist state for his chief goal in the early 1920s: the creation of what he

* Andreyev opined that this unusual capacity to compromise and show flexibility had helped Dorjjeff to survive in the turbulent '20s. But by the end of the decade when the Communists tightened their control over their ideological opponents—whether real or invented—Dorjjeff's reform movement and his other initiatives failed. Moreover, "the Soviet state refused to make any exception for the Buddhist Church as Dorjjeff had secretly hoped, and from then on until the mid-'30s his efforts would be mainly directed towards preserving the Buddhist tradition which was slowly eroding in Russia." At age 84, and realizing, writes Andreyev, "that his life's work was ruined," the Buriat Lama on 1 September 1936 finally resigned his post as Tibetan representative in the Soviet Union and withdrew from the political and religious scene altogether. Publicly accused in 1937 of being a Mongolian and Japanese spy, he was soon arrested by Stalin's stooges and charged with treason. Taken to Ulan Ude prison, notes Andreyev, "he was interrogated once, severely beaten, [and] pleaded guilty of being the head of an alleged pro-Japanese counterrevolutionary espionage center ..." Less than a year later Dorjjeff died in State police custody in the prison hospital at Ulan Ude on 29 January 1938. "after a life of incomparable variety" (French). See Andreyev, "Agvan Dorjiev's Secret Work in Russia and Tibet," *TR* (Sept. 1993):13-14; Andreyev, "The Buddhist Temple in Petersburg . . .," in Per Kvaerne, ed., *Tibetan Studies*, 1:5; and Patrick French, *Younghusband*, 260.

termed the Great Central Asian Buffer that would be comprised of Siberian Buriatia, Mongolia and Tibet, an entity which would thus separate Bolshevik Russia from the supposed imperialist presence of Britain and Japan. This, he envisaged, would bring peace and prosperity to all three areas and especially to their Buddhist subjects. But for all this to happen there must be a *rapprochement* established between Lhasa and Moscow, an objective of the Dalai Lama's which the Buriat Lama had failed to accomplish to any satisfactory degree during the previous Tsarist period (see once again the present narrative's second volume, Chapter 16, for the details). Given by the Bolsheviks the authority to do so, Dorjjeff commenced organizing clandestine "scientific and propagandist expeditions" (his words) which would be dispatched to Tibet for the purpose of spreading the ideals of Communism and establishing at last a diplomatic relationship between the Muscovite Bolsheviks and the Lhasan Buddhist theocrats headed by the Thirteenth Dalai Lama. The task would be as challenging in the 1920s as it had been at the turn of the twentieth century between the Tsarist court and this same Dalai Lama. Yet he would pursue this course with the same relentless dedication as before. But with respect to these current undertakings of his, writes historian Andreyev, the objective observer of this "Tibetan Bismarck," as the Great Thirteenth's enterprising envoy was sometimes called by the Soviet press, "may be surprised at Dorjjeff's commitment to both an atheist and theocratic regime at the same time." In his own eyes though, Andreyev is careful to explain, "this 'double game' that he played obviously served the lofty purpose" which in his own words he would make clear in his end-of-life Testament (1936): "the *rapprochements* between great Russia and great Tibet."

Those whom the clever Dorjjeff would now select as members of this new "Lhasa expedition" were a minimum of five young Mongolian monks: four Kalmucks and one Buriat (the latter to die at Nagchuka from intense exposure during a blinding blizzard encountered on the way).^{*} Equipped by the Narkomindel, the Soviet counterpart of the former Tsarist Ministry for Foreign Affairs, this second mission to Tibet, like most all of them, was instructed to carry with it a radio station, a cinematographic projector, and a quantity of weapons and ammunition for the Tibetan Army (whether this latter instruction was actually carried out in every "expedition" is unclear). And the overall agenda of this particular mission was to be reconnaissance in character: in the words of Dorjjeff himself, "to find out the internal situation in Tibet, the attitude to it of the neighboring powers, especially the English, as well as to determine the strength of the British influence and that of other diplomatic intriguers in Tibet." And in the present instance, the important matter facing the resourceful organizer of this mission was to somehow get Borisov (alias Tsering Dorji) past the highly sensitive checkpost of Nagchuka and on his way down to Lhasa. As a helpful cover for the Turkic-Russian leader, therefore, Lama Dorjjeff had made the twelve-man mission appear as though it were a party of Buddhist pilgrims. And after an incredible

^{*} Interestingly, one of these four Kalmuck lamas selected, a beloved twenty-three-year-old disciple of Dorjjeff's, would become a very close friend of Gergan Tharchin's and one of the numerous informants within the Babu's informal Tibetan intelligence-gathering network whose undercover activities the newspaper publisher conducted on behalf of the British in India. His name: the future Geshe, Thupten Wangyal, known affectionately by all and sundry as Geshe La. The Geshe would also serve as Mongolian interpreter to Sir Charles Bell and private guru to Marco Pallis. See the following chapter for details.

two-months' journey from Urga by caravan, that consisted of over a hundred camels alone, Borisov and his party, having successfully gotten by the Nagchuka authorities (who were later punished for not having detected the leader's true identity), finally arrived at Lhasa. The date was 1 August 1924, and the mission would remain at the Tibetan capital for some three months. The mission's primary endeavor was to come to terms with Lhasa about Russian assistance to Tibet with respect to military aid, education and trade. In addition, one of its members, a professional photographer by the name of Bakhanov, was permitted to conduct a lengthy journey around the country and take some 700 photographs of the land and even made a documentary film about Tibet. Tsarong Shap not only entertained the Soviet emissaries but even conducted them on a tour of the newly established Mint and Armory (he had done the same thing for British Political Officer Bailey a few weeks earlier).

It is not known for certain what precisely transpired during the political discussions which Borisov had with His Holiness, but according to Andreyev, the Dalai Lama, "though outwardly friendly, was still reluctant to enter into official [i.e., diplomatic] relations with the Soviets, saying that he doubted the stability of their regime." This latter observation by Mahayana Buddhism's spiritual leader may have been the result of counsel given to the Tibetan ruler by the British Political Officer for Tibet, Colonel Bailey, who had arrived in Lhasa at the request of the Tibetan government on an official mission of his own just two weeks earlier. During his one month visit Bailey had continually and forcefully warned the Dalai Lama and other Tibetan officials of the dangers of Bolshevik intrigues in Tibet. Yet so, too, had Borisov begun to warn Lhasa of Britain's own intrigues! It would appear, however, that the Dalai Lama was more disposed to accept more seriously the warnings about Soviet intrigues than about those of the British.* Especially might this have been true in the face of what Andreyev has described as "a stream of negative information" which had been "trickling into Lhasa from Urga" that spoke "of the excesses of the 'Red rule' in Outer Mongolia and Soviet Russia."

Though this kind of information was not new to the Lhasan officialdom, a story which in early 1924 had been told them by a much venerated Tibetan *tulku* who had returned to

* Russian historian Andreyev, no apologist for Britain, has asserted that there is already enough substantial evidence uncovered today to support the belief that during the 1920s and early '30s the Bolsheviks posed a serious threat to the security and independence of Tibet. In a Tibetan Studies paper he delivered in 1995. Andreyev made the following observations:

The study of the Comintern [Communist International] archives and the few available Soviet military records show that the Red menace about which the British had been persistently warning the Tibetans was clearly not some imaginary "Bolshevik bogey." In fact, in 1927-28 Red Army strategists had already considered the possibility of intervention into Tibet, possibly jointly with the Mongolian troops, to liberate the country from the British [influence]. One interesting clue is provided by a memorandum compiled on the basis of intelligence gathered [in 1927] by [the Kalmuckian-Soviet military intelligence agent] Bimbaev in Tibet, which gives a detailed evaluation of the Tibetan army and terrain and discusses the avenue by which "a European army ... from the North" could march to Lhasa. The Comintern leaders in the same years also spoke of the necessity to extend the revolutionary work from Outer Mongolia to Amdo and Tibet. Yet, this is not surprising as 1927 was the year when the Soviets were making active preparations for the global war with the British which then seemed imminent to them.

Lhasa from Buriatia left an especially deep negative impression upon the Buddhist Tibetan leadership. He had related how mistreated he had been by the Bolsheviks who had arrested him, taken away his personal property, and confiscated donations he had collected for the prestigious Gomong College within Lhasa's Drepung Monastery. Even Tsarong, leader of the Anglophile party in Lhasa, though having "demonstrated his sincere disposition" towards the Soviets, nonetheless expressed to Borisov his misgivings about establishing too close a tie with Moscow. "Your Government," he declared to the Bolshevik mission leader, "is oriented on the indigent, and my country is ruled by wealthy people like myself. Think what will happen if your teaching penetrates into Tibet. To what results will this lead?" This fear of the "Red Doctrine" by those in the Tibetan government had made them, according to Bailey, "intensely suspicious of all travelers from the north and determined to keep Bolshevism out of their country."*

How different was this current stance of the Dalai Lama and his Government ministers in 1924 from that which three years earlier Dorjjeff had represented by letter to Narkomindel as being the position of the Tibetan leadership. That was when, in mid-1921, the Buriat monk had first proposed this expedition to Lhasa. "At present, from the information that I receive," Dorjjeff had sanguinely written to the Soviet Foreign Ministry, "the Dalai Lama and his entourage hold the same political views, and there should be no doubt about their willingness to resume their friendly relations with Russia, the more so when they know the stand of the Soviet power and its noble principles of protection of any oppressed ethnic minority." By 1924, however, there had been a significant shift in Soviet thinking and practice towards the newly subjugated peoples within the vast domain of the USSR, particularly towards the latter's various Buddhist minorities. And as a consequence, this change in policy was sufficient to have begun to transform the Tibetan ruler into a reluctant, hesitant, even wary, player in Dorjjeff's clever "double game" with the Soviets.

Indeed, by 1927, it would be made clearer than ever to the Dalai Lama that the Bolsheviks were now bent on pursuing a more insistent policy of attempting to bring into the Soviet sphere of influence, with its inimical Communist ideology, the country and people of the Snowy Land. For in the spring of that year (which, coincidentally, happened also to be the year Gergan Tharchin had enjoyed his private audience with the Great Thirteenth at Norbu

* Bailey must have been greatly encouraged by this intensification of anti-Bolshevik feeling in Tibet, fearful as he himself had become of the Communist threat to not only Tibet but also British interests in India ever since the Bolsheviks had toppled the Tsarist regime of Nicholas II in 1917. But he was not alone in viewing this perceived threat from Moscow. His former superior on the 1904 Mission to Lhasa and friend of his father's, Sir Francis Younghusband, was at this very moment voicing these same sentiments back in England. For in 1927 he was heard to declare that the chances of Bolshevik expansion was "a very great deal more serious than the old threat to India by the Tsarist Government." Quoted in Patrick French, *Younghusband*, 412 note 10.

Moreover, historian Andreyev has asserted that "British fears of Bolshevik principles penetrating into India via Tibet" were not without justification. "After all that we know today about Soviet intrigues in Lhasa," he observes, such fears "seem to have been much more well-grounded than concurrent Soviet concerns that their adversary [Britain] was seeking annexation of Tibet." On the contrary, notes Andreyev, "the British, despite their considerable activities in the country in the early half of the 1920s, which so alarmed Moscow, had no desire to turn Tibet into one of their colonies or protectorates. Their ultimate goal was to make Tibet a strong and friendly buffer, one that would effectively insulate the Indian northern and northeastern borders from Bolshevik Russia and China." *Soviet Russia and Tibet*, 371-2.

Lingka), a determined Soviet-Mongol mission made its appearance at the Tibetan capital and would still be there during much of the period of Tharchin's own lengthy visit that began in mid-September (the Soviet mission not departing Lhasa till early December). About this particular mission, Andreyev has made clear that although officially representing itself as Mongolian, in reality it was meant to represent *Soviet* interests and was to be under the headship of a *Soviet* official who was appointed by the Soviet Foreign Ministry, Narkomindel. Undeniably, Andreyev opined, this constituted "one of the craftiest designs of Soviet diplomacy, unprecedented, so it seems, in world diplomatic practice."^{3a} Hugh Richardson, who would later be intimately involved in Tibetan affairs for the British Government of India, has provided—from the British perspective—an introductory description of this mission and its agenda. Writing retrospectively in 1945, Richardson noted the following:

... there arrived at Lhasa a party of Mongolians whose behavior soon revealed them as Soviet propaganda agents. Their arrival was reported to the Political Officer [Bailey] by the Prime Minister of Tibet who asked for advice. A verbal message was sent to him and to the Dalai Lama that it would be advisable to send the party away immediately. It appeared that although the officials and people of Lhasa were perturbed by this visit, the Tibetan Government was likely to hesitate to turn the party out of Lhasa. The Political Officer, therefore, dispatched Rai Bahadur Norbu to Lhasa to press the Dalai Lama to get rid of the emissaries. Norbu found the Dalai Lama reluctant to take decisive action, apparently for fear that Tibetans in Mongolia might be ill-treated. The general feeling at Lhasa was strongly against the Soviet; and there were rumours that the party was seeking to play on the old relationship between Tibet and Mongolia and to arrange for the exchange of representatives.... At last, after about five months, the party were [*sic*] summoned to audience with the Dalai Lama, and after a further interval they left Lhasa in December 1927.

Interestingly enough, at some point after Tharchin's arrival at the Tibetan capital but before the Soviets' departure, the Tibetan publisher was requested by the British to take photographs of this mission's members, since for whatever reason it was impossible for Rai Bahadur Dzasa Norbu Dhondup, in Lhasa at the time, to obtain them himself. (It will be recalled from Chapter 18 in the previous volume of the present narrative that he was the trusted Indian Political Service aide whom Tharchin had first met that very year during this second visit of his to the Tibetan capital.) As would be noted by Tharchin in a letter to Sir Charles Bell a decade later, "In 1927 when I was in Lhasa there were some Buriats sent from Russia [according to Andreyev they were a Mongol mixture of both Kalmucks and Buriats], and our Rai Bahadur was also there; he could not get the photos of them, but I took [photos] and sent them to him [which were then forwarded to] Col. Bailey," still the Political Officer for Tibet at that time.*

Headed up by two Mongolian officials, Gomboidchin and Amulang, this new Soviet mission came in the guise of a Mongolian embassy with the primary objective of paving the way for

* Tharchin to Bell, Kalimpong, 25 Dec. 1937, Bell Papers. This, incidentally, constituted one—and perhaps the very first—of many instances over the years of Gergan Tharchin's intelligence-gathering activities on behalf of the British Raj. Much more will be revealed in the following chapter about Tharchin's clandestine intelligence efforts for the British Government of India.

ultimately concluding a Mongolo-Tibetan treaty of friendship not unlike the one Dorjjeff had effected at Urga on behalf of the Dalai Lama back in January 1913. As the Soviet Communist International (Comintern) representative at Ulan Bator/Urga would in late 1927 observe, Red Mongolia could serve as “a bridgehead for promoting revolutionary work in the greater part of Asia, primarily in Tibet and Amdo, still untouched by Comintern’s revolutionary influence.” To this end, then, the Mongolians within the mission sought the creation of an official Mongolian representation at the Tibetan capital that in the words of Andreyev “would allow the Soviets to install their own agent in Lhasa”^{*3b}; whereas the Soviet members of this 1927 embassy hoped to take up those matters unresolved during the Borisov expedition: military aid (e.g., providing military instructors and artillery equipment to Tibet’s army, military training of Tibetans in Russia and the Mongolian People’s Republic), trade and education. In addition, the agent of Soviet military intelligence attached to the mission, the Kalmuck, Matsak Bimbaev, together with another Kalmuck, Arashi Chapchaev, representing Moscow’s Narkomindel (the Soviet Foreign Ministry), were assigned to take several hundred photographs (which indeed they were able to accomplish). As a matter of fact, according to Amaury de Riencourt, the members of this mission soon began to “spread money around, took photographs of all the strategic passes and fortified positions, and promised military help to Tibet in case of trouble with the British or the Chinese.” The British, they added, “send only guns,” but the Russians “will send men also.” So reported Sir Charles Bell.

Yet, however much Moscow had anticipated a friendly reception of its embassy at the Tibetan capital, the general atmosphere proved to be anything but amicable. The Lhasan authorities, in fact, were quite alarmed by the presence of these Mongolian and Soviet emissaries, whose movements were now to be closely monitored by Tibetan secret agents and reported on to the Dalai Lama. So alarmed was the Lhasan officialdom that the weapons which these Soviet visitors had carried for self-defense along the journey to Tibet were taken from them and kept in custody at the Norbu Lingka Palace. “Bolshephobia” had definitely become the mood in the Tibetan capital, so much so that Political Officer Bailey, with the Soviet mission still present in Tibet, was moved to report in June 1927 that “the people of Lhasa are genuinely afraid of Bolshevism and it seems that the Dalai Lama is taking a line of action in accordance with public opinion, as represented by general talk.” As was learned from Richardson’s 1945 summary of events surrounding this mission’s visit, so cautious was His Holiness by this time that five months would pass before he would permit its members to have any political discussions with him.

Two events in particular can help to account for this growing apprehension towards the Red Russians and their ideology that appeared very intolerant of Buddhist traditions. First,

* It was this, after all, which all along during the 1920s had been the primary goal of the Bolshevik regime at Moscow in mounting these various expeditions to Lhasa. And with respect to this current mission of 1927, it was in support of this very goal, states international legal historian Michael van Walt van Praag, that “the Dalai Lama was shown [by this mission’s leaders] a document he had signed in Mongolia in 1904 with Russian officials, by which he had agreed to the establishment of such an agent in Lhasa.” However, adds the legal historian, the Tibetan Sovereign immediately rejected this new proposal, deftly making the point “that the [1904] agreement had been made with the Czarist government and not with that of the Bolsheviks.” Walt van Praag, *The Status of Tibet*, 75.

Moscow had recently passed a decree, applicable quite pointedly to the minority Buddhist areas of the USSR, forbidding the “education of the religious cult” and the “ordination of persons below the age of 18.” In early 1927, even before the arrival of this latest Soviet mission, the Russian All-Union Buddhist Council, under pressure from the Bolsheviks, was forced to adopt this age limit for the “khovaraks” or novice monks. This forced action, together with the prohibition that barred both Buriat and Kalmuck children from monastic schools, was viewed by the Tibetan leadership as incontrovertible evidence that Bolshevik Russia was now bent on the destruction of the entire foundation of Buddhism in that country as had recently been the case in Outer Mongolia. Indeed, away off in Moscow, Dorjjeff, just two years earlier, had himself taken aim most strongly against this very piece of Bolshevik legislation, asserting in a letter to the Soviet Foreign Minister, G. V. Chicherin, that “with this law in force, the Soviet Government’s solemn declaration of religious freedom [as pronounced in the decree of 23 January 1918] becomes, with respect to Buddhism, a mere fiction.” Moreover, it was a further mockery, added Tibet’s courageous Emissary to Moscow in his letter to Chicherin, for those in power to declare full religious liberty on the one hand but concomitantly condone anti-religion activities on the other. All this, he warned Chicherin, must surely inflict unwanted damage upon the Soviet image in Tibet and Mongolia. How truly would the second event (see below) prove Dorjjeff’s assertions to be most accurate.

News of the second event would reach the ears (and eyes) of the ruling circles at Lhasa through Rai Bahadur Norbu Dhondup, the personal assistant to Bailey. Norbu Dhondup had obtained newspaper clippings from Buriatia which reported the trial in June of 1927 of 88 secessionist lamas from two Buriat “datsans” or monasteries. These clippings he showed to His Holiness, the Kashag, and other high officials. This thus meant that both the trial and the reporting of it was taking place even as the Soviet mission members were attempting to find some semblance of welcome for themselves at the Tibetan capital. Instead, these two current events had created a very bad impression among the Tibetans about these Bolshevik intruders into Lhasa. And as a consequence, the Dalai Lama, when he finally did permit himself to engage in political discussions with Gomboidchin, declined the latter’s proposal to set up a Mongolian embassy in Lhasa; which thus eliminated any chance for the Soviets to establish their own agent there.

But what probably contributed the most to the failure of Gomboidchin and Chapchaev to achieve their dual diplomatic agenda had to do with the latest and highly ingenious action of Buriat Lama Dorjjeff. Required by Moscow to write a letter of support to the Dalai Lama commending the Soviet mission to His Holiness, Dorjjeff wrote an official message that was delivered by Chapchaev and which said that “the Mongolian government was very good” and that the Dalai Lama should do “as this mission requested.” But the crafty Buriat, loyal to the end to Tibet’s High Sovereign, had composed a *private* letter that was sent to the latter through the hand of a trusted Tibetan trader. In sharp contrast to the official missive, this second letter read:

Mongolia is not a peaceful country, as ... formerly. The Government is deadly against religion and monks and they are helpless. Please do not have anything to do with the mission. I had to write a letter at their dictation to Your Holiness for these Bolshevik

agents to take with them, but please do not take any notice of that letter.

Thus, after spending more than seven relatively fruitless months in the Tibetan capital, the mission was withdrawn in early December 1927 in favor of Moscow sending to Lhasa "a clever Soviet-Mongol agent." Described by Hugh Richardson as "this mysterious figure, a large red-faced man, possibly a Buriat, whose name was Po-lo-te"—meaning the "Fat Mongolian," in reality, Po-lo-te was merely a cover name for Bulat Mukhrain, a Mongolian-based Soviet agent who had been a member of the 1924 Bolshevik expedition to Lhasa organized by Dorjjeff. Mukhrain/Po-lo-te was an economics expert who would subsequently work for the Soviet Trade Representation in Urga/Ulan Bator and be tasked to reconnoiter the trade market in Mongolia and East Tibet during 1926-7. It was after this assignment that Po-lo-te must have been sent to Lhasa, where he arrived in 1928 and where, according to British records, he would remain till 21 February 1930. This latest Soviet emissary to the Tibetan capital, however, was no more successful with the Tibetans than had the previous embassy of 1927, he too returning home empty-handed "after receiving nothing more than an audience with the Dalai Lama." This, according to Richardson, who further reported that though Po-lo-te was initially believed, in March 1930, to have been traveling south towards India, he would later disappear in the direction of Nagchuka to the north, presumably heading back to Mongolia.

But while in Lhasa, Mukhrain/Po-lo-te had "lived openly in expensive style" (Bell and Richardson) and had struck up friendship with leading Tibetan officials. Moreover, noted Riencourt, he provided them with many details on a presumed happy life which the Mongolian populace now apparently enjoyed under Communism, and conveyed as well to his Lhasan listeners the supposed "contempt" of the Mongolians "for the deceased Grand Lama of Urga." This latter observation was far from correct. It is quite true that the populace had good reason to hold their country's highest spiritual leader in contempt. For both the late Grand Lama and his immediate predecessor had led, in the words of John Snelling, extremely "rakish lives"—each of them having given himself up "with enthusiasm" to a life of drinking and debauchery, "both homosexual and heterosexual." Nevertheless, in the case of the predecessor, writes Snelling, his corrupt lifestyle "had not impaired the reverence in which the grieving populace had held him" at his untimely death; and, adds Snelling, in the case of this latest deceased Grand Lama of Urga, who proved to be the last of the line, "he lived on until 1924, still held in high awe by his people" despite his having offended "monastic proprieties by taking at least two consorts" and indulging in other forms of debauchery which had ended in his death from syphilis. Well aware of the falsity of Mukhrain/Po lo-te's claims about the situation in Red Mongolia, still the Dalai Lama went ahead and received in audience the deceptive Soviet-Mongol agent anyway. Yet it took place not because His Holiness was intimidated by this intruding agent of Moscow's but because of his deep desire to learn as much as possible about the Soviets and the "incomprehensible doctrine" of Communism which they espoused.

Increasingly over the years, but especially during the late 1920s, His Holiness came to realize that "the barbaric red communists," as he would call the Bolsheviks just a few years hence, were as inhumane and repressive to his co-religionists in the Soviet Union as they

had been and still were towards his fellow Buddhists in Mongolia. And if that were true, which could now not be controverted, then it was abundantly transparent to him that Tibet could face no better were this same incomprehensible doctrine—through miscalculation or misplaced trust in Moscow—allowed to penetrate his own Buddhist land and society. Clearly this Pontiff of all Asian Mahayana Buddhists was deeply troubled by Soviet inability or unwillingness to acknowledge the spiritual position he exercised *vis-à-vis* his Russian co-religionists. In speaking with Arashi Chapchaev, the Kalmuckian agent for the Soviet Narkomindel attached to the 1927 Lhasa expedition, the Dalai Lama expressed his regret over the fact that whereas “the Chinese and the English acknowledged [my] authority in religious matters over [their] Buddhists, . . . Russia, though it is considered to be much closer to Tibet, has not yet done so in regard to her own Buddhists.” In fact, it is Andreyev’s belief, amply supported by the evidence, that it was this continuing lack of acknowledgment by the Bolsheviks and Stalin’s crackdown on religion in the early 1930s “that finally estranged the two countries.”⁴

A picture of the true state of things which during the latter 1920s His Holiness had thus gradually been able to form in his mind from talks with the Soviet agent Po-lo-te, with members of the 1927 Mongol mission, from verified stories about bad events having occurred among Buddhists under Communist rule, and from various other sources at the Dalai Lama’s disposal (his efficient network of secret agents in Outer Mongolia and farther afield, for one; Babu Tharchin’s fledgling newspaper, for another) did not please the Dalai Lama in the least. To the contrary, it filled him with a profound dread for the future of his countrymen. Indeed, during the remaining years of his reign on the Lion Throne of Tibet, this astute Lama-King, after thoroughly pondering the then current state of affairs both within and without his domain, reluctantly came to the conclusion that the same catastrophe which had befallen Mongolia would sooner or later overtake his own beloved Buddhist nation and people. Such, then, was the condition of the Buddhist Pontiff’s heart and mind as he penned his now famous political testament that was formulated in the very year he passed away, and which was subsequently printed and distributed everywhere throughout Tibet⁵—with the help, among other instruments of communication available by this time, of Tharchin’s *Tibet Mirror* (see the following chapter for the details).

Now in the Dalai Lama’s farewell document to both Government and Nation there is to be found one of the most chilling passages in all of Tibetan literature; for in it His Holiness felt impelled to portray for his countrymen a doomsday vision of what he foresaw happening to the Land of Snows. It reads as follows:

... this present era is rampant with the five forms of degeneration, in particular the Red Ideology. In Outer Mongolia, the search for a reincarnation of Jetsun Dampa [the Grand Lama of Urga] was banned; the monastic properties and endowments were confiscated; the Lamas and the monks were forced into the army; and the Buddhist religion destroyed, leaving no trace of identity. Such a system, according to the reports still being received, has been established in Ulan Bator [the new Communist name for the old capital of Urga].

In future, this system will certainly be forced either from within or without on this land [Tibet] that cherishes the joint spiritual and temporal system. Unless we learn

how to protect our land, the Holy Lamas, including “the triumphant Father and Son” [the Dalai and Panchen Lamas], the Upholders of the Faith, the Glorious Rebirths, will all be eliminated without a trace of their names remaining. As regards the monasteries and the priesthood, their lands and properties will be destroyed. Moreover, our political system, inherited from the Three Great Kings, will be reduced to an empty name: my officials, ecclesiastical and lay, will find their lands seized and their property confiscated, and they themselves made to serve the enemy like slaves or wander about the country as beggars do; and my people will be sunk in fear and miseries and slowly pass their days and nights in a reign of terror. Such an era will certainly come!⁶

Recent history will attest the fact that as incredible and bizarre as this passage may have appeared at the time of its declaration, less than twenty years would be required before each and every one of these dire predictions of His Holiness would commence to take place. Their fulfillment had their initial unfolding, in fact, during the closing months of 1950. For late that year witnessed the beginnings of Communist China’s invasion of her smaller neighbor to the west and the overrun of its territory. By this and subsequent aggressive actions the Han invaders from the east brought to an end the only period of true and complete independence the Tibetans had ever enjoyed in modern times and effected the near-total extermination of all that was held dear by them. For when one contemplates, as exile Tibetan scholar Jamyang Norbu has recently done, what Tibet and her people had been like on the eve of the invasion, one can more readily appreciate the dimensions of the tragedy perpetrated on the World’s Roof by Communist China. “There is no disputing that in the essentials,” declares Norbu, Tibet, immediately “prior to the Chinese invasion was a ‘going concern,’ unlike so many starving nations, debtor nations, bankrupt nations, immigrant-exporting nations, failed states, narco states, rogue states, and genocidal states in the world today. Tibet threatened none of its neighbors, fed its population unfailingly, year after year, with no help from the outside world, owed no country or international institutions a penny, maintained basic law and order without persecuting minorities (e.g., Muslims) or massacring sections of its societies from time to time, as China does. Tibet required absolutely no outside intervention to save or resuscitate its culture and language.”⁷ All this and more was lost to the Tibetans with the unleashing of China’s aggression against the Land of Snows.

But lest the reader incorrectly assume from the passage excerpted from the Great Thirteenth’s Last Testament that he saw the coming disintegration of his homeland as solely attributable to the external menace of the Red Ideology, it should be clearly understood that in the same document His Holiness had taken aim with almost equal vigor at his ecclesiastical and lay officials. “It is evident that if you do not devote yourselves to the service of the State but continuously indulge in self-seeking, prejudice or nepotism, the long-term common objective will not be realized. And then nothing will help, and regrets will be useless.” Moreover, in a letter written just before his “passing to the Heavenly Fields,” the Dalai Lama expressed once more his deep anxiety and continuing distress over the *internal* menace he saw; namely, the conduct of both his religious and secular officials: “If they carry on their indulgence in dishonesty and pleasure-seeking, a violent cyclone of change will unequivocally arrive, and then it will be too late.”⁸ These dire predictions were only too truly proved to be accurate; for consequent upon the misconduct, frivolity and dereliction of duty by Tibet’s lay and

clerical officialdom as described here by His Holiness, the cataclysm of change he prophesied came to fulfillment in incredibly tragic dimensions at the hands of the Chinese in the years following 1950.* Surely Napoleon Bonaparte was right when he once remarked: "Let China sleep; when she awakens, the world will be sorry."

* The Great Thirteenth's friend and ardent admirer down in Kalimpong would himself pick up on this prophetic refrain of Tibet's Grand Lama in the early 1950s as the terrible fulfillment of the Dalai Lama's woeful predictions for the Land of Monks and Monasteries was unfolding. Tharchin, who was something of a poet, would at times find intellectual and emotional release by committing to scraps of paper various poetic musings which came to mind as he sat in his newspaper office contemplating the awful news he daily received concerning Tibet's increasingly horrific plight. Evidence of an instance of this the present writer discovered among the ThPaK. For he happened to notice on the back side of a letter envelope from Japan postmarked January 1953 some inked scribbling in Tibetan in the Babu's familiar handwriting. Asking the longtime Tibetan friend of the Tharchin family, Phurbu Tsering, what this might be, he learned from him that it was an incomplete poem composed in Tibetan alphabetical style, Tharchin having only reached the 12th letter of the 30-letter Tibetan alphabet, with each line of the Babu's poem having begun with a new alphabetical letter in proper sequential order. Fascinated by the finding, the author asked the Tharchin family's friend to translate the lines.

In essence the poem, not unlike the Dalai Lama's Last Testament, with which Tharchin was thoroughly familiar, took aim at the superficial, self-serving, materialistic lifestyle which had apparently continued to be manifested among Tibet's "prominent people"; many of whom, it is well known, had in Kalimpong comfortably re-settled themselves, their persons and possessions, if no longer their former properties, they now being free from the risks and dangers which other citizenry they left behind in Tibet were presently confronted with. Whether the unfinished poem, if completed, ever appeared in the *Tibet Mirror*, only a search through Tharchin's newspaper can determine that; nevertheless, the few lines of the poem that are available are enough to show that the would-be poet had in mind leveling a sharp rebuke against these prominent individuals who through the decades had been a source of deep frustration for the Babu. But the incomplete poem also contains a warning of trouble ahead for them should they not heed his call to abandon their foolish, lighthearted and pleasure-seeking way of life of yesteryear and begin to exhibit sensible, serious and resolute character traits which these crisis times for Tibet cried out for in her leaders.

In translated form, then, the twelve lines of Tharchin Babu's poem read as follows, with some bracketed material added for clarity:

Please listen, all [you] prominent people.
 [I am] expressing to you some heartfelt advice, and not merely
 [something] from the mouth [i.e., he wishes to speak in sincere
 reality—translator].

Please slowly consider it properly [carefully].
 Please consider the future of our religious land [here he identifies
 himself, as he often did, with the citizens of Tibet—present author].

In loafing and squabbling,
 Do not get lost in senseless talk.
 If you lose yourselves in tea, drinks and feasts,
 Beware, [like] the fish, [you] may be caught in the net [entrapped
 in trouble—translator].

Due to the benevolence of the Dalai Lama,
 The day of peace and happiness will ultimately appear.
 By now one should [already] be tactful [be conducting oneself
 properly?] and working hard;
 [By now] he should be firm and strong, immovable [i.e., stable and
 resolute, no longer frivolous and weak-willed—present author].

In reality, it may be added, these musings of Kalimpong's arch-defender of Tibet's best interests, though of course without stating it so, constituted a call for these effete elites of the Tibetan community to become like him!

In this regard, one is reminded of the observations made by the late Dawa Norbu in respect of the materialism of Tibetans in general and of the well-to-do in particular. Some Westerners, this younger refugee



From the downfall of the Manchu dynasty in Peking and the consequent Chinese expulsion from Tibet in 1912 (ending once and for all as it also did the long, historic but tenuous “patron-priest” relationship between Emperor and Dalai Lama) till the Chinese Communist invasion, there had only been in Tibet’s recent history a period of thirty-eight short years of absolute self-rule, free from all interference in her affairs from the outside, in particular from China.* It would seem that every Chinese government—whether Imperial, Nationalist

Tibetan had noted, “feel that the East is spiritual and the West materialistic, and Tibet is placed in the ‘spiritual’ category. I, as a Tibetan, find that we Tibetans are more materialistic than the average Westerner, and certainly more so than the Indians. There are a number of wealthy Tibetans who wisely ran away before the 1959 revolt and who have comfortably settled in India. When I was studying in Dr. Graham’s Homes, at Kalimpong, one of them, a millionaire, approached the principal and asked for a free scholarship for his daughter because she was ‘a poor refugee.’ If you step into a Tibetan refugee’s hut in India, and then visit an Indian peasant’s home, you will find that the refugee has collected more property within a decade than the average Indian farmer over a generation.” *Red Star over Tibet*, 96.

* Some governments, especially that of the Chinese, have rejected this claim by the Tibetans to have been totally free and independent even from Chinese suzerainty during this period. According to Tsering Shakya, the Chinese have acknowledged that during this 38-year time-frame “their authority in Tibet was absent” but have argued that its absence had been due to “foreign aggression (i.e., British machinations)” and have therefore reasoned that her authority’s absence “did not create a legal situation.” As a counterweight to the International Commission of Jurists (see below), whose “unashamedly pro-Tibetan” interim report of 5 June 1959 on *The Question of Tibet and the Rule of Law* (fully published September 1960) had accepted the Tibetans’ account of events “without question” (Shakya), the Chinese would convene a meeting in October 1959 of the International Association of Democratic Lawyers. This organization consisted of lawyers from the Communist bloc but included as well some leftist lawyers from a few Western nations. Its meeting concluded that between 1913 and 1950 the situation in Tibet was “*ex iniuria ius non creatur* [The law does not arise from wrong],” by which was meant that indeed, though China had no presence in Tibet during this period and though Tibet had acted as an independent nation throughout this same period, the Chinese claimed that all this was not because Tibet was legally separate from China but because the latter at this time had been weak and foreign interventions by the British had created the situation. Ergo, the law does not apply here since the actions of the British were wrong. See Shakya, *Dragon in the Land of Snows*, 223 with 498 notes 47, 49 and 50; and see also Shakya’s email of further explanation sent to the present author dated 14 May 2007.

But Michael C. van Walt van Praag, a Washington DC-based legal expert in international law, and later legal adviser to Dalai Lama XIV, concluded and had published some 25 years later an exhaustive inquiry into the entire historical status of Tibet as a separate and independent entity among the earth’s family of nations. With respect to the 38-year period under discussion here, after a lengthy and thorough inquiry, Walt van Praag came to the following conclusion: “An examination of the events between 1911 and 1950 thus leads to the inevitable conclusion that, throughout this period, Tibet was a fully independent State possessing all the attributes of statehood. Few scholars seriously challenge the notion that Tibet possessed actual independence *at least* between 1911 and 1950. Thus, for example, the International Commission of Jurists [a non-governmental organization of 35,000 lawyers in over 50 nations, mostly Western, and having consultative status with the United Nations’ Economic and Social Council], the legal scholar C. E. Alexandrowicz, and even the last official Chinese Representative in Tibet, Shen Zonglian [Shen Tsung-Lien], who conceded that ‘since 1911 Lhasa [i.e., Tibet] has to all practical purposes enjoyed full independence,’ supported this conclusion. What the present study shows is that Tibet possessed both actual and formal independence throughout this period ...” *The Status of Tibet* (1987), 140 (emphasis Walt van Praag’s). The quote by this author from Shen was taken from his book, *Tibet and the Tibetans* (1953), 62. Cf. the opinion of England’s Sir Algernon Rumbold, who comes to the same conclusion, and states that Tibet had even “become *de facto* independent” before 1911-12 as a consequence of her refusal to implement agreements about her country which had been signed by Britain and

or Communist —had always professed to regard Tibet as a dependent Chinese province. In the thinking of Nationalist leader Sun Yat-sen, for instance, the Chinese nation consisted of five races: Han, Manchu, Mongol, Moslem, and Tibetan. And this had in due course become an official element of his political program. Yet Dru Gladney has noted that though Sun had indeed recognized these five peoples of China, his ultimate aim was nonetheless “assimilationist” in character—that is, “to unify and fuse all the peoples into one Chinese race.” Sun himself stated the matter most forcefully: “The name ‘Republic of Five Nationalities’ exists only because there exists a certain racial distinction which distorts the meaning of a single republic. We must satisfy the demands of all races and unite them in a single cultural and political whole.” Sun would modify his stance on the matter in the 1920s under Communist influence; even so, its essence remained the same. In the words of June Dreyer, the Hans, “from their ethnocentric view, ... do not believe that the culture and territorial claims of minority groups are equal to that of the superior Han civilization.”⁹

Sun’s Nationalist successor, Chiang Kai-shek, was no different on the issue. For in 1943 he would declare, under pressure from various nationalist groups within the Kuomintang, that the Tibetans were Chinese. He would further assert, in his book *China’s Destiny* (1947), that the Tibetans and other minorities all had common ancestors and that whatever differences existed were attributable “to religion and geographical environment. In short, the differentiation among China’s five peoples is due to regional and religious factors, and not to race or blood.”¹⁰

And as for the Chinese Communist leader Mao Tse-tung, he, too, in the words of Professor Lee Feigon, would begin “to reflect [an] increasingly zealous nationalist sentiment” of his own on this sensitive issue.¹¹ As was clearly documented in the previous chapter’s discussion of Gedun Chopel, a radical transformation in attitude negatively by the Communists towards the Tibetans and other minorities “on the territory of China” would occur between the early 1920s and the early 1950s, ultimately resulting in the official Chinese Communist position that Tibet and other minority areas were “an integral part” of China. And Beijing has continued to propagandize this position by every means ever since.

Let it be noted here, for example, that more recent Communist propaganda from the Chinese capital, and communicated worldwide, continues even today, as it has done for decades now, to create misleading accounts of an alleged Tibetan dependence on, and submission to, China in the past. Franz Michael, a scholar on modern Tibet, has cited the instance of “postcards made from a painting in the Potala in Lhasa which show the Fifth Dalai Lama and the Ch’ing Emperor Shun-chih sitting on their respective thrones opposite each other with the Dalai Lama’s hands in lecture posture, obviously elucidating Buddhist tenets to the listening emperor. The Chinese, however, describe this scene as indicating the ‘obedience’ of the Dalai Lama to the emperor, indicating Tibetan submission to the Chinese government.”

China in 1890 and 1893. See Rumbold, “Tibet’s Political Status Revisited,” *TR* (Apr. 1993):21.

It should be added that with respect to the grand sweep of Tibetan history, Walt van Praag, on his page 140, went on to say, in anticipation of the subsequent documentation to be found in the last half of his volume, that Tibet “was indisputably a separate State throughout its history, despite the sometimes considerable foreign interference in its affairs.”

Yet not only the visual arts but the performing arts, too, have been brought into the service of China's campaign to distort Sino-Tibetan history. At a conference in 1992 attended by Tibetan and Chinese exiles it was reported that the Communist regime at Beijing, in an attempt to prove that Tibet has been a part of China ever since the seventh century, produced a propaganda play about the Chinese princess who had married King Songtsan Gampo of Tibet. It was entitled *Wencheng* after the name of the princess. Ironically, however, it had apparently had the opposite effect, as asserted by one Chinese exile at the conference, the respected Shanghai journalist Wang Ruowang, now banished by the Communists but made famous by China's former paramount leader, Deng Xiaoping, for having characterized him as being more responsible than any other individual for the pro-democracy movement that in 1989 culminated in the tragic Tiananmen Square Massacre at Beijing. One observer at the conference reported that the exiled journalist made the comment that this very play "had actually revealed that Tibetan relations with China were those between two separate States"!

In an attempt similar to that of the *Wencheng* play to portray Tibet's integral link with China, the Chinese Communists have frequently asserted that Buddhism had come to Tibet from China, not from India. In support of this assertion the Communists cite the fact that the Chinese wife of Songtsan Gampo—the same Chinese Imperial princess of the above-mentioned play—had brought a Buddha image with her to Lhasa that is still revered today in Tibet. But they usually fail to mention that Princess Wen-ch'eng had actually been offered as tribute to the Tibetan king on the basis of his military conquests against China. These Chinese propagandists likewise fail to mention the fact that Songtsan Gampo's Nepalese wife Brikhuti Devi had married the King many years *prior* to Wen-ch'eng's own marriage to him: and she, too, had brought her own Buddha image to the Tibetan capital. Moreover, no mention is made of the fact that Tibetan Buddhism's most holy temple, Lhasa's Jo-khang, had been built not by China's princess but by Brikhuti from Nepal. It needs to be observed, too, that the great theological debate of the late eighth century in Tibet between the Indian and Chinese Buddhist masters had been won by the former, hence "confirming the Indian basis of Tibetan Buddhism."¹² And finally, the late Dawa Norbu has recounted the pathetic attempt made during the 1950s at Beijing's Institute of National Minorities to indoctrinate Tibetan students, brought there from their homeland, into believing that from ancient times Tibet had always been part of the Great Chinese Motherland: and again using the argument of the matrimonial alliance between the Chinese princess and Tibet's first so-called Great Religious King. The Tibetan students, however, were much smarter than their Chinese teacher. For when the latter would assert in the history class that "ever since Princess Wen-Cheng Kung-Ju married the Tibetan King Songtsan Gampo, Tibet has been part of China," the Tibetan students would immediately retort: "Then Tibet became part of Nepal as well, because Songtsan Gampo also married a Nepalese princess." All the vanquished Han instructor could do was exclaim defensively: "What do you backward Tibetans know? Nothing! The Han race is the bravest, cleverest and most able in the world." Since 1959, of course, debate like this, added Norbu, was now forbidden in the classrooms—and anywhere else.¹³

Nevertheless, despite such convenient ignoring of the facts, incredibly, Beijing's Communist propaganda mill has continued since 1949 to grind out baseless arguments

supporting its claim that Tibet has always been a part of China. If 1949 was the year in which the Communist regime at Beijing commenced putting forward its insupportable arguments for claiming Tibet as having been a part of China, was there no Tibetan who could put forth any rational counterargument against this absurd claim? Apparently not, in the view of Dawa Norbu. In his semi-autobiographical work first published in 1974, this younger generation Tibetan had lamented the fact. Tibetans, he wrote, “lived in a world of their own, and this self-imposed isolation was undoubtedly one of the biggest factors contributing to our tragedy. Tibet was too innocent. When reading Heinrich Harrer’s *Seven Years in Tibet* at school [in Kalimpong], I found to my sadness that not one person in the whole of Tibet could repudiate the Chinese claim over Tibet in 1949. The international legal status of our country was at the mercy of the big powers outside. We had neither the knowledge nor the desire to squabble over legal and political semantics.... All we wanted was ... to be left alone.”¹⁴

Yet the late Hugh Richardson observed that long before the Communist assumption of power in 1949, the Nationalists had similarly propagandized on this crucial point, this British diplomat in Tibet having especially noted the total inability of Tibetans to articulate the truth. Writing in 1944 about Nationalist China’s continuing propaganda during the preceding decades, Richardson’s earlier observations had anticipated Dawa’s much later ones: “China’s aim is to establish control over Tibet. Insofar as she seeks to do this by propaganda, the problem is to effect a radical change in the Tibetan attitude. The method is largely to present Chinese hopes as accomplished facts, and to keep on assuring the Tibetans that they are members of the Chinese state ... Much of Chinese propaganda ... is directed at the foreign press. Here the Chinese have the field to themselves and they have taken advantage of Tibetan inarticulateness to present to the world a stream of tendentious wish-projections in the guise of facts. Their publications speak of Tibetan affairs as a Chinese domestic concern, and claim a control over events in Tibet which is quite at variance with the truth....”¹⁵

Likewise, the last British Political Officer Sikkim would in August 1948 sound a similar warning about Chinese Nationalist propaganda and Tibetan and world press naïveté. However, because it had been expressed within the contents of a private personal paper he had apparently composed only for himself, the Officer’s superiors in the Independent Indian government whom he had been serving for a year may never have become aware of his words of warning. The paper, cast in the form of a kind of valedictory review of Indo-Tibetan relations for the preceding three years and combined with a concern for Tibet’s uncertain future, had noted, among other things, the desire of Tibetans “to avoid any tangible cause of offense to the Chinese.” But, then, A. J. Hopkinson went on to observe that the Chinese “have never abandoned their extreme claims on Tibet.” Pointing out, as had Richardson before him, “the tendentious presentation of supposed news about Tibet” as China’s ever-old, ever-new method of “influencing world opinion,” the P.O.S. went on to note that because of this “deliberate misrepresentation,” the case for Tibet’s separateness from China had in the past “often gone by default.” Bringing the situation up-to-date, Hopkinson declared the following:

In the last few weeks it has become apparent that the Chinese are mounting a fresh

offensive on these lines, with the unwitting assistance of a British [news] Agency like Reuters, and of a patriotic but unwary Indian Press. In particular, the Tibetans and the world are being told by kind Chinese friends that it is in the Tibetan interest to denounce the 'unequal treaties' which form the basis of Indo-Tibetan relations and Tibet's main defense against China. Since in this matter Indian and Tibetan interests are identical, it is desirable for India to give such quiet help as she can to Tibet, by warning the Tibetans of the existence of this propaganda and ensuring that the case should not go entirely by default, and warning our own news agencies and press not to lend themselves to unpatriotic propaganda.¹⁶

Interestingly, but not surprisingly, at about this same time, there was at least one press person in India who, far from lending himself to "unpatriotic propaganda," was about the business of warning the Tibetan people of mounting Chinese propaganda aimed at lulling Tibetans into accepting the false notion that Tibet had indeed been a dependency of China throughout her history. Having inaugurated a series of articles on this very topic in the *Tibet Mirror*, Gergan Tharchin was intent on focusing particularly on those political and military events of more recent times which in his view would help to demonstrate beyond any doubt that Tibet is, was and always had been an independent kingdom: ruled at first by her Great King-Emperors of old and later by her long line of Priest-Kings—the Dalai Lamas. Alluding to earlier articles he had already published in the series, the Babu would currently (1950) prepare for publication a further article, but now centering his attention on Tibet's more recent history.

Totally rejecting, on the basis of his historical analysis, the increasingly declared Chinese claim that his ethnic homeland had always been an integral part of the Chinese Motherland, Babu Tharchin proceeded to set forth his counterarguments to this claim in two inked drafts of a proposed article, written in English, which the present author found among the Babu's personal papers. In these two drafts—both of them four or five pages in length and both bearing a similarity in argument to each other—Tharchin begins his presentation with citing the outbreak of war between Nepal and Tibet in 1876. A treaty signed that year ending the conflict was negotiated, he notes, between these two Governments themselves exclusively, with the Chinese completely absent from the resolution of the conflict. A similar scenario occurred some thirty years later at the time when the Treaty of Lhasa was signed in 1904 that brought an end to hostilities between Tibet and Britain. As was the case in 1876, so now again in 1904, writes the Babu significantly, "I do not find the Chinese in the [Treaty] picture" at all, despite the fact, he carefully points out, the Chinese Emperor's representative, the Amban, had been present at the Tibetan capital at that very moment. "These [historical details] ... show that Tibet was not under the Chinese as it is claimed."

But just here Tharchin raises a most interesting rhetorical question: If, then, the Amban and the soldier escort posted to Lhasa by Peking "had no connection with the affairs of Tibet," why was it that the Chinese Imperial Government paid the British that which was called for under the 1904 Treaty provisions, namely, the payment by Tibet of a war indemnity? "This can easily be explained," asserts Tharchin confidently. Given the fact that "the Dalai Lama [was] the spiritual head and guru of the Emperor," the latter therefore "was obliged to do so." "According to the religious viewpoint," the Babu went on to explain, "one [in this

case, the Chinese Emperor] must sacrifice one's wealth, even one's life [, if necessary], for the sake of one's spiritual guru, and not speak of [holding onto] one's wealth; so, that was the reason why the war indemnity of Tibet was paid by the [Imperial] Chinese Government." Furthermore, it should be clearly understood, Tharchin additionally explains, that the Amban's military escort had been "meant solely as bodyguards to protect the Emperor's spiritual teacher, the Dalai Lama." Accordingly, when the Chinese people overthrew the Emperor in 1911-12, the Amban and his escort "were sent back to China by the Tibetan Government." And ever since then, declares Babu Tharchin, "the Chinese have had no connection" with Tibet—" [not] even from the religious point of view."

In sum, therefore, Tibet's more recent history, when analyzed carefully and correctly, asserts Gergan Tharchin, clearly disproves the specious claim made by the Chinese that Tibet has always been a part of China.¹⁷

But there have been others as well who, like Babu Tharchin, have taken the time and trouble to respond to such a patently absurd claim. Paul Ingram, for one, has cogently shown the vacuousness of the Chinese pretension to have ruled in the past over a vassal Tibet. As Secretary of the London-based non-political Scientific Buddhist Association (but later known as OPTIMUS), Ingram, as chief author, submitted in the mid-1980s that organization's lengthy and quite thorough Report to the United Nations Commission on Human Rights in which, among other matters, he addressed this very question in the following passage taken from his historical recitation on Tibetan-Chinese relations, beginning with the expansion of the vast Tibetan Empire that had extended itself even into China herself.

In 763 the Tibetans captured the then Chinese capital at Chang'an (Sian) but by the 10th century the Tibetan Empire had collapsed, leaving considerable numbers of ethnic Tibetans outside the borders of political Tibet. For the next three hundred years or so relations with China were at a minimal level.

Chinese claims that Tibet has always been part of China derive from a period when both Tibet and China were part of the Mongolian Empire. In the 12th century the Mongols began to extend their influence and Tibet (though not conquered) submitted in 1207 while China was overwhelmed by about 1280. *The only period when Tibet and China were in the same political grouping was when Tibetans and Chinese were both subject peoples under Mongolian rule* [emphasis Ingram's]. The Tibetans were able to free themselves from this rule in 1358 when, in an internal power struggle, Changchub Gyaltsen wrested power from the Sakya minister, Wangtson Wangtson, terminated all relations with the Mongols, and started a new lineage known as Phagmo Drupa. The Chinese followed suit some ten years later, when in 1368 they were able to drive out the Mongols and establish the native Ming dynasty.

It seems that the Chinese, in continuing to claim that Tibet was part of China, inherited the expansionist and imperialist designs of a conquering empire whose rule they eventually threw off. It has sometimes been pointed out that by using similar arguments India could now lay claim to Burma on the grounds that they were once both part of the British Empire!

When the Communists came to power in China in 1949 they continued to claim, on the basis of the above position, that Tibet was part of China, and deliberately chose to follow the expansionist and imperialist designs of former imperial dynasties whose legacy they supposedly despised, and it seems unlikely that Marx, whose writings

they supposedly follow, would have approved of such a policy which contradicted his support for the right of self-determination of peoples. Instead of rejecting the imperialistic legacy of former emperors, Tibetans point out that the Communists enthusiastically supported such claims, grounded as they were in a remote imperial past, and achieved a degree of success which any Chinese emperor would have envied. The question of the right to self-determination of the various non-Chinese peoples played no part in their policies. Such a right should have applied either to peoples who were ruled by the imperial Chinese but struggled against such rule, or to those who successfully resisted incorporation into the imperial Chinese Empire. Throughout most of their history the Tibetans fall into the latter category.

It is worth pointing out that had the retreating [European] colonial powers adopted similar arguments and pursued them with such ruthlessness and dedication, then the European empires would have lasted for longer than they did, or might even be intact today.

What in fact seem to be distortions of history are to be found in various Chinese writers of both the following Ming and Ching Dynasties, particularly when it claimed that Tibet was a "vassal state" of China.... It is surely an important fact that at a time [just after the turn of the twentieth century] when large parts of the world were still under colonial rule Tibet was one of the first countries to declare its independence and repudiate what it felt were the expansionist pretensions of a late imperial power. It is also tragic that at a time [right after World War Two] when many countries were at last freeing themselves from foreign domination, Tibet was forcefully incorporated into the Chinese State, "the one big Motherland." The Chinese Communists, while applauding liberation struggles in various parts of the world, continue to deny the request voiced by Tibetans both inside and outside Tibet, that they should be allowed to decide their own destiny by plebiscite under United Nations supervision.... It may be argued that what one finds amidst a welter of historical detail is a depressingly familiar phenomenon—namely, the interference of a large power in the affairs of a smaller one.¹⁸

Hugh Richardson, who for a considerable period had held jointly the post of British Trade Agent in Tibet and Head of the British Mission at Lhasa, has provided a masterfully-developed explanation for what motivated China's aggressive designs on Tibet, no matter who was in power at Peking, which bears quoting. In his well-received history of Tibet he writes:

An explanation will inevitably be sought for the overpowering desire to possess Tibet which led the Chinese Communists to acts of aggression. There was no hostile move by the Tibetans to account for it. The only answer that appears essentially satisfactory goes deeply into Chinese character and the Chinese past.

The Chinese have, as is well known, a profound regard for history. But history, for them, was not simply a scientific study. It had the features of a cult, akin to ancestor worship, with the ritual object of presenting the past, favorably emended and touched up, as a model for current political action. It had to conform also to the mystical view of China as the Center of the World, the Universal Empire in which every other country had a natural urge to become a part. The conflict of that concept of history with the violent intrusion of the outside world in the latter part of the nineteenth century led to the obdurate irredentism with which the Republican and Nationalist governments of China persisted, against all the facts, in claiming that Tibet had always been part of

the Chinese fold and was longing to return to it. In the absence of any voice of protest from Tibet, their persistence made some effect even on the minds of other countries.

In spite of the adoption of Western political ideas, the Communists, like their predecessors, continued to be influenced by the traditions of their ancestors. They inherited the same peculiar historical perspective embittered in the more recent past by resentment at the humiliation and exploitation inflicted by the West; and they were the first Chinese to have the power to convert their atavistic theories into fact. They saw their opportunity, calculated that no one was likely to oppose them, and acted.

Many other reasons have been suggested: that the occupation of Tibet appeared to be a strategic or defensive necessity; that there were ideas of economic development or more living room; that Tibet might become a reservoir for reactionary feeling and reactionary organizations; that the zeal of newly converted Communists drove the Chinese to spread their doctrine wherever they could. Those considerations might give color to the Chinese action and they have varying degrees of force in their own right but, it is submitted, they were no more than secondary to the main object of making good an ancient pretension.¹⁹



Yet this ancient pretension was totally opposite to the historic realities of Tibet's relationship with China and to the undeviating wishes of the Tibetan people, who had always cherished their freedom and had the right to enjoy it. But now in the late 1940s the portents of danger for her citizens were ominous in the extreme. One portent which struck fear and foreboding into the hearts of both rulers and ruled alike in Tibet was the repeated drumbeat of subtle and not so subtle hints and outright threats which constantly punctuated a variety of political conferences, speeches, newspaper reports and radio announcements that emanated from various quarters in the ruling circles of Tibet's vast neighbor to the east.²⁰

It must be understood that during the Nationalist regime at Peking, Tibet had permitted a Chinese mission to be stationed in Lhasa almost from the moment an envoy had been sent from the Chinese capital in 1934 for the presumed purpose of innocently conveying China's condolences upon the much mourned death of the greatly beloved Thirteenth Dalai Lama which had occurred in December of the previous year. A Chinese Historical Archival source document housed at Nanking today described the purpose of the envoy's visit as follows: "Huang Musong's Entering Tibet under Orders to Confer Titles and Mourn the Thirteenth Dalai Lama" (*Huang Musong fengshi ru Zang cefeng bing zhicha Dailai dashi baogao shu*).²¹ This highly prominent envoy, General Huang Mu-sang, Vice-Chief of Chiang Kai-shek's General Staff, had continued his stay longer than normal in the Tibetan capital, however, and thus by this means China had successfully pushed her way back into Tibet after having been expelled decades earlier with the downfall of the Manchus in 1911-12.*

* This less than subtle insinuation of China back into Tibet and Tibetan affairs only confirmed the Great Thirteenth's fears and misgivings about the Chinese which in the late summer of 1933 he candidly expressed to the then British Political Officer for Tibet, Frederick ("Derrick") Williamson, just a few short months before his death. Williamson's wife, in her published memoirs, relates how, in an audience he gave to her husband. "His Holiness was very frank and clear with Derrick about his attitude to the Chinese: he did not want a Chinese official ever to visit Lhasa, as all the Chinese wanted to do was to pave the way for a renewal of Chinese domination." Margaret Williamson, *Memoirs of a Political Officer's Wife*, 115-6.

In fact, the gradually enlarged staff of this so-called Mission of Condolence in Lhasa would in time under the Nationalists become a branch office of the Mongolian-Tibetan Affairs Commission!²²

But now, with the threat of a Communist military success in China against the Nationalist forces looming as most probable, what with the Communists about to storm Peking, the alarmed Lhasa government had once more, in July 1949, expelled all Chinese officials from her soil (see again the previous chapter, and also the next one, for details) lest the staff of the Chinese Mission at Lhasa simply transfer their allegiance from the defeated Nationalist government to the People's Republic and thus gain for the Communists an automatic but most unwanted foothold in Tibet. Accordingly, the Mission staff, teachers and all other Chinese personnel were ordered to leave the country within a week's time!²³

Summoning to its office the acting director of the Mongolian and Tibetan Affairs Commission at Lhasa, the *Kashag* informed him that the Government would be expelling all Chinese associated with China's Kuomintang government. Not only this, but the *Kashag* also, for fear of Chinese protests being mounted on Lhasa's streets, established a curfew in the Tibetan capital that would last till all Chinese departed. This, in fact, the Chinese would do, the Government dispatching them south to India in three separate batches on 14, 17 and 20 July. Furthermore, the *Kashag* sent a telegram to both Chiang Kai-shek and China's President Li Zongran informing them of the expulsion order, and stating that its action had been taken out of fear that Communist elements might infiltrate the country and attach themselves to the Chinese Mission at Lhasa. For had not some of the Commission's staff at Lhasa already begun talking about serving the "new government," just as had occurred in various areas of China? There was even a move afoot at the Tibetan capital to declare the country independent, as had been done by the Great Thirteenth Dalai Lama back in 1912, but nothing came of it.²⁴

Nevertheless, by this dramatic act of expulsion the Tibetans had made it emphatically clear that they considered themselves independent of China and wished to remain so, no matter who would be in power at Peking. In the end, observes historian Tsering Shakya, the expulsion of the Chinese Mission had been "a shrewd move" by the Tibetans, for it not only terminated any Nationalist Chinese influence but it also signified that there would be no trace of Chinese authority in Tibet when the Communists assumed power in China just three months later. It thus left the Communists "with the problem of how they could assert their authority in Tibet" since "it was clear that there was no scope for an internal Communist revolution there." In fact, in the view of Hugh Richardson, writing from the Tibetan capital less than a month following the expulsion order, the Tibetans "seem to have postponed the likelihood of Communist activities in Lhasa by removing suspicious persons, but who can say for how long?"²⁵

As a countermeasure to these actions, later that same month of July the Communist People's Political Conference, meeting in Peking, adopted a pointedly-worded resolution which stated that Tibet would be retained as a part of the People's Republic of China. Such a resolution had been issued even before the latter political entity had been officially proclaimed as an established reality months later!

Then, as early as the beginning of September 1949, a full year and more prior to China's

actual invasion, the Chinese Communists declared for the very first time—in the then current international context—what their future policy towards Tibet and other potentially concerned parties would be.* This was communicated to the world simultaneously by means of both Peking Radio (on 3 September) and, the next day, a threatening editorial put out by the official New China News Agency (NCNA): Tibet, as well as Sinkiang Province, is “an integral part of China.” Furthermore, the message declared, the Chinese were determined to “liberate” Tibet, at the same time warning the “British and American imperialists and their stooge, the Indian Nehru government,” not to dare help Tibet lest they risk “cracking their skulls against the mailed fist of the great Chinese People’s Liberation Army.”²⁶

Less than a month later, having totally defeated the Nationalists, the Chinese Communists officially proclaimed the People’s Republic of China at Peking on 1 October 1949. Twenty days later in his very first speech, the Chinese Communist Party Chairman Mao Tse-tung, after vowing that the time had at last arrived when the Chinese themselves (and not the Mongols or the Manchus) would rule their land, solemnly proceeded to declare that the primary and most urgent goal of the new Chinese People’s Republic was to “liberate Tibet.” As though in response, ten days later on 1 November, the Tibetan Foreign Affairs Bureau sent what one Tibetan historian has termed “a strangely naïve letter” to Mao which, among other things, (1) frankly declared that “from the earliest times up to now Tibet has been an independent country whose political administration had never been taken over by any Foreign Country,” (2) boldly requested assurances that Mao would not launch an attack on Tibet, and (3) confidently indicated that the Tibetan government wished to “open negotiations” with Peking on the return of all ethnic Tibetan territories then being held by China!²⁷ On 24 November Radio Peking brazenly announced that its young, thirteen-year-old puppet, the Panchen Lama, had appealed to Chairman Mao to “liberate Tibet.”

This with respect to the Panchen Lama was but one yet very important part of what the Chinese Communists had been doing as preparation for “liberating” their immediate neighboring land to the west. In the words of Indian historian and political scientist Bhabani Sen Gupta, the Red Chinese had “devised a Tibetan strategy” well before they had assumed power in Peking. Summarizing what had been happening during the many months leading up to their takeover at the Chinese capital, Sen Gupta described Mao’s Tibet strategy in the following terms:

[The Communist Chinese] brought about a complete split between the Dalai Lama and Panchen Lama, building up the latter with his great influence in Sinkiang, Mongolia, and considerable parts of Tibet as a counterblast to the former. Warlordism in the northwest and southwest provinces of China was wiped out with astonishing

* Actually, it is believed that the first time ever in which the future intention of the Chinese Communists towards Tibet had been made known publicly had occurred nearly thirty years earlier. This was occasioned by the issuance of the Chinese Communist Party’s Manifesto at the Party’s Second National Congress held back in 1922. Among the principal aims enumerated in this document (besides, of course, the most principal one of the unification of China under their rule by defeating the Nationalists) was “the achievement of a genuine republic by the liberation of Mongolia, Tibet and Sinkiang.” This intention of liberating these areas bordering on China Proper, notes Michael van Walt van Praag, would remain “an important component” of the Communists’ declared policy “for the next thirty years.” *The Status of Tibet*, 88.

swiftness. Tibet was thus exposed to the Chinese Communist power; the revolution was knocking at its gate. The geographical barrier that had been in Tibet's favor all through history collapsed. Some Tibetan leaders in East Tibet were planning a revolution [a reference to the Khampas; for more on this, see again Chapter 23 and also see later in the present chapter]. The Communists established contact with them and asked them to work for a larger and deeper revolution against "a feudal, reactionary regime." They were promised all kinds of support. [George] Patterson says that this was an extremely clever move; the East Tibetans had no alternative but to accept it, for the Communist forces were about to enter Tibet. Patterson himself flew to India and to Delhi in a vain attempt to persuade the Indian government to intervene on behalf of Lhasa. By January 1950, Peking was able to win over the East Tibetan leaders ...²⁸

Accordingly, on the first day of January 1950 it was announced by the Chinese People's Government that as one of its chief tasks during this new year "the Chinese People's Liberation Army must liberate Tibet from the British and American imperialists." Exactly four months later Radio Peking blared forth that "it is the duty of the Chinese Republic to liberate Tibet." These broadcasts and those which were to follow were aired in both Chinese and Tibetan (the latter often spoken by none other than Gedun Chopel's former tutor and now Chinese Communist Party cadre, the famed Geshe Sherab Gyamtsho²⁹). Not to be outdone by Peking Radio, the Tibetan government commenced responding to these various broadcasts from China with some of their own. For on 30 January the Tibetans commenced broadcasting from Lhasa—in Tibetan, Chinese and English—a half-hour program daily. Declared Radio Tibet repeatedly during the ensuing weeks: Since Tibet had no imperialists on her soil, Tibet had no need of liberation; and furthermore, that the centuries-old Tibeto-Chinese relationship had been that of priest and patron and not one in which Tibet had ever been a part of China. Far from it, Tibet, these broadcasts made clear, was an independent, theocratic, and peace-loving nation.*³⁰

As though wishing to make certain the world—and especially Tibet—had understood the earlier message of September 1949, Peking Radio found its voice once again and fired another verbal salvo repeating its earlier claims and intentions but now elaborating much further on what Chinese thinking, expectations and demands were in regard to the Roof of the World. On 22 May 1950 Peking would now address an appeal directly to the rulers and people of the Closed Land urging them to effect "the peaceful liberation of Tibet" themselves. The broadcast made clear that Tibet was part of China and that its geographical remoteness would be no problem for the so-called People's Liberation Army (PLA). It

* Ironically, less than a year and a half later, Tibet's delegates to Peking would sign an Agreement with Communist China whose Preamble and first article would in effect repudiate all such notions. For the former would state that Tibet had been a part of China for the past "hundred years or more," that imperialist forces present in Tibet had created disunity between the Tibetan and Han nationalities, that additionally—but in accusatory fashion—"the Local Government of Tibet [had] not oppose[d] imperialist deception and provocation, but [had] adopted an unpatriotic attitude towards the great motherland." And the initial article to the Agreement would declare that "the Tibetan people shall return to the big family of the motherland, the People's Republic of China." The very next day following the signing of the accord, the Chinese would host a banquet for the Tibetan delegation at which Chairman Mao would opine that he wished to "welcome Tibet back into the Motherland." Quoted in Shakya, *Dragon*, 69.

assured the Tibetans that the Chinese government was “absolutely considerate of the interests and traditions of all component nationalities of the People’s Republic of China and fully respects their freedom of religion.” At the same time, however, Radio Peking warned Tibet not to reckon on British or American assistance nor to allow those countries to “sow discord against nationalities” of China. The broadcast concluded with a call to the Tibetan government—that included a veiled warning—to send emissaries “to conduct peace talks in Peking in order to save the Tibetan People from unnecessary losses.”*³¹ Interestingly, even earlier that same month, on 9 May, Geshe Sherab, who by this time occupied the post of Vice Chairman of Chinghai’s Provincial People’s Government, had broadcast on Radio Sian a personal message to Tibet’s young Dalai Lama making the same request but stating as well that the PLA would soon be setting out to liberate Tibet.³²

The pronouncements continued. In late July the Commander of China’s powerful Second Field Army and Chairman of the South-West China Military Affairs Commission, General (subsequently Marshal) Liu Po-chen, let it be known that his troops would soon move on Tibet “to bring that mountainous land of the lamas back into the Chinese family.”³³ And less than a month later on 5 August the NCNA distributed a statement by this same General in which he declared that Chinese forces would enter Tibet to “liberate” it by driving out “the aggressive influence of British and American imperialism,” to reincorporate her into “the Motherland’s big family,” and to consolidate China’s “line of defense.” “Regional self-government,” “freedom of religion,” and respect for her institutions would be maintained; but Tibet’s Army, the Commander’s declaration confidently announced, would become a part of “the national defense forces of the Chinese People’s Republic.”³⁴

Implicit in some of Liu’s declarations here was the fear which Mao’s government harbored, especially during the period of 1949-51, that Tibet would receive outside assistance in support of her independence. According to Sen Gupta, this fear and/or suspicion were “fed by the situation in Taiwan and by newspaper reports.” In an editorial of 15 October 1950, for example, the *New York Times* had openly discussed possible American recognition of Tibet as an independent country and additionally observed that such action would pave the way for the United States to “make available some of its funds to help foreign countries arm themselves against Communism.” And one of the brothers of the Dalai Lama, Gyalo Dhondup, by this time a resident of America, had gone to Taiwan in 1949 for talks with Generalissimo Chiang. It would appear, in fact, that Tibet had been hoping she would receive outside aid, if from nowhere else than India which, notes Sen Gupta, “was the only external power with a physical presence in Tibet.”³⁵ Not surprisingly, in an attempt to forestall any outside intervention in what Peking had continually made clear to the watching world was China’s

* This use of a radio broadcast as the method by which the Chinese sought to establish a dialogue with Lhasa can easily be explained. Because of the expulsion of all Chinese—and especially Han government officials—from Tibet the previous year, the Communists, writes Tibetan historian Tsering Shakya, were left with no means of making representations to the Tibetan government. Hence, “it was through a radio broadcast”—the one cited above of 22 May 1950—that the Red Chinese “invited the Tibetan government to send a negotiating team to Beijing.” Though the method used was highly undiplomatic, in the end it was effective nonetheless. Shakya, “Politicization and the Tibetan Language,” in Barnett and Akiner, eds., *Resistance and Reform in Tibet*, 164-5.

internal affair, Mao was now intent on pushing ahead as rapidly as possible with his well-laid-out plans to move against Tibet, if necessary by force.

It was left to none other than Communist China's new Premier, Chou En-lai, to sound publicly the final note of alarm and foreboding. He had already privately conveyed the stance of his Government to the Indian Ambassador in Peking on 22 August. In reply to the envoy's expression of India's hope that the Chinese would settle the Tibetan question peacefully, Chou made it clear that the liberation of Tibet was a "sacred duty" of his Government but that China was anxious to avoid military action in the fulfillment of its goal. But on the 30th of September, which was the first anniversary of the People's Republic, he declared the Government's stance publicly. With an apparent indifference to the diplomatic talks then underway in New Delhi, the Chinese Premier announced that Tibet "must be liberated"—that his Government was determined "to liberate the people of Tibet and stand on guard at the Chinese frontiers." The very next day, after only two or three weeks of conversations, the talks in India ended inconclusively. The Indian hosts then suggested, and the Tibetan mission subsequently agreed, to proceed to Peking for direct negotiations there with the Chinese. In the meantime, however, and unbeknown to the Lhasa government until quite a few days after the event, the armies of "liberation" commenced to roll into Tibet with lightning speed and without warning on the 7th of October,³⁶ canceling automatically the projected visit to Peking of the Tibetan mission as far as the latter was concerned. The invasion was so sudden and so surprising that apparently not even the Chinese Ambassador at Delhi was aware of it till after the attack had been launched.³⁷ The mission (which, incidentally, had as its English-language interpreter Jigme Taring) returned to Lhasa disillusioned about the prospects for a peaceful settlement to the now widening dispute.

This date of 7 October for the Chinese invasion of East Tibet, in the view of Tibetan historian Shakya, was not an arbitrary choice but was fraught with considerable significance from Red China's perspective. It is his belief that the Chinese decision to invade Tibet at this particular moment "was taken in conjunction with their thinking over the Korean situation." Concerned about American intentions, Peking, writes the historian, was fearful that the U.S. would use the war in Korea, which had begun on 25 June 1950, "as a pretext" to attack China herself. Doubtless aware that Tibetan officials in Delhi had been meeting with America's ambassador to India, China could not rule out U.S. interest in the region. Indeed, notes this historian further, China "had a legitimate fear" that America was determined "to undermine the new Communist government" in Peking. So that on 7 October when American troops on the Korean peninsula crossed the 38th Parallel, the Chinese felt compelled to take action on two fronts simultaneously on this same date: they deployed PLA forces in strength in active military support of North Korea, and some 40,000 PLA troops crossed the river Driчу in East Tibet and attacked Tibetan forces there. And hence, adds Shakya, Peking's decision to employ force "was not only aimed at bringing the Tibetans to the negotiating table" at last but "was also an explicit warning to foreign powers"—especially America—"that China was prepared to use military means to find a solution to the Tibet problem and would resist any foreign intervention."³⁸

Meanwhile, capitalizing on their early and quick success in East Tibet over the strong and courageous but too small an army of defenders composed of the warlike Khampas of

Kham, Amdowas of Amdo, and a few contingents of regular Tibetan soldiers,* under the leadership of Kham's Pangdatsang brothers and others, the Chinese Communists now sent another of their armies down from the southern oases of Chinese Turkestan and across the Kunlun into northwestern Tibet. From there the Chinese Army found its way to West Tibet's capital of Gartok and another West Tibetan town, Rudok, both of which were occupied almost immediately, Lhasa never having thought in the least "that this unexplored, allegedly inaccessible frontier could ever be violated by armed invaders." But Communist agents—both Russian and Chinese—had already explored in advance the unknown terrain of the Kunlun mountains in their search for accessible passes that would permit the Chinese to invade directly from Turkestan into West Tibet and thus circumvent "the stratospheric defiles and gorges of the colossal Karakoram" and, significantly, avoid Ladakh's neutral territory. These "secret preparations," writes Amaury de Riencourt, "went unnoticed" totally by Lhasa, and no Tibetan troops were deployed to defend West Tibet, leaving it completely defenseless.³⁹ All in all, by early October of 1950, the Chinese, emboldened by Tibet's "amateurish plan to combat an invasion,"⁴⁰ would attack the Tibetan frontier at six different places simultaneously, causing the first Tibetans to die for their country.⁴¹

With a massive contingent of 250,000 troops, the Chinese had confronted Tibetan defense forces that numbered a mere 8500 men, who, it could obviously be said, were quickly vanquished. In fact, it was almost as though all which the PLA soldiers had to do was to show up with their weapons at the ready, for after but a few skirmishes between the opposing forces, Tibet's outmatched defenders soon thereafter surrendered to overwhelming Chinese power. If ever Mao's famous dictum—"Power grows out of the barrel of a gun"⁴²—rang true, it was borne out quite readily in this instance!

Now it so happened that this particular victory by the PLA had been effected by the most trusted of Chairman Mao's commanders, Minister of Defense Lin Piao, who had planned the entire strategy for the Tibetan invasion. But ironically, the PLA's commander-in-chief General Chu Teh had fixed the precise date of the invasion only after receiving confirmatory reports from Chinese agents in *Kalimpong* that neither India, Nepal or any Western country would come to Tibet's aid. Moreover, these same agents at the hill station had also confirmed that the entire Tibetan Army could muster only 8500 soldiers.⁴³ Already at this early stage in the struggle, Tharchin's hill town was becoming what Indian Prime Minister Nehru would later term "a nest of spies."

* Many of whom—as had their Tibetan predecessors during the Younghusband invasion of 1904—superstitiously believed that amulets, relics of ones' guru lamas, or the telling of their rosary beads would protect them from the enemy's weapons. Writes Dawa Norbu: "There were fantastic stories of how a certain captain, or some gallant Khampa warrior, was bullet-proof. The big guns, tanks, mortars and hand grenades of the Red Chinese could not kill our soldiers. This belief was popular among the Khampas, and many an honest Khampa has since told me about the true incidents he witnessed. [One Khampa] even told me: 'If you have a profound belief in your lama, and wear his relic to protect yourself against weapons, you will never be injured, even when the bullets hit your heart. They will bounce back.' As the world knows, the ... Tibetan army was a mockery when pitted against the ... veteran guerrillas of the Red Army ... The Tibetans believed right up to 1959 that they would be saved by the gods and the Precious Trinity [Buddha, Dharma, Sangha]. But, alas, victory is on the side of the big battalions; and the gods were fast asleep." *Red Star over Tibet*, 104-5.



Some three weeks after the fall of Chamdo and Gartok/Rudok, Peking issued a brief communiqué on 25 October 1950 which announced that units of the PLA “have been ordered to advance [farther] into Tibet to free three million Tibetans from the imperialist oppression and to consolidate national defenses on the western borders of China.”⁴⁴ As subsequent events would demonstrate, the Peking government decided not to carry out this military order—at least for the time being. This decision was due in part to some timely diplomatic maneuvering by the Nehru government which had resulted in convincing the Chinese that for their own self-interest it would be better were they to proceed slowly in their Tibet policies.⁴⁵ But the decision was apparently due in part also to Peking’s understandable desire for a peaceful resolution to the Sino-Tibetan controversy, if at all possible, rather than having to employ costly armed force against “a determined,” possibly “well-equipped guerrilla army in the high, frigid mountains of Tibet” to achieve their objective. As Melvyn Goldstein has further pointed out, such an avoidance “would eliminate the possibility of a lengthy guerrilla war ... and reduce the potential for international intervention.” Indeed, Warren Smith has observed that this tactic of Peking’s in halting the PLA’s advance at what the Chinese Communists defined as the border of “Tibet” and “calling on the Tibetans to ‘negotiate’” had the effect of “defusing much international criticism of China’s actions.”⁴⁶

Ergo, it is believed, as was noted a few pages earlier, that Mao’s government opted for a strategy of marking time for a short period so as to allow the implications of its order to the PLA, if carried out, to sink in thoroughly in the thinking of the Tibetan leadership: a strategy which Peking hoped would serve to prod Lhasa into sending to the Chinese capital without further delaying tactics the long-demanded emissaries for negotiating a peaceful settlement. Counting heavily on both dread of the PLA and the Tibetan pacifistic mindset that preferred peace over violence at almost any cost, the Chinese Communists had apparently read the Tibetan leadership’s psyche correctly; for Lhasa not long afterwards would dispatch the Dalai Lama’s diplomatic delegation to Peking. This strategy thus achieved the first step in Mao’s great desire for a political settlement rather than simply conquering Tibet militarily which would have been a relatively easy thing for his PLA to do. Garnering a political settlement approved by the Dalai Lama, notes Goldstein further, would legitimize China’s claim to Tibet “by having the Dalai Lama accept Chinese sovereignty and work with the PRC [People’s Republic of China] to gradually reform Tibet’s feudal economy.”⁴⁷



Back in the Tibetan capital, meanwhile, and now thoroughly alarmed by these ominous October events, especially after word came that “a two-pronged armed expedition” not only had been marching on Gartok but was even intent on marching all the way to Shigatse, Tibet’s government leaders, in the words of Riencourt, felt “impelled to take drastic steps.”

These leaders, who—"with their strange combination of innocence and extreme sophistication"—had heretofore been "unable to discern the dimensions of the oncoming threat,"⁴⁸ immediately consulted the Nechung Oracle, and even a second State Oracle, the Gadong. As Tsering Shakya has observed, it was obvious that various officials in the Lhasa government "did not know how they should respond to the invasion." Some factions were in favor of total war with the Chinese while others believed a settlement by negotiation should be pursued. "One thing was clear," explained the historian: "no one was willing to take charge." By consulting State Oracles at times of crisis decision-making, it would ensure that "neither the Kashag nor individuals" would be "held directly responsible for unpopular or dangerous decisions."⁴⁹

Now the Nechung Oracle was one of the most important figures in all of Buddhist-Shamanist Tibet, whose task had always been "to connect the Government with the occult."⁵⁰ This action would probably not have been necessary had all the leaders in the Tibetan government heeded the prophetic words of the late Dalai Lama and taken bold and strong measures to stem the tide of reactionary monastic and aristocratic conservatism, complacency and even wishful thinking *vis-à-vis* the outside world during the 1930s and '40s. Had they done so, one current researcher on Tibet believes, "the great mountain ranges might have saved them or gained them valuable time in which to attract international support for their cause. But it was not to be."⁵¹ Lamentably, today's Dalai Lama has remarked, "it was almost like everyone went to sleep after he [the Great Thirteenth] passed away."⁵² In the end, the Tibetan government could turn to but one source left to them for securing wisdom and guidance in the gathering crisis: they sought out the occult Nechung Seer.

This chief State Oracle or Medium was named after the terraced Monastery of Nechung situated just below the much larger and far more grandiose Drepung Monastery only a few miles outside the Tibetan capital to the west. It had for centuries been the residence of "the greatest mystery of Tibet," where was "made manifest the presence of a protective deity whose secret oracle" guided the destinies of Tibet and was "consulted" by the Government prior to any important decision being taken.⁵³ Born Lobsang Jigme in 1930 at Lhasa, the future Oracle entered the Nechung Monastery in 1936; and only after receiving a direct vision of the Dharmapala (Nechung) at the age of fifteen was he confirmed by the Tibetan government to be the Medium of Nechung later the same year (1945). He was therefore the first among the monks of the Monastery to become a medium of the Nechung Oracle, all other previous mediums of Nechung having come from outside the Monastery itself, the Medium not being an inherited tradition but always "falling on fortunate ones having the right karmic connections." From 1945 onward, Lobsang Jigme would even serve as the

* Heinrich Harrer, *Seven Years in Tibet*, 114. For an interesting discussion of the Nechung Oracle and a fascinating description of a trance performance by the Oracle witnessed by Harrer during a consultation with the former by Government and religious leaders, see *ibid.*, 173-6. Harrer notes that the consultation with oracles is derived from pre-Buddhistic times when the gods demanded human sacrifices, and it was believed that the ritual had continued almost unchanged since those earlier days. Although there were many oracles in Tibet, the Nechung Medium was the principal one propitiated by the Tibetan government. See the end-note indicated in the Text above for a further discussion concerning Tibet's oracles.

Abbot of Nechung Monastery and would later escape to India with four elder monks of the Monastery.*⁵⁴

But before his exile south would prove necessary a decade later, the Nechung Oracle would in the present crisis direct that temporal power should now be assumed by the fifteen-year-old Dalai Lama, even though there were three years left to his minority. Shakya has reported the remarkable interaction which had occurred even earlier between the highest Government officials and the Gadong State Seer. The latter had been asked specifically: "What course of action, violent or non-violent, should be adopted in order to protect and perpetuate the religious and political system of Tibet? And who should bear the responsibility for the political and religious system of Tibet?" But because Gadong was unclear in his response, and just as the Oracle was about to emerge from his trance possession, Government officials sought further clarification by declaring: "At this critical stage in the history of Tibet, when the very survival of Tibet's religion and polity is in danger, we are hampered by our ignorance. You are the protector of the Dharma and all-knowing. You must give a clear prophecy." To which the occult medium this time gave a much clearer pronouncement: "If the All-Knowing and All-Seeing Guru [i.e., the 14th Dalai Lama] assumes responsibility for the religious and political system, then the Dharma, Tibet and all beings would benefit." Nechung, when also inquired of, had come forth with the same pronouncement. No one in Tibet envied the teen-aged King of Tibet for the responsibilities which would now devolve upon him. The young Dalai Lama would later acknowledge his inward reaction when requested by the Tsongdu Assembly to assume full powers of state: "... I saw that at such a serious moment in our history, I could not refuse my responsibilities. I had to shoulder them, put my boyhood behind me and immediately prepare myself to lead my country, as well as I was able, against the vast power of Communist China." But he had gone on to say the following: "So I accepted, with trepidation."⁵⁵

Even with this done, however, there was little the Boy-King could do to stave off the inevitable; so that in the face of the increasingly adverse situation in the Tibetan capital, the Dalai Lama was advised by his closest Ministers—in consulting again with the State Oracle, who as usual had the last word—to leave Lhasa. For it was greatly feared that were he to fall into the hands of the Chinese, they would doubtless make harmful political capital out of his spiritual and now temporal authority.

According to Heinrich Harrer (who was in Lhasa at the time), this decision to flee the capital was determined in the following manner:

... in the presence of the Dalai Lama and the Regent two balls of kneaded *tsampa* were made, and after being tested on a pair of gold scales to ensure they were of exactly the

* He would be greatly responsible in re-establishing the tradition of the Nechung Monastery and in successfully completing the rebuilding of a new majestic monastery at Dharamsala (in NW India). The Ven. Lobsang Jigme passed away on 26 April 1984 after nearly 40 years as the State Oracle of Tibet. See Tashi Tsering, "Nechung Medium Passes Away," *TR* (May 1984):5-6, which is also the source for the information and quote in the Text above dealing with the Nechung's biography. See also, from a Christian perspective, the unusual encounter with this very same State Oracle which has been described by Gergan Tharchin's very close friend and Christian colleague in the work among Tibetans at Kalimpong, missionary Dorothy Christianson, who served there for some 25 years, beginning in 1950. Her remarkable account, published in 1988, can be found at this point in the end-notes to the present chapter.

same weight, they were put in a golden basin. Each of these balls had rolled up inside it a slip of paper: on one of these was written the word “yes,” and on the other “no.” Meanwhile the [Nechung] State Oracle had hypnotized himself and was performing his dance. The basin was placed in his hands and he rotated it with ever-increasing speed until one of the balls jumped out and fell on the ground. When it was opened, it was found to contain the “yes” paper, and so it was decided that the Dalai Lama should leave Lhasa.⁵⁶

On December the 16th, therefore, His Holiness was compelled—in obedience to the venerated State Oracle—to leave the “Habitation of the Gods” and go down to Yatung in the Chumbi Valley of southern Tibet.⁵⁷ Dressed as a commoner, and accompanied by his two tutors and his Cabinet officials, the young Dalai Lama slipped out of the Tibetan capital in the dead of night not knowing what destiny held out for him. Ironically, just as the Great Thirteenth had been protected from the Chinese by Tsarong II in a similar flight south out of Lhasa forty years earlier, so his successor on the Lion Throne would today be protected by this same Great Hero of Tibet, and under equally crisis circumstances.⁵⁸ Indeed, this protector of Tibet’s Dalai Lamas would never waver in his devotion to the current occupant of the country’s Throne so long as he had the breath of life left to him. One day in 1958, for example, while on a visit down to Darjeeling with his younger son, Tsarong was heard to say the following to the Dalai Lama’s elder brother Gyalo Dhondup in response to the latter’s attempt to persuade him to remain in India: “My long life has given me all that man can hope for in this world. I now feel that my final day is near and I don’t want it to come upon me in a foreign country whilst the Dalai Lama is in Lhasa. Whatever life I have left belongs to him [for he] personifies the now suffering Tibetan nation whose very existence is threatened.” Abdul Wahid Radhu, who was present and heard Tsarong utter these words, noted that Tibet’s Great Hero dutifully did what he professed, returning shortly afterwards to the Tibetan capital where, wrote Radhu, “he was to accomplish his destiny.”⁵⁹



That the Dalai Lama had himself become fully convinced of the line of argument taken by his Ministers is evident from what happened as he and his caravan were making their way a day’s journey out from Lhasa. News of his flight southward spread rapidly everywhere, and even before the day’s end thousands of monks came en masse to meet their “god-king.” “They flung themselves before the horses’ hooves and begged me not to leave them,” His Holiness recalled, “and cried that if I went away they would be left without a leader, at the mercy of the Chinese.” None of the officials with the Dalai Lama appeared to know what to do to get the crowds to disperse; but just when it seemed the caravan might not be able to continue its journey, the young Tibetan ruler took control of the situation himself, calmly explaining to the distraught crowd of monks that “he could do more for his countrymen if he did not fall into the hands of the enemy and that he would return as soon as an agreement with them had been reached.” And with that reassuring word from their sovereign,

“the sea of red robes parted, permitting the caravan to proceed.”⁶⁰

One Tibetan, who as a young girl had been living at Lhasa during this critical period, gives anguished testimony concerning the reaction of her fellow Tibetans to the Dalai Lama's departure from the capital:

Without him they felt like a family that had lost its father, a frightened people who had no one to guide them and intercede on their behalf with the gods. There were many suicides in those unhappy days, but all who thought clearly realized that the alternative was worse. If the Dalai Lama were captured by the Chinese, it would be a disaster, for it would eliminate any faint chance that we had for an honorable settlement.⁶¹

Before the Tibetan “god-king” departed his capital, however, he engaged himself in two ancient rituals that were full of dramatic import. Late in the evening prior to the date set for leaving, the high officials who were to accompany the young ruler gathered together with him at the Potala. Here, drinking in somber silence, they all had a final cup of butter tea, then “left their cups standing refilled in symbolic anticipation of a speedy return.” At about 2:00 the next morning the Royal party commenced its journey south but not without stopping briefly at the Norbu Lingka's Mahakala Temple to allow the Priest-Sovereign of Tibet to offer a khata in a symbolic gesture of farewell.⁶² With this done, the official party was off to Yatung, carrying in a litter the seriously ill older brother of the Dalai Lama, Lobsang Samden. The rest of his family had preceded him by several weeks. On this day, though, Cabinet Ministers and other high-ranking officials all accompanied the Dalai Lama to the Chumbi Valley. There the Tibetan Priest-King would take up residence at the Dungkhar Monastery situated high up on a mountainside nearby to the town of Yatung.⁶³ Here he and members of his entourage would remain for many months contemplating what their reactions should be to the plethora of international events which would vitally affect the future of Tibet and her people.

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During this critical period for the young Tibetan ruler and his Government ministers it was always the intention and desire of the *Tibet Mirror* publisher to visit Dungkhar and pay his respects to the Dalai Lama, whom he had last seen over ten years ago at Lhasa. In the intervening time His Holiness had continued his avid reading of Tharchin's newspaper, attempting by this and other sources of information to keep abreast of events both inside and outside his domain. “As for the Dalai Lama,” wrote the Babu on 19 February 1951, “I am planning to go to Yatung soon and pay my respects to His Holiness.... Just two weeks ago I received a very nice letter from the Dalai Lama and he is very pleased with my newspaper....” In fact, enclosed with the letter, he added, “I received Rs. 300/- as a present [for my paper] and that was a great help to me. I praise the Lord for His wonderful ways and I trust in Him further.”

Unfortunately, various personal difficulties arose, preventing Tharchin from ever fulfilling his great desire to visit Yatung while His Holiness was there. Writing in mid-July to the same recipient of his previous letter of February, the Babu would acknowledge his keen disappointment: "I am so sorry as I failed to go to Yatung to pay my respects to the Dalai Lama. Lately my health was not good, as well as my wife's was not yet so strong after her long illness [which had begun the previous November].... We do not know what is going to happen for the Dalai Lama, [for] it is said that he is very keen to leave Tibet and come down to India, but some of the high Lamas are advising him that it is better not to go but to return to Lhasa. We are not sure what he will decide.... We are all praying for him that his life may be safe."⁶⁴



By this time, of course, and even a year or so earlier, the Tibetan leadership at Lhasa had hesitantly but reluctantly begun to seek publicity for the country's growing troubled situation, having gradually become aware that outside opinion of their land and people really did matter, after all. The thinking of the Tibetan government at this period comes through most clearly in what the last British official to have been invited to the Tibetan capital could report in January 1950. J. E. Reid, an electrical engineer from India, made it known that "the Tibetan government had suddenly awakened to the reality of the dangers which threatened it and is now regretting its past policy of keeping aloof from outside contact." The Tibetans, he added, "were now anxious that full world publicity should be given to their plight and to the country itself."⁶⁵

The Tibetans were particularly anxious to secure diplomatic recognition as an independent nation from Great Britain and from their newly-independent neighbor to the south, India. Implicit in this desire for international recognition was the Tibetan government's keen interest in applying successfully for membership to the recently established United Nations Organization (UNO) as an independent state. If Lhasa could secure diplomatic recognition from both Britain and India, such acquisition, Lhasa believed, would go a long way in garnering the coveted UN membership. Interestingly, during this very period the *Tibet Mirror* included in its issues quite a few articles on Tibet and the UNO written by the paper's Editor himself. A friend of the Babu's, the prominent Tibetan trader in Kalimpong, Tashi Dorje, recalled how in these articles Tharchin had put forth the cogent argument that if neighboring Nepal, so recently opened to the West, had been granted UN membership, why not Tibet?⁶⁶

Regretfully for Lhasa, she would be unable to achieve any backing from either Britain or India. With respect to the latter, instead of recognizing *Tibet*, Independent India had quickly recognized the newly-triumphant Communist Chinese regime which was now ensconced in Peking. This precipitate action India had taken in January 1950, impelled to do so as that Government was by Prime Minister Nehru's idealism which had produced in him, in the words of British historian Alex McKay, "a naïve view of Communist Chinese intentions and policies." (Interestingly, given the fact that Mao anxiously desired the international

community's immediate recognition of his Communist regime at Peking, there were some officials both in Britain's Foreign Office and in the British Commonwealth Relations Office who had suggested, several months prior to Delhi's actual recognition of Mao's government, that India should make her recognition of the People's Republic of China conditional on the latter's guarantee of Tibet's autonomy; and even though Tibet would have immediately lost her *de facto* independent status, every objective observer at the time—whether inside or outside Tibet—was compelled to acknowledge that because of the then current international political situation she was bound to lose it anyway, no matter how the Lhasa-Peking dispute was eventually going to be settled. Such conditional recognition was the least that could have been done by India, then currently in a very good position to bargain with Peking on this point. And if successful, this would well-nigh have assured a peaceful resolution to the dispute, at least for the time being, thus avoiding the dreaded invasion of Tibet by the PLA.) And as for Britain, notes McKay, her diplomatic recognition of Tibet's independence "would have been an action of great significance to its future." He went on to observe that such recognition could have been granted in 1949-50, "when Anglo-Chinese relations were already poor" anyway. "It was a gesture," he added, which London should have made but refused to do, leaving Tibet "with an ambiguous status in international law" and providing all other nations in the world an example of indifference to follow.⁶⁷ Indeed, as Tibet historian Warren Smith has perceptively remarked: "China's constantly reiterated claim that Tibet was part of Chinese territory, even when Chinese authority had ceased to exist in virtually all of Tibet except Amdo, was effectively contradicted neither by Britain nor by Tibet and was therefore accepted as fact by the international community."⁶⁸



Left desperate by the discouraging diplomatic rejection of its repeated request for support which emanated from the two supposedly closest friends of the Snowy Land, the Tibetan government now presented several petitions to the UNO requesting intervention by that international body, but few took any practical interest in saving this isolated nation from the Communist aggression. Far worse, the delegates from Nationalist China on the island of Taiwan (Formosa) and from the Soviet Union—both countries having veto power in the UN's Security Council—incorrectly claimed that Tibet was part of China and therefore the issue was an internal affair of the Chinese with the United Nations having no jurisdiction to intervene. Interestingly enough, Nationalist China's UN delegate attempted to have it both ways, declaring first that "Tibet had been a part of China for 700 years and all Chinese, whatever their party or religion, regarded it as such"—thus seeking to safeguard the Nationalists' own position *vis-à-vis* Tibet for the future. But, then, he condemned the Communist invasion of Tibet because it would lead to a "heritage of hatred between the Tibetan branch and the other branches of the Chinese family."⁶⁹ On the other hand, the British delegate lamely said that the legal status of Tibet was unclear, even seeming to suggest that despite the thirty-eight years with no Chinese in Tibet, the latter might still be

legally subject to China's suzerainty.*⁷⁰ But then, too, the Indian representative's attitude was not that much better, it leaving the Tibetans extremely disappointed. Even though, like the British administration before it, Delhi was ready to recognize some sort of general Chinese suzerainty over Tibet, the Indian government at least had the courage to point out that "Tibetan autonomy is a fact."⁷¹ Nevertheless, that country's delegation to the international body on the one hand expressed belief that the issue could be settled by negotiation and still preserve Tibet's autonomy⁷⁰ but on the other hand meekly let it be known through its UNO representative that the best way to ensure this was to drop the idea of discussing the issue in the UNO's General Assembly! The consequence was that the inclusion of the Tibetan appeal on the UNO's General Assembly agenda was unanimously postponed by that organization's General Committee and thus no action taken whatsoever.

If ever evidence were needed to demonstrate just how isolated from the international community the Closed Land stood at this critical hour, this action by the UNO clearly provided it. Upon hearing the news the Dalai Lama termed it a "grievous blow" which filled him and his Government officials "with consternation." "We had put our faith in the United Nations as a source of justice," he added, and "were astonished that it was on the British initiative that the question had been shelved."^{71a} To quote Alex McKay, "it was Tibet's misfortune that, having been released from the influence of a fundamentally benign imperial power, she was [now to be left to the mercy of] a ruthless and barbaric imperialist dictatorship, whose exploitation and oppression of Tibet and its people still continue."^{71b}

It should be stated here in passing that India was later to rue the day that she ever took an early position of an implied *de facto* and subsequently a clear-cut *de jure* recognition of

* In sharp contrast to this British diplomat's statement was that of another and more knowledgeable Government official, and issued just five years earlier. Published in 1945 in an official British Government of India publication on Anglo-Tibetan relations over the decades, Hugh Richardson, soon to be the representative of the British government in Lhasa, indicated the broad aims of British policy towards Tibet. And the very first of these aims, he wrote, was "to help Tibet to remain independent," and went on to declare: "We recognize and foster unostentatiously Tibet's *de facto* independence by dealing directly with the Tibetan government to whom we refer all attempts by the Chinese government to deal with us to the exclusion of the Tibetans." *Tibetan Precis.* 82.

Two years later, "after India achieved independence in 1947 ... , Richardson," writes Paul Ingram, "was instructed to assure the Tibetan government that HM government would continue to take a friendly interest in the welfare and autonomy of their country." *Tibet: the Facts*, 340. What therefore the British did three years later at the UNO is even more incredible—even shameful—when one realizes what took place in the British Parliament that year prior to the obsequious conduct of Britain in the UN's General Assembly debate over Tibet. For speaking in Parliament on 6 November 1950, a member of the British Foreign Office, Ernest Davies, not only recalled the assurance which Richardson had tendered the Tibetan government in 1947 but had then gone on as well to describe "Tibetan autonomy since 1911 as amounting to *de facto* independence"! *Ibid.*

Richardson, in his work cited by Ingram that is entitled *A Short History of Tibet* (New York, 1962), presents a succinct analysis of these events on pages 183-9. In referencing these events by the British, Ingram, Secretary of the Scientific Buddhist Association, a London-based impartial, non-political human rights organization later known as OPTIMUS, offered this comment as chief author of the SBA Report submitted to the UN Commission on Human Rights: "What many people regard with surprise is the fact that it was a policy of Appeasement, similar to that followed in its relations with Nazi Germany in the 1930s, which resulted in Britain effectively handing Tibet over to China at the UN in 1950, despite former close links and a *de facto* recognition of Tibetan independence ..." *Tibet: the Facts*, 141. Apparently, Britain never learned the obvious lesson from her recent most painful history and was therefore bound to repeat it.

Tibet as constituting an integral territorial region of the Chinese People's Republic. This "slippery slope" gradualism in formalizing India's policy towards her northern Himalayan neighbor over the next few years was plainly enunciated by an official of Nehru's government on 30 May 1951. This was but a week following the signing at Peking of the infamous so-called Agreement between Tibet and China which would establish the legal basis of Chinese Communist rule in Tibet (see a few pages hence for the details). In speaking with Counselor Steere, an American Embassy officer at New Delhi, India's Ministry of External Affairs Secretary General, Sir G. S. Bajpai, declared the following with regard to the thinking of the then Government of India (GOI) on Tibet:

India is the heir to British policy which had sought [to] achieve a buffer State in Tibet against Russia and China. The GOI, however, is not disposed [to] create or support buffer States [and the] GOI recognizes that throughout the centuries Chinese influence and control in Tibet had fluctuated with the strength of the regime in power. Weak Chinese governments lost nearly all influence, strong governments regained it. [In the final analysis] it was inevitable that the present Chinese government should gain control of Tibet, and there was nothing that the GOI could do about it.^{71c}

Apprised of this candid declaration, the American Ambassador at New Delhi, Loy Henderson, was moved to term this attitude by India towards Tibet as one of "philosophic acquiescence," the consequence of which would be officially enshrined in the Indo-Chinese *Panch Sheel* ("Five Principles") accord of 1954 that now granted Indian recognition of China's unambiguous sovereignty over Tibet.

However, there would be another—and for India, a most grievous—consequence of this "philosophic acquiescence." For within but a few years India found herself having to cope almost continually with innumerable Chinese Communist incursions on her border areas and ultimately with outright war that broke out between the two nations in October 1962 which resulted in a stinging defeat for India. Following on the heels of this humiliating defeat, Nehru, having finally come to his senses, though far and away too late, is reported to have said: "We have been living in a fool's paradise of our own making."⁷² Even so, Nehru would have been far more honest and forthright to have employed the first person *singular* in his belated admission, since it was largely he who had designed India's tragically failed policy on Tibet.

Indeed, in 1950-51 considerable opposition had developed within Nehru's Cabinet, the Foreign Office and Parliament over the Prime Minister's China policy and his handling of Tibet. Several key officials in the Indian government had even urged Nehru to proceed slowly in recognizing the People's Republic of China. And with respect to his policy on Tibet, when it came up for debate for the first time in Parliament in December 1950, Nehru's handling of the Tibet issue came under strong attack not only from leaders of the Opposition but also from several prominent members of his own Congress Party. Typical of the contrary views expressed were those made by the following members of Lok Sabha, India's lower house of Parliament. Congress Party front-bencher N. G. Ranga, for one, referred to "the millions of [Chinese] people pouring into Korea" and rhetorically inquired: "Is it possible for those people, under more or less similar circumstances, to pour into India, too" from Tibet?

For another, S. P. Mukherjee warned the Prime Minister that once ensconced in Tibet the Chinese would keep all border territory which they deemed to be their own. On the other hand, Opposition leader M. R. Masani declared that Mao's revolution in China "had cut Asia into two—Communist and non Communist: those of us who are not prepared to go all the way with the Chinese must fall on the other side of the fence." While Congress member M. A. Ayyangar, later to become Speaker of the Lok Sabha, asserted the following: "As against the 450 million Chinese, if we with our 350 million had armed ourselves and were ready for an offensive, China would not have ventured on Tibet."⁷³

Nor did the Indian Prime Minister have any room to plead that his advisers had misled him. For it has come to light that "many Indian statesmen" had warned him early on concerning the dangers of allowing the Chinese to extend their influence into every part of Tibet. "In particular," reports Paul Ingram, "Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, first Home Minister as well as India's Deputy Prime Minister, and *very* close friend to Nehru, it might be added, "wrote a long letter to Nehru pointing out the danger to India's long and largely undefended border." The date of the letter: 7 November 1950, exactly one month following China's initial incursions into Tibet's eastern and western sectors.⁷⁴

Others over time since 1950 had also passed on warnings to various Indian government officials of an impending disaster in Tibet, but such warnings were met with an inflexible mindset that was opposed to doing anything remotely helpful which might have assisted in countering the dark drift of events within the borders of India's northern Himalayan neighbor: not even a willingness by these officials to at least convey to their government superiors the substance of these warnings. A. W. Radhu, for example, upon returning to India in late 1953 after a two-year stay on business in the Tibetan capital, was shocked at the totally negative response he encountered from officials. Radhu, a Ladakhi Moslem trader well known by this time in the Darjeeling District of West Bengal, could later relate the following, eager had he been to go immediately to Calcutta and make contact there with the Indian administration about the deteriorating situation in Tibet at the hands of the Chinese Communists. In Sikkim and at the Teesta (Tista) Bridge on his way south, however, he met with helpless reaction to what he had to report. Wrote Radhu later:

[At Gangtok] I met a highly placed Indian official, native of Sikkim, Mr. Lhatsering, head of the regional information [i.e., Intelligence] service [see the next chapter for more about this official and his relationship with Gergan Tharchin]. He told me frankly that his Government had a very staunch stance toward the Tibet question and was not much in agreement with my own view of the facts, so that he didn't consider it worthwhile to transmit what I had to say to his superiors.

I also sent a note to friends I had in the police service in Kalimpong, in particular Mr. [N. N.] Namshu [a close friend, incidentally, of Tharchin's] who gave me a rendezvous on the Tista Bridge on the road between that city and Gangtok. He listened to me attentively but also in a troubled way because the current politics of India directly contradicted the picture I made of the situation in Lhasa as well as for the dark perspectives of the future that I foresaw for Tibet.⁷⁵

It was obvious that by this time Nehru's thinking and approach to "the Tibet question" had already seeped down and had exerted its desired effect on the minds of officials in the

Indian government situated outside Delhi who themselves might have wanted to take some action but felt it futile to do so. Consequently, Radhu saw that it was useless to pursue the matter further.

Unfortunately, Nehru, writes Ingram, though understandably sympathetic with regard to China's sufferings in the past at the hands of various colonial powers (even as India herself had suffered), had nonetheless allowed this sympathy to "blind him to the expansionist designs of a renascent China whose Marxist ideology had somehow become interwoven with a determination to achieve the territorial ambitions of ancient dynasties."⁷⁶ In fact, as one of India's most astute political scientists has pointed out, Nehru's concern, by his own admission, "was not with Chinese *communism* but with [an expansionist drive of] resurgent Chinese *nationalism*, [about] which, as a student of history, he had noticed an imperial imperative."⁷⁷ This observation of Bhabani Sen Gupta's has been borne out by B. N. Mullik, Nehru's Director of the Central Intelligence Bureau, in his book of political memoirs, *My Years with Nehru: the Chinese Betrayal* (New Delhi, 1971). On page 84 he writes: "Pandit Nehru was never blind to China's imperialist ambitions ... In various talks he had stressed that the Chinese leaders were goaded by their extremely nationalistic and imperialist tendencies and Communism was only a cloak under cover of which they were trying to further their nationalistic ambitions [in Tibet and elsewhere]." Moreover, shortly after the Communists had come to power in China, Nehru happened to be in Srinagar, capital of Kashmir, where he had occasion to address a gathering of Indian Army officers. In his address he clearly expressed what this event in China portended for the world and for India. The "Chinese revolution," declared the Prime Minister, "has upset the balance of power and ... the center of gravity had [now] shifted from Europe to Asia, thereby directly affecting India."⁷⁸

All this being the case, Nehru was woefully derelict in not having acted upon these keen insights of his into China's imperial pretensions and her new world position by actively pursuing a consistent policy of containment rather than accommodation and appeasement towards this East Asian giant when it came to the latter's aggressive designs on Tibet. As Tibetan historian Shakya has observed, "practical considerations" for India's own self-interest meant that Nehru "should [have] at least provide[d] some form of aid to Tibet so that she could resist the Chinese penetration." But "his natural inclination was to avoid any ... confrontation with China, another Asian country that had suffered under [Western] imperialism."⁷⁹

Interestingly, during the ensuing months and years since India's early position on the matter of Tibet the brave little editor from Poo, Gergan Tharchin, made no secret of his displeasure with the Indian government's actions and more particularly with the foreign policy decisions of Prime Minister Nehru (for whom he otherwise had great respect). In a long interview held just a few months before Tharchin Babu's death, Dawa Norbu, the then editor-in-chief of the *Tibetan Review*, asked the Kalimpong publisher what he had felt about India's Tibet policy in those long-ago days. To which the still clearheaded founder-editor of the *Tibet Mirror*, now an elderly man of eighty-five, responded with great feeling:

When India recognized Tibet as "part of China," I strongly protested and wrote that Tibet has never been a part of China. I said that when a petty man makes a mistake, it

is a petty mistake. But when a great man like Nehru makes a mistake, it is a *great* mistake. A majority of Indian leaders now admit, at least in private, that India made a great blunder in recognizing Tibet as part of China. Even Nehru in his later years realized his error, but it was then very difficult to reverse a historic mistake. However, I hope India will gradually change her policy towards Tibet. Sir Charles Bell, whom I knew well, wrote in his books what would happen if China was allowed to occupy Tibet. Support for Tibet's independence is no act of charity. It is in India's interest.⁸⁰

The events of subsequent years since those earlier days of the 1950s have proven Gergan Tharchin to have been quite correct in his critical judgments.



Leaving aside, however, the pointing of fingers of blame at the international community—especially at Independent India and Great Britain—for failing to support Tibet's legitimate claims of autonomy and independence, the Roof of the World and her government must shoulder a far greater share of responsibility for the monstrous disaster which befell her country and people during the critical decade of the mid-twentieth century. As Tibetan historian K. Dhondup has written, "It was one of the darkest periods in Tibetan history, when corruption at every level was rampant and an undercurrent of tension and rapid deterioration in social and moral standards was gradually sweeping across Lhasa."⁸¹ From his lengthy review and study of the literature on Tibet's more recent history, the present author is compelled to agree totally with what is one of the earliest and certainly one of the severest indictments by a *Tibetan* of his country's complicity in her national tragedy.

In a book that combines autobiography and social criticism of the most engaging kind and published a generation after Red China's initial aggression against Tibet, the late Dawa Norbu devoted several pages to an analysis of "who or what was to blame" for his country's failure to take advantage of the "golden opportunity" she had between 1912 and 1950 to "make herself independent *de jure* as well as *de facto*" in the eyes of the world. If during this period, as Norbu has pointed out, the West was preoccupied with two world wars and China was too absorbed in her civil war between the Nationalists and Communists, then why did not Tibet exploit this situation to the full by establishing international relations with outside powers which would have effectively buttressed her claim to *de jure* as well as *de facto* independence and which would have resulted in the critically needed recognition by those outside powers? She had nearly forty years at her disposal; was this not "surely, ample time" in which to have done so, asked Norbu. As it was, he lamented, her last-minute efforts to do so were too little and too late. Why, then, such failure, indeed?*

* Apropos of this, Melvyn Goldstein has recorded what Prime Minister Nehru had bluntly told the Tibetan Mission on 8 September 1950 at Delhi on the eve of China's invasion of Tibet: "... The Chinese believe Tibet is a part of China. Tibet thinks that because China didn't accept Simla [the Simla Convention, 1914], it is independent; but at that time Tibet did not make any clear decisions. That was a mistake. And later, when you had the time and the opportunity to do something [about "independence"] you did nothing and that was a mistake. During this time China has been very clever and has proclaimed widely in the international community that Tibet is a part of China." Quoted in Goldstein, *History of Modern Tibet—Volume 2*, 45.

This younger generation Tibetan singled out three prime causes for the debacle, illustrating each most tellingly. First was the utter simplicity, complete innocence, and ignorance of the generality of the Tibetan populace—much of it due, Norbu could have legitimately added, to the misguided and unprogressive policies of the country's leadership: both cleric and lay. The extremely progressive (by Tibetan standards of the time) thirteenth Dalai Lama had benefited much from the experiences he had encountered during his two lengthy periods of exile abroad. In fact, he made every possible effort to open up his country to the outside world following the restoration of Tibet's independence in 1912. Nevertheless, Norbu observed, "his small steps seemed giant strides to the unworldly Tibetans." A case in point was the proposed plan to construct a road from the Indo-Tibetan frontier up to Lhasa via the important towns of Phari, Gyantse and Shigatse. Soon, though, the inhabitants along the proposed route commenced appealing to the Government to cancel the plan immediately, contending that if vehicles replaced beasts of burden, the tax-paying families would be unable to meet their tax obligations. The result: the Government was left powerless to effect the plan. Had the road been built, however, a vital artery would have been available to a new Tibet.

But a second prime cause for the Tibetan disaster was the fanaticism of the lamas who, believed Norbu, were no less ignorant than the Tibetan masses. As an example of this, he cited the incredible power wielded by the monks which in the end compelled the Tibetan government to close down so soon after their opening the two English primary schools that had been established, one at Gyantse in the 1920s and a later one at Lhasa (see again Volume II, Chapter 14 and its end-notes for the details). Norbu went on to explain that the rationale used by the fanatically conservative lamas, which had artfully been fed to them by Chinese spies residing at the Lhasa monasteries, was "that any Western influence (presumably Christianity) would be detrimental to the Buddhist *Dharma*." So obsessed with their Buddhist faith were these ecclesiastics that they were oblivious of the fact that their every action was an apparently unconscious attempt "to preserve the status quo and perpetuate their privileged order." As a matter of fact, added Norbu, it was their sincere belief that no matter what they did, it "was right and in the interest of Lamaism—the Tibetan national aspiration." And as a consequence, it was the high ecclesiastics amongst the vast monkish community at Lhasa who, as the arch-reactionary members of the Tibetan government, were ultimately triumphant over the developing progressive wing in a "cold war" which had broken out and had remained constant for decades thereafter between these two elements for supremacy in the leadership and direction of the Government. It was Dawa Norbu's contention that "the reactionaries triumphed because they claimed to be the vanguard of Lamaism." It therefore became the stubborn belief of the Tibetan government during the first half of the twentieth century, dominated as it had become by such an unreformist element within its ranks, that "its basic duty was to work for the collective Buddhahood of Tibetans." This stubborn stance, it may be asserted, turned out to have had precisely the opposite effect: it wrought upon the entire Tibetan populace a collective bad karma.

Yet "above all," declared Norbu, it was the aristocratic element of Tibetan society—"and specifically the government officials" among them—who must bear the chief blame

for the tragedy which befell the Roof of the World. “Indifferent to their duty, they indulged in petty political squabbles and loose living.”**⁸² An all too typical but tragic instance of this lamentable conduct was what happened when the news reached the Tibetan capital about the fall of the entire Chamdo garrison to the invading Chinese Red army in October of 1950. For it is said that when the messenger attempted to deliver the urgent communication, he learned that the relevant officials were preoccupied with playing mahjong and could not be disturbed. Indeed, he was instructed to wait until they had concluded their game!⁸³

But in what is perhaps the most searing indictment ever penned by a Tibetan about Tibetans and their entire socio-political and -religious polity, Dawa Norbu, after singling out for special mention two would-be Tibetan reformers—Tsipon Lungshar and Gedun Chopel—concluded his critical analysis as to the reasons for Tibet’s monumental fiasco with the following lament that is nothing short of a confession of colossal national failure:

I do not say that Lungshar or Gyedun Choepal could have saved Tibet. However, I would assert that we Tibetans were responsible for our tragedy to a large extent. It would be unfair to condemn individual lamas, individual monasteries or individual aristocrats. The whole system was rotten to the core, and could not withstand twentieth-century pressures. It was ready to fall, and it fell disastrously.

... Tibet’s self-sufficiency as a nation in every conceivable way never ceases to be a source of pride for me. She had her own scheme of values, her own institutions, and other marks of a highly sophisticated civilization. [Yet] the Tibetans were so deeply entrenched in these values that they were unwilling to exchange them for any better, and clung to the old at all costs. This is the heart of our national tragedy.⁸⁴



With a totally negative national legacy like this handed to him, what could the young Dalai Lama and his weak-willed government do but be carried along, willy-nilly, by events which by this time were entirely beyond their control. It was therefore considered and subsequently decided by the new “god-king” and his advisers to accept reluctantly the request of the Chinese and send to China’s capital a delegation, “in the hope,” said His Holiness, “of making an honorable treaty.”⁸⁵ The head of the delegation, Ngabo Ngawang Jigme, who at the time was Governor of Kham holding the rank of *Shape*, had been taken prisoner in East Tibet by the invading Chinese People’s Liberation Army.⁸⁶ The Tibetan government only agreed to open negotiations with the Chinese on the firm condition that the latter’s armies would not advance any farther into Tibet.

* “The Tibetan aristocrats used to eat the best food and wear their best costumes when they met together, *in a contest of riches*. It was an expensive custom for the commoners, who had to give food and drink to their superior friends on such occasions.... Well before Communist influence reached Tibet, the ordinary Tibetan regarded the aristocracy as social parasites; he knew that the wealth of the nobility was the fruit of his sweat and toil.” Norbu, *Red Star over Tibet*, 161, 167 (emphasis added). For additional—even harsh—critical remarks about the Tibetan aristocrats expressed by others, including those by Tharchin, see the end-note indicated at this point in the Text above.

Actually, the Tibetan delegates at Peking were presented with an already drafted ten-point—and later, a seventeen-point—agreement which they would sign after protracted “negotiations.” Having reviewed both drafts long afterwards, historian Shakya could report that the Communist Chinese “had not deviated” from the earlier of these two drafts which the PLA had issued following their success over the Tibetans at Chamdo the previous October. “There was a striking similarity,” he writes, “between the content of this document and the 17-Point Agreement” finally signed at Peking and “supposedly reached after mutual consultation.” As this historian makes clear in his modern history of Tibet, however, the Chinese would not permit the Tibetans at these so-called negotiations to add any new item to the agenda but handed them the one, and then, the later draft for discussion. “It became apparent,” he adds, “that what was expected of the Tibetan delegation was ratification” of the proposed final draft. Indeed, in their discussions thereafter with the Chinese side on each of the seventeen points, the Tibetans ended up for the most part in making only “some minor changes in the wording,” which in fact “suggested that there was a general agreement” with the 17-Point draft.⁸⁷

These drafts were made, incidentally, on the Chinese assumption that Tibet was a part of China; which, observed one biographer of the Dalai Lama, raised the interesting question of why China found it necessary to negotiate in the first place. Roger Hicks has perceptively argued that “if the Chinese really were the sovereign power, what need was there to negotiate?” Despite the Communist Chinese attempt to interpret the Agreement as an internal matter, notes historian Warren Smith, the Agreement nonetheless possesses “some of the characteristics of an international treaty.” Furthermore, he adds, “the very necessity of a treaty between Tibet and China is indicative of their separate status.... China’s language on Tibet’s ‘return to the Motherland’ is an admission that Tibet was separate from the Chinese state.” But Smith observes as well that reference in the Agreement to the Tibetan government as the “‘local government of Tibet’ implies that the Tibetan Government was merely the local government of a region of China, a characterization that the necessity of concluding a treaty with Tibet would seem to contradict.”⁸⁸

As it turned out, according to the Dalai Lama’s account published some ten years afterwards, the delegation at Peking was not permitted to refer any proposals made by the Chinese back to His Holiness for further instructions, and “was coerced by threats,” he declared, “into signing away” Tibet’s sovereignty. About this coercion the Dalai Lama was further to say later that the members of his delegation, now forcibly isolated from any home advice in Tibet, yielded to compulsion and signed the document, but not without first refusing “to affix the seals which were needed to validate it. But the Chinese forged duplicate Tibetan seals in Peking, and forced our delegation to seal the document with them.” In Michael Goodman’s biography of His Holiness, the author reveals that in reality the keeping of the Dalai Lama’s official seal at Yatung rather than allowing it to be taken with the Tibetan delegates to Peking had been a pre-arranged stalling tactic on the part of the Tibetan government in order to play for time. But rather than acquiesce to this tactic Peking “decided to fabricate counterfeit seals and get on with its occupation of Tibet.”⁸⁹

However, Melvyn Goldstein, in his volume on the history of modern Tibet, disputes such

statements as asserted here by the Dalai Lama and Goodman, and by others.* After an extensive research into the matter, which included interviewing one or two of the Tibetan delegates who had been present and signed the unwanted agreement, Goldstein (and for that matter, Tibetan historian Shakya, too) could declare that “the later claims that the Chinese had *forged* the seal of the Tibetan government is erroneous” (his emphasis). He writes that the Chinese, in response to their own inquiry, had already been apprised of the fact that the Tibetan government seal was not with the Tibetan delegates; and furthermore, Chief Tibetan Delegate Ngabo and the other delegates told the Chinese that they had none of their own personal seals with them either. Which, with respect to *personal* seals, was true for all the Tibetan delegates; however, Ngabo had kept secret the fact that he had with him the Governor of Kham seal, which, as a Kashag member, he could have affixed to the document had he wished. (Ngabo would later claim he had refused to use this one original seal in order to show his disapproval of the Agreement.) “The Chinese,” writes Goldstein, “therefore made new seals for each delegate that included only the delegate’s proper name. These were used in the final signing.” Goldstein added that “since Ngabo did not have the authority to sign the agreement on behalf of Tibet”—which fact had been made clear to the Chinese repeatedly, and which they understood and accepted, “all China’s gains depended on the reactions of the Dalai Lama and the Tibetan government.”†⁹⁰

* See, for example, Dawa Norbu’s assertion in *Red Star over Tibet* (p. 125) that “the Chinese Communists had made the Tibetan delegation sign the Agreement at gun-point”; see also Paul Ingram’s statement on p. 8 of *Tibet: the Facts*: “The ‘17-Point Agreement’ was concluded ... [and] the Tibetan delegates were told to sign or face war.” Actually, writes Tsering Shakya, near the end of the negotiations at Peking the Tibetan delegation informed the Chinese that “they were now willing to sign the Agreement.”

Exiled Tibetans and their supporters have also usually claimed that the Agreement was not valid since the seals had been forged. But the historian has likewise pointed out that this argument is disingenuous since it implies “that the Chinese had surreptitiously affixed the seals to the document, which was not the case. The delegation was fully aware that the Chinese had the seals newly made.” *Dragon*, 68, 475 note 76.

Interestingly, the British Foreign Office would subsequently tell the American ambassador in London that its legal adviser had suggested that Tibet could repudiate the Agreement if it could show (a) that “duress” had been applied to individual Tibetan delegates at the Peking negotiations or (b) that the Tibetan delegation had “exceeded” Tibet’s “instructions or acted at variance with them.” Quoted in *ibid.*, 79. Obviously, the first of these grounds is inadmissible. As Melvyn Goldstein has correctly observed more recently, although it was true that “the Chinese negotiators on several occasions made threats to continue the invasion into Central Tibet if certain points [in the draft agreement] were not accepted, ... the Tibetan negotiators were never themselves physically threatened, and were free to refuse to sign an agreement right up to the end.” *The Snow Lion and the Dragon* (1997), 135 note 17. Compare all this with Goldstein’s most recent explication of what happened surrounding the document’s signing at the Chinese capital; see his *History of Modern Tibet—Volume 2* (2007), 106-7. The second of these grounds, however, is admissible, since Ngabo had himself written later that he had been instructed that before signing any agreement he would have to consult with Yatung. His not having done so would have been grounds enough for the Tibetan government to repudiate the Peking accord. See *Dragon*, 70, 71, 476 note 109. Why the Dalai Lama and the Kashag did not is because they “were unable to make up their minds as to whether to denounce the Agreement or to work with the Communists.” Moreover, they had wished first to hear “what the Tibetan delegation had to say.” *Ibid.*, 79, 71.

† That this latter point made by Goldstein had very much entered into the Peking negotiations is made clear in Tsering Shakya’s discussion of the Agreement. In anticipation of signing the final draft of the 17-Point document, Ngabo, explains the Tibetan historian, “told the Chinese that there would be no problem if the Dalai Lama and the Kashag approved [the Agreement]. But should they repudiate [it] and the Dalai Lama escape

In any event, on 23 May 1951, the Tibetan delegation at Peking felt they had no choice but to sign this misnamed “agreement” which as its official title indicated announced “measures for the peaceful liberation of Tibet.” It constituted, declared Hugh Richardson, the first agreement between these two countries after a lapse of 1130 years!⁹¹ (It needs to be noted, however, that Richardson failed to take notice of the Three-Point Agreement signed at Lhasa on 12 August 1912 between these same two countries—and witnessed to by the signatures of Nepal’s envoy and other Nepali officials—that ended hostilities between them and led to the evacuation of all Chinese from Tibetan territory; see again Chapter 16 of the present work’s previous volume.) But this Agreement also, in the words of Goldstein, gave Mao Tse-tung the political settlement which “he felt was critical to legitimize unambiguously Tibet’s status as a part of China.” However, the historian went on to observe, this legitimation was achieved by allowing Tibet “to retain its feudal-theocratic government and economy, at least for the foreseeable future.” In fact, it was a “concession” which, Goldstein added, “clearly set Tibet apart from other nationality areas since it was only with Tibet” that Peking “entered into a written agreement with the traditional government allowing it to continue to rule.”⁹² Interestingly, less than a year following the signing of the Sino-Tibetan Agreement, Mao acknowledged the distinctive character of this minority entity now unwillingly enclosed within the Chinese embrace. He admitted that “our army finds itself in a totally different minority nationality area,” for he well recognized that it was only military power and not any support from the Tibetan people which had made it possible for the Chinese to enter Tibet, and readily acknowledged that whereas the Tibetans “are inferior to us in military strength, they have an advantage over us in social influence.”⁹³

Now the main features of the so-called Agreement of 23 May 1951 were: (i) a constitutional framework for a regional government of Tibet, the Agreement’s first article mandating that “the Tibetan people shall return to the big family of the motherland, the People’s Republic of China”; (ii) an affirmation that the Tibetan people had the right to exercise regional national autonomy under the leadership of the Chinese People’s government; (iii) a confirmation and a definition of the status, function and power of the two Great Lamas of Tibet; (iv) a promise to uphold the freedom of worship and not interfere with the country’s traditions, including the protection of the monasteries; (v) an agreement on the integration of the Tibetan Army into the Chinese Army; (vi) an agreement not to compel the people to

abroad, they would need some form of guarantee [from the Chinese] that the power and the status of the Dalai Lama would be protected. Therefore, the Tibetan delegation proposed a new clause to the Agreement ...” to this effect. To which “the Chinese made no objections, but insisted that this [guarantee clause] should not be included in the main Agreement but form part of a separate clause” which ultimately became the first article of a seven-part secret codicil attached to the main document. *Dragon*, 68. This thus indicated that the Communist Chinese clearly understood that on the Tibetan side the Dalai Lama and his Government would have the last word, not the delegation sent to Peking.

An historical analysis of these events by the international legal historian and legal adviser to Dalai Lama XIV, Michael van Walt van Praag, would seem to support Goldstein’s concluding point. For in his analysis he states that before signing the document, Ngabo and his colleagues had “warned the Chinese that they were signing only on behalf of the delegation and had no authority to bind either the Dalai Lama or the Tibetan government and people.” *The Status of Tibet*, 147-8.

accept reforms; and (vii) the appointment of a Committee that not only would wield administrative power at Lhasa but would also establish regional military headquarters for Tibet there as well. It became “clear to all of us,” observed the Dalai Lama later, “that if we rejected it, more bloodshed and destruction would inevitably follow.”⁹⁴

On 28 September 1951 the National Assembly, whose makeup of over 300 members was predominantly clerical, held a lengthy discussion on the Agreement at the Tibetan capital. Prior to its discussion, however, Ngabo and the other four members of the Tibetan delegation who had signed the document at Peking appeared that same day to explain its terms to the Assembly (and to clear, if possible, Ngabo’s name of the accusations and negative stories about his conduct which had begun to circulate⁹⁵). For earlier these five had privately discussed among themselves the Kashag’s heretofore unconcealed reluctance to accept the Peking accord, and the five had therefore agreed that Ngabo should convey to the Shapes in the Cabinet that if they had any problem with the Agreement, they should convene an Assembly and have Ngabo speak to it, which thing the Kashag did. Whereupon Ngabo, says Goldstein, delivered “a detailed and rather impassioned speech” before the Assembly that lasted well over an hour. In his conclusion the man who would be branded in future by many of his countrymen as a traitor candidly declared the following:

If you feel that this Agreement will help the joint secular and religious form of government and the activities of the Dalai Lama, then accept it and put it into practice. But if you think it is wrong, then you can punish me, saying that we have ignored the inner instructions. For the five of us, whatever you want to take, our body, life, property, whatever you have to do, go ahead and do it and we will have no regrets.

In the course of the discussion which then followed this extremely fearless statement, the majority of the Assembly members, reports Goldstein, argued that the Agreement “promised that Tibet could maintain its religious government and monastic system together with the estate system on which it was based ...” In essence, therefore, the Assembly—representing the country’s traditional elites who wished at all costs to preserve the existing social order that would ensure their power and privileges—had sided with Ngabo’s view that the document neither threatened the Dalai Lama’s status and power nor endangered Tibet’s religious and political system. And with that naïve judgment arrived at among the majority of its members, the Assembly recommended to the Dalai Lama that the Agreement be approved.

Hence, on 20 October, and at the urging of Tibet’s new secular overlord, General Chang Ching-wu, the Dalai Lama prepared a letter of acceptance of the document. But when it was shown to Chang, he objected to its use of the term *Gya-Bod* (China and Tibet), because from his perspective the word China obviously embraced Tibet, while use of Tibet and China implied separate countries. The General demanded that the letter employ the terms *U-zhung* (Central Government) and *sanas-zhung* (Local Government). Accordingly, four days later, on 24 October 1951, the young and soon-to-be greatly weakened Sovereign of Tibet cabled his letter of official confirmation of the Agreement’s acceptance to the Absolute Ruler of China and now of Tibet as well, Mao Tse-tung. It read simply but portentously as follows:

The Tibet Local Government as well as the ecclesiastic and secular people unanimously support this agreement, and under the leadership of Chairman Mao and the Central People's Government, will actively support the People's Liberation Army in Tibet to consolidate national defense, drive out imperialist influences from Tibet and safeguard the unification of the territory and the sovereignty of the Motherland.⁹⁶

Just two days later, units of the unwanted People's Liberation Army would make their way unhindered into the Tibetan capital.⁹⁷

Consisting of seventeen clauses, this so-called treaty between China and Tibet came to be known among Tibetans as the infamous Seventeen-Point Agreement. "Unjust though it was," wrote His Holiness, "I and my Government tried to abide by the agreement" in every respect in order to "save my people from a worse disaster." "We could only hope," he concluded, "that the Chinese would keep their side of this forced, one-sided bargain." Yet abiding by this treaty was not something the Chinese, who had imposed the unwanted document on the Tibetans, could pride themselves on having done in the slightest: they "broke every promise they had made in it."⁹⁸



Meanwhile, in confident anticipation of the Tibetan government's eventual acquiescence to the Agreement, three forces of the so-called Liberation Army of China were poised to make farther incursions into the country from three directions, one each from east, north and west. (As was learned in the previous chapter of the present narrative, an advance contingent of the force coming overland from the east included, besides Ngabo—the chief Tibetan delegate at Peking—some six hundred selected "liberation troops," with the main force to follow several months later.⁹⁹) A fourth party, however, left Peking on June 16th with the intention of proceeding more quickly to Tibet via Hong Kong, Singapore and India instead of the much slower long overland route through eastern Tibet. As one observer has noted, writing some eight years later, "it is an interesting piece of irony that even today, with the improved roads from China to the roof of the world, travelers in a hurry still reach Tibet through India."¹⁰⁰ This fourth party—more political and administrative in character—was led by Major General Chang Ching-wu (whose name's variant spellings also appear in the literature as: Tan Chen Woo, Zhang Jingwu, Zhang Jin-wu, Chiang Chin-wu or Chang Chung Win), who was the then director of administration of China's Revolutionary Military Council and director of the People's Armed Forces Department. The latter was responsible for organizing the militia (the People's Armed Forces) that had played an important role in the Korean War.¹⁰¹ The forty-six-year-old General had now been appointed by Peking as the Commissioner and Administrator of Civil and Military Affairs in Tibet to implement the May 23rd peace agreement (which he himself had signed¹⁰²) that in essence called for the absorption of Tibet by China, since under the treaty the latter would have complete control

over Tibet's defense, foreign affairs and communications.* Prior to this latest assignment General Chang, a veteran of Mao's famed Long March during China's civil war, had served his Communist superiors in various military and administrative posts for some twenty years.¹⁰³

This party, ultimately numbering about thirty persons in all, consisted of the three other delegates from the Dalai Lama's Tibetan government who had initialed the treaty in Peking on behalf of His Holiness,¹⁰⁴ four other Tibetans, with the remainder being General Chang and the many other Chinese officials. (On the other hand, the fourteen-year-old Panchen Lama, after having attended, at the instigation of the Chinese, the treaty talks in Peking "where he was received with every conceivable honor," was to go to Tibet via the overland route from China. This would be his first time ever on Tibetan soil, after which he was to be installed at his Monastery of Trashilhunpo in Shigatse. This he accomplished by the spring of the following year.¹⁰⁵)

Now the twenty or so Chinese members of the Mission from Peking consisted of scientific, technical and administrative staff personnel that by its composition foreshadowed an attempt to carry out wide-ranging reforms in the entire life and culture of Tibet. In fact, fifty such young technicians would have passed through Kalimpong on their way to Tibet by September 1951, including wireless operators, doctors, military experts, engineers and miners.¹⁰⁶ Even as soon as late May, just a few days following the signing of the 23 May Agreement, there had already arrived in Kalimpong an advance guard of the General's. In the diary of one European resident of the Indian hill station at this time, there is an entry for Late May 1951 which notes that this advance party consisted of "several young men in the gray uniform worn by all officials of the Chinese People's Republic. They are staying at the Himalayan Hotel, but they scarcely ever leave their rooms and anxiously avoid coming into contact with other guests. Invisible, but clearly perceptible, the Bamboo Curtain has begun to go up in Kalimpong."¹⁰⁷

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Meanwhile, the senior members of the Chinese Mission from Peking, with Chang as its leader, together with the Tibetan "treaty" delegation (minus Ngabo), stopped off for a few days in Calcutta. Arriving together in the same plane from Hong Kong on Sunday July 1st the Peking and Tibetan party, all declining to be interviewed at the Calcutta airport where

* The reason personally given the young Dalai Lama by Chairman Mao for the presence of the Chinese in Tibet would prove over time to have been highly disingenuous. "When I visited Peking in 1954," wrote His Holiness long afterwards, "I met there [with] Chairman Mao Tse-tung ... [who] told me on several occasions that the Chinese were in Tibet only to help Tibet harness its natural resources and use them for the development of the country; General Zhang Jingwu ... [was] in Tibet to help me and the people of Tibet, and not to rule the Tibetan government and people, and that all Chinese officials in Tibet were there to help us and to be withdrawn when Tibet had progressed. Any Chinese official who did not act accordingly would be sent back to China." Over half a century later Chinese military and civilian personnel are still very much present in Tibet. See Point 2 of Note from the Dalai Lama delivered in 1993 to China's government leaders at Peking, and found in "Dalai Lama's Correspondence with China Revealed," *TR* (Oct. 1993): 10.

they had been met by the Red Chinese ambassador, headed straight for the Chinese Communist Consul-General's residence where General Chang issued a lengthy written statement. In it he expressed the same old worn-out statement about Tibet being "an inseparable part of China's territory" and employed the same tired phrase about "the peaceful liberation of Tibet"—doing so five times! He further claimed that by the Seventeen-Point Agreement recently "signed" by both parties "the Tibetan nationality has now attained liberation and returned to the great family of the People's Republic of China."

That same Sunday evening a dinner party, given by Chinese representatives in India, was held at the Consul-General's residence in honor of General Chang, his Peking Mission members and the Tibetan delegation, attended also by some prominent Chinese residents in Calcutta. The press themselves noted that the Tibetans "were virtually held incommunicado ... at the residence" during the entire period of their stay in Calcutta. The only statement to the press was the one previously quoted, and all attempts by reporters to talk with other members of both groups were met "with a flat refusal" on the ground that only General Chang was "authorized to make statements."¹⁰⁸ He and his Peking Mission would prove to be equally unwilling up in Tharchin's home town to grant interviews or give out any important information to the press.

The two delegations now flew on together in the same plane to Siliguri's nearby Bagdogra aerodrome, escorted by three members of Calcutta's Chinese Consulate-General staff. From the aerodrome they all traveled up to Kalimpong, arriving there the afternoon of July 4th. They had earlier already received an unexpectedly "tumultuous" greeting, to say the least. For lining both sides of the winding Himalayan road from the Teesta Bridge up to the center of the hill station, roughly an eleven-mile distance, had been thousands of local Chinese, Indian Communists, and local Tibetans bearing Red Chinese flags. "There was not the slightest hint," historian Tsering Shakya has noted, "that the Tibetans might be opposed to the Agreement" only just recently signed at Peking.¹⁰⁹ Subsequent events in the next few days, however, would alter that perception.

Both the Chinese and Tibetan populations of the town now welcomed the two delegations in an appropriate dignified fashion, marking the occasion by presenting a large bouquet of flowers to the future temporal ruler of Tibet.¹¹⁰ Members of the welcoming party included Tibetan government officers, lay and lama Tibetans, and local Chinese merchants. It even included a few members of the local Indian Communist Party, who, it was reported in the press, would themselves proceed to Tibet.¹¹¹ Baron René de Nebesky-Wojkowitz, the Tibet scholar from Austria and close acquaintance of Gergan Tharchin, has provided an eyewitness account of the welcome. A quote from this young Austrian Baron's diary of the time (together with a few bracketed inserts from the *Times* correspondent's retrospective account cabled to London) delineates the event in great detail:

... the time has come. The Chinese military governor is expected in Kalimpong in the early afternoon. A few Tibetan officials, who would like to get well in with the Chinese, are going to meet him at Teesta Bridge. Several hundreds of Tibetans in their feast-day clothes have assembled on the outskirts of the town, where the new lord of the Land of Snows will be officially welcomed by Tibetan dignitaries. [These various Tibetan officials and landowners have turned out in force to make obeisance to the

representative of a government which can hardly be expected to deal lightly with people of their class.] One of the men is holding the Tibetan standard with the two lions and the “wishing jewel,” but beside him stands another with the red, five-starred flag of Communist China. Not one of the many reporters, who filled the streets of Kalimpong a few minutes ago, is here to record this historic scene. The world is no longer interested in the fate of the little country of Tibet: the headlines are now devoted to the dispute over the oil refineries at Abadan. So the last act of the Tibetan tragedy is watched by only three Europeans—Prince Peter, my countryman Harrer, . . . and myself. [George Patterson was in Calcutta; see below.]

The Chinese are already a good hour late when suddenly a whisper runs through the patiently waiting crowd. An escort of Indian police on mud-bespattered motorcycles and jeeps roar past, then a convoy of cars appears on the road leading into the town from the Teesta Valley. The first cars in the column are decorated with Chinese flags; they are brand-new American vehicles, bought for the occasion by a wealthy Tibetan merchant [Yangpel Pangdatsang]. He is manifestly hoping to find grace in the eyes of Tibet’s new masters by a display of loyalty. A dozen Chinese officials and army officers alight from the cars. [They were immaculately dressed in tight-fitting, gray cotton suits of military cut, buttoned up at the neck, and wearing what were described as “liberation caps,” of the same material as their clothes, which gave them an unmistakably revolutionary proletarian appearance.] Their simple light-gray uniforms, devoid of any badges of rank, are in striking contrast to the shimmering brocade garments of the Tibetan dignitaries. Two worlds are confronting one another. Slowly, bowing deeply, the Tibetans go to meet the Chinese, carrying white ceremonial veils. To my surprise, in the front rank of the Tibetan group I catch sight of a few nobles who, at the time when Tibet turned to Britain for support, were regarded as outstanding anglophiles. [The local Tibetans stood whispering as the *kutras* (officials, members of the nobility) bowed in front of the Chinese Communist General, offering him the traditional white silk *khatas*, which he seized quite brusquely with never a smile on his face.]

A Chinese reporter, likewise in a gray uniform, is busily engaged recording all the phases of this scene with his camera. I watch a Tibetan, with polite mien, put a khata round the Chinese General’s neck; the Chinese pulls the veil off impatiently, but holds it in his hand. The faces of the Tibetan nobles fall, but the silent spectators do not bat an eyelid. Do they realize what an historically important moment they are witnessing? Only a few Nepali Communists, who have turned out to welcome their confreres with streamers and red flags, shout themselves hoarse with enthusiasm.

The exchange of greetings is brief. Then the Chinese reenter their cars and drive to the house provided for their stay in Kalimpong. This building is notoriously haunted; for this reason it has remained empty, in spite of its fine appearance and excellent position. Did the Tibetans intentionally arrange for the Chinese to put up there? In two cars right at the end of the convoy I catch sight of a few resigned and weary-looking Tibetan dignitaries. These are the members of the deputation that signed the fatal agreement with China in Peking.¹¹²

The name of the building into which the Chinese were accommodated was the Greenwood Cottage located near the town’s dak bungalow. By the end of their stay here the Chinese party had indeed dubbed this cottage “the haunted house.”¹¹³

One of the local Chinese residents who was patiently waiting at Greenwood Cottage to welcome the General and his party happened to be a very good friend of Tharchin’s. This was F. M. Shen who, like the Tibetan, was a Christian. Born in 1911 in his far-off homeland,

Shen had emigrated to Kalimpong in late 1941 or early 1942 not long after the attack on Pearl Harbor had plunged the United States into the broadened Sino-Japanese War against Japan on the side of China and the other Allies who now sought to push Imperial Japan's far-flung forces back to that country's home islands. In Kalimpong Shen soon struck up a professional relationship with Babu Tharchin, the two of them collaborating together in printing tax books at the *Tibet Mirror* and in creating a Chinese-Tibetan dictionary. So close had these two become that at the wedding of this Chinese in 1944 the Tibetan publisher had gifted him with a set of expensive carpets. Shen would go on to serve as one of the teachers in the local Chungwha (Chinese) School.

Now on the occasion of Chang Ching-wu's appearance in Kalimpong, Shen made a point to be on hand at the 8th mile roadside where many other overseas Chinese had gathered in a temporarily constructed reception center to welcome the General. But there would be another reception one mile farther up the road—at 9th mile—where General Chang received a warm welcome from both Indian and Chinese Communists who were on hand to greet the new Overlord of Tibet.¹¹⁴ Then, after Chang and his entourage continued on up to the larger reception which awaited the party as earlier described, Shen and a few other of his fellow Chinese residents sped up to Greenwood Cottage to await the Chinese delegation's eventual arrival there. Remaining at Greenwood till after 10 p.m. that night, Shen would have an opportunity to speak personally with the general himself. His impressions of the future Governor over Tibet were most interesting. He found, first of all, that Chang possessed a strong sense of dedication to the task which had been handed him by his Chinese masters, but a man who did not seek to flaunt his power and authority. Shen also found him most approachable, at least among gatherings of his own ethnic countrymen; indeed, reported Shen, General Chang made it known that he “wished to meet as many Chinese as possible during his stay” in the hill station. All in all, said Shen, “I had a far better impression of the General than had most other Kalimpong Chinese.”

Perhaps that was why Tharchin's Chinese friend did not feel intimidated by Chang's rank or position; on the contrary, he apparently felt confident enough when finally the opportunity presented itself for him to speak a few moments with the General to put to Chang a singularly fascinating question. It was one to which a definitive answer many even today might say still eludes the Beijing government after nearly six decades of China's occupation of Tibet. For Shen's inquiry which he placed before his powerful ethnic countryman was quite simple but at the same time profound: “Can you *control* Tibet?” As most recent history in the Land of Snows will confirm, Tibet's new masters have had a far from easy time administering this troublesome ethnic minority. In his interview with the present writer, Shen did not indicate what, if anything, the new overlord of Tibet had to say in response. Perhaps the General himself had doubts and reservations!¹¹⁵

As for the Tibetan delegation, they “were not allowed about in town much,” and “were difficult of approach” anyway, most likely because, in the opinion of a London *Times* correspondent, “they feared to compromise themselves in the eyes of their new Communist masters.” The *Timesman* added, however, that it was nonetheless possible “to gather from them that they had not enjoyed their trip to the Chinese capital” where they had reluctantly put their signatures to the most unwelcome “Agreement” of 23 May.¹¹⁶ A day or so later

would find the delegation departing for Yatung, anxious to report as soon as possible to the Dalai Lama and his Government what had transpired at Peking. For by the 7th of July and for three more days thereafter, the delegates would be gathered with many Tibetan government officials who had assembled at Yatung to receive personally face-to-face the delegation's report.¹¹⁷

Meanwhile, and as was noted earlier, General Chang and his Chinese Mission would be as closemouthed in Kalimpong as they had been down in Calcutta. Reporters sought an interview with Chang on July 5th in order to "get clarification of their programme," but were refused. From the very outset of his stopover in the Himalayan hill station, he made clear his intention to keep the press at arm's length. For the future master of Tibet issued a brief statement "through an intermediary" that it "was unnecessary" for him "to meet" with reporters inasmuch as "they could find everything" they needed to know "in his statement made to the Calcutta press."¹¹⁸ In the meantime he and his Chinese delegation would be entertained by members of the Kalimpong Chinese merchant community, as well as fêted continually by their other compatriots who over the years had made Kalimpong their home.¹¹⁹



Originally planning to be in Kalimpong for only a few days, Chang's Chinese delegation was unexpectedly forced to prolong its stay because of the surprise exit from Tibet to Kalimpong and on, then, by air to the United States, of the Dalai Lama's eldest brother, Thubten Jigme Norbu (aka: Taktser Rimpoche, his priestly title), who had been one of the closest and most trusted advisers to His Holiness. He had been greatly aided in his July 6th escape from Calcutta to America through the clandestine assistance earlier of George Patterson,¹²⁰ a young Plymouth Brethren missionary from Scotland formerly working in the Kham and Amdo areas of Tibet's eastern frontier with China until the Communists arrived but who was now living in Kalimpong. Only a year before, Patterson had made his way from East Tibet to Calcutta to forewarn the Indian and various Western governments of the impending invasion of Tibet by the Chinese Communist regime with its intent, then, of using the Roof of the World's strategic and near-impregnable location as a springboard for ultimately conquering the rest of the Himalayan kingdoms and gobbling up all of Southeast Asia, including the Indian subcontinent itself. Unfortunately, his forewarnings had for the most part fallen on deaf ears. Until there could be a sorting out of the international political repercussions and implications which flowed from Norbu's escape (he had been threatened in Calcutta by the Chinese to leave India and go either back to Tibet or off to China), General Chang's departure from Kalimpong for Yatung to see the Dalai Lama and then travel onward to Lhasa was considerably delayed.¹²¹

The implication the Chinese feared most of Norbu's surprise arrival in the United States was that he could be carrying instructions from his brother the Dalai Lama for negotiating some kind of American assistance, whether political or military or both, on behalf of the Tibetan people against China. As a matter of fact, according to Patterson, when Norbu had

quietly slipped into Kalimpong from Yatung, he had come armed with a letter “authorizing” him “to speak on behalf of the Dalai Lama and conclude an agreement with any outside power which would help Tibet” and which would “also make arrangements for the Dalai Lama’s escape.” At his mother’s house in the hill station Thubten Norbu quickly made the acquaintance of Patterson. A short while later the Dalai Lama’s brother went to the Scottish missionary’s own residence nearby where, with armed guards stationed outside, he privately told Patterson that “it was with America that the Dalai Lama wished to make a secret agreement.” He asked the Scotsman to precede him to Calcutta and make arrangements for his escape to America. For it must be understood, as was disclosed later in the press, that Thubten Norbu “considered himself a ‘marked’ man by the Communists,” and could therefore not move about freely without raising undue suspicions.

One of the reasons the Communists had marked out this man for particular surveillance was the fact that they had learned from hard experience earlier that they could not trust him. For at the time they had assumed control over the Tibetans’ Kumbum Monastery in the East, where the Dalai Lama’s brother was a renowned Incarnate Lama, Abbot of Taktser Labrang, and only recently elevated to be the Abbot over the entire Kumbum monastic complex, the Communists—thinking they through intimidation and intense pressure had by this time converted him to their side—dispatched him to Lhasa to persuade his brother the Dalai Lama to submit to Chinese rule. Earlier the Taktser Abbot had been taken from Kumbum against his will and indoctrinated somewhere in China proper, where he had been told to cooperate or he would “disappear”; and, further, if he cooperated and proved successful in persuading his brother to submit peacefully, Thubten Norbu was promised the Presidency of a new Tibet. To their utter consternation, the Communists realized how badly they had been duped into believing they had won Taktser Rimpoche to their cause. For instead of persuading His Holiness, he had sounded a grave warning of danger to him and others within the Lhasa government!* Needless to say, the Chinese did not want to be tricked again in the present circumstances.

Patterson did what Norbu now asked, and then sent word for the Dalai Lama’s brother to come to Calcutta for “final discussions” with “United States representatives” and the necessary “cable conversations with Delhi and Washington,” after which “a preliminary agreement was drawn up to be communicated to the Dalai Lama.” According to Patterson, this called for (a) the United States to support the Dalai Lama and 120 members of his Government “for an indefinite period” in any country the Dalai Lama chose, but preferably

* Taktser’s indoctrination had also included the ominous instruction that if he failed to persuade his brother to submit to Chinese rule, the Rimpoche was to eliminate the Dalai Lama! In either case, he would be awarded the principal post of head over a new Tibet under China.

Interestingly, Thubten Norbu would receive a similar promise of a top job in one of the other Himalayan kingdoms bordering on India if he would only submit to Chinese instructions. This promise came from none other than Chang Ching-wu while both were most recently down in Calcutta! This was told to John Knaus by the former Rimpoche in an interview decades later. Writes Knaus: General Chang had “urged Taktser to return to Lhasa, where much work awaited, and, declaring expansively that Nepal, Bhutan, and Sikkim remained to be ‘liberated,’ promised him a good job in one of these future Chinese provinces. Taktser attributed this surprisingly crude offer—curiously like the previous one of the post of governor-general of Tibet if he would assassinate his brother—to typical Chinese arrogance....” *Orphans of the Cold War*, 93.

an Oriental nation; (b) America to bring the issue of China's aggression against Tibet before the United Nations; (c) America's financial support of Tibet's struggle for freedom; and (d) United States military assistance at the proper time if, as was supposed, India would refuse the Dalai Lama's approach to her for such aid. On his side, His Holiness would (e) be required to do only one thing—but to do it twice: repudiate the Seventeen-Point Agreement prior to leaving Tibet and, once on Indian soil, to immediately and publicly do so again.

It should be mentioned that initially not all writers and scholars of this period in Tibetan history had believed credible the story Patterson told of contacts between Tibetans and the United States government and the latter's guarantees of support in exchange for the Dalai Lama's renunciation of the Seventeen-Point Agreement and his seeking asylum abroad. One person who for some length of time had discounted it is Warren Smith, a longtime student of Tibetan language and history. In a book review he wrote, Smith not only took Patterson to task but also criticized John Avedon, another writer on Tibetan affairs, for repeating the Patterson story in his book, *In Exile from the Land of Snows* (New York, 1984, p. 36). "To my knowledge," stated Smith in his review of Avedon's work, "this story is mostly the optimistic imaginings of Patterson himself, who played a role in the contacts."

With the publication in 1989, however, of Melvyn Goldstein's scholarly in-depth treatment of Tibetan history for the period from 1913 to 1951, the Patterson story could no longer be dismissed as non-credible. For the American historian convincingly demonstrated—on some thirty to forty well-documented pages which included original American, British and Indian diplomatic and political sources as well as interviews with some of the key participants—that America had been deeply involved in negotiating some such agreement with the Tibetan government along the very lines of Patterson's story. Goldstein's history further demonstrated how from March through September 1951 United States involvement in Tibetan affairs had escalated dramatically and continued to do so even in the face of Britain's and Independent India's unfavorable opinion if not outright hostile opposition towards such involvement and America's rather unrestrained sympathetic approach. So committed, in fact, was America to Tibet at this time that at a certain point in India's ongoing reticence to do anything to ameliorate the worsening Tibet situation, the U.S. State Department had informed the British that the Americans were no longer willing to "appease India and were content to suffer a deterioration in relations if that were to be the result of their taking action which they thought was justified by the need to counter aggression."*¹²² So committed were the Americans that they even commenced taking direct initiatives without consulting the Indian government. Frequent trips were made to Kalimpong, for example, by Delhi Embassy staff and Calcutta Consulate officers for meetings with W. D. Shakabpa and other Tibetan officials.

* On their part the British had all along been skeptical of the U.S. initiative, believing that her State Department was not receiving "sound advice" from her diplomats in New Delhi. Moreover, the British saw the Americans pushing action too hastily and not giving Indian thinking proper consideration. They told the U.S. that it was not a matter of "appeasing" India but recognizing that India's position carried great weight in Asia and that, accordingly, it would be "obvious common sense to try to get her on our [the Anglo-American] side on this issue." The British were also concerned that public repudiation by Tibet of the Seventeen-Point Agreement might adversely "affect prospects of success of Korean peace moves" to end the War there. Quoted in Shakya, *Dragon*, 78-9.

And according to Patterson long afterwards, the Americans tried keeping these visits secret, disguising themselves as tourists; although Tsering Shakya has reported that Indian Intelligence officers had been successful in keeping American visitors to the hill station under surveillance and were aware that they were meeting with Tibetan officials there.¹²³

Thus, except for the matter of U.S. military assistance, the commitment of which did not appear definite enough to satisfy the Tibetan government, the above-mentioned five-point outline of an agreement between Yatung and Washington was in one form or another the subject of numerous communications that passed back and forth between high-level American and Tibetan representatives. And interestingly enough, in his much later writing that when published in 1996 was hailed as a monumental, well-researched history of Sino-Tibetan relations, Smith, without referencing the Patterson story, nonetheless provided further documentary evidence that clearly supports the story in its essential outline.¹²⁴ Serious negotiations did take place and over a protracted period of time, but ended in failure at the last moment.*¹²⁵

The diplomatic traffic back and forth among the various centers most directly involved—Yatung, Kalimpong, Calcutta, New Delhi and Washington—even included a reference to Tharchin Babu's newspaper. In a cable to Washington's State Department on 24 May, just a day following the signing of the controversial Agreement at Peking, U.S. Ambassador at Delhi, Loy Henderson, outlined his activist Embassy's proposed help to Tibet. Among other things, he wrote, the Embassy would "conduct more frequent informal liaison with Tibetan representatives in Kalimpong" and "provide information and assistance to the Tibetan-language newspaper there ..."¹²⁶ Already a year earlier, the Embassy had become a

* Though Goldstein's research had uncovered "the American-Patterson-Harrer plan," this did not mean that this historian has viewed it in a positive light. On the contrary, he has deemed it to have been "a truly bizarre escape plan for the Dalai Lama that was based on the fanciful notion, suggested by interlocutors such as Harrer, Patterson and Taktse Rimpoche, that the Dalai Lama was being physically prevented from seeking asylum by pro-Chinese elements surrounding him." Furthermore, writes Goldstein, "to a large degree," the Americans "were influenced by his brother Taktse Rimpoche, who was assuring them that the Dalai Lama was really opposed to the [17-Point] agreement and wanted to go into exile." Moreover, the Americans, in this historian's opinion, had also been "fed misleading information" by both Harrer and Patterson. And finally, notes Goldstein, "this episode reveals how poorly the United States understood what was really going on in Lhasa and Yatung." *History of Modern Tibet—Volume 2* (2007), 162-3, 159, 159n, 163. And in an earlier published work, Goldstein, after terming the escape plan "bizarre" and describing "the whole premise" of its "operation" as "absurd," went on to assert that the reason His Holiness had remained in Tibet was not because he was a "captive" at the hands of his officials and unable to flee abroad, as some Western diplomats in India had come to believe, but because a majority of his advisers had deemed the American offer of support to be "lacking" in substance sufficient to their satisfaction. *The Snow Lion and the Dragon* (1997), 50.

For a counterview—especially that having to do with the American support offered—the reader should consult the study by John Knaus, *Orphans of the Cold War* (1999). Among other things, Knaus has noted that the U.S. had made it clear from the outset of her dealings with the Tibetan ruler that her commitment was fundamental and of long duration, having nothing to do with the conflict then being waged on the Korean peninsula. It could very well have been, believes Knaus, that had the young Tibetan ruler held up his end of the agreement which had initially been struck with the U.S., China might have thought twice—at this moment in Asian geopolitics, and despite the vagaries of the Korean Truce Talks—before resuming her expansionist designs westward farther into Tibet. For she, too, like America, might have had to consider the possibility of a two-front war. In fact, had the Dalai Lama left Tibet, believes Knaus, the Chinese leadership might even have felt checked: at least for the time being. (See pp. 94-5, 99-100.)

subscriber to Tharchin's news journal to receive two copies of every issue, and had also requested that "two copies of all available back numbers" of the *Mirror* be forwarded to its Publications Procurement Officer.¹²⁷ It was apparently assumed that Tharchin's news journal could serve a useful purpose by keeping the Tibetan populace within and without the Closed Land informed of particular news and information which could help bolster the people's sagging morale in the face of what now appeared to be a most grievous situation for Tibet *vis-à-vis* the Chinese.

Eventually, America's terms of agreement, with information regarding arrangements for the Dalai Lama's reception in India, were forwarded to Yatung. In the meantime, however, Taktser Rimpoche's presence in Calcutta (where he had arrived on 24 June) became known to the suspicious Chinese. Later, upon the arrival in the Bengal capital of General Chang and his delegation from Peking, the Dalai Lama's brother put out the excuse of being unwell as the reason for refusing to see anyone, especially Chang. Ultimately in this game of hide-and-seek, the Chinese Ambassador made a point of coming all the way from New Delhi to Calcutta to "bring pressure" on the Rimpoche to leave India, which he promised to do. But whereas the Ambassador and the Chinese delegation thought by Taktser Rimpoche's promise "to leave India" he had meant to depart for Tibet or China, the Rimpoche "had meant—deliberately—the United States."

That Thubten Jigme Norbu's mind was already bent in earnest towards America was evident by the kinds of questions he had privately put to the Tibetan scholar from Austria, Baron Nebesky-Wojkowitz. This had occurred in an interview the Dalai Lama's brother had granted the scholar in the Kalimpong home of the *Gyayum Chenmo*, the Great Distinguished Mother of Tibet (the mother of the Dalai Lama) just a few days before he slipped down to Calcutta. Nebesky-Wojkowitz had originally gone to pay a visit to the home of his neighbor the Great Mother herself, asking Gergan Tharchin to accompany him as his interpreter. Upon arriving they learned that she was ill and confined to bed. In her place came her son the Rimpoche Norbu from Kumbum, who in years past, incidentally, had been a visitor in Tharchin's home on a number of occasions.¹²⁸ This incarnate Lama impressed the Austrian as "an exceedingly interesting conversationalist." Noting down in his diary what happened next, the young Austrian Baron—whose untimely death would later end a most promising career in anthropology and Tibetology—records that "with Tharchin's aid I attempted to discuss with him ... various problems of Lamaism." Very soon, however, he noticed that his host "became the questioner and I the answerer"; for now the eldest brother of His Holiness began to show great interest in the state of Tibetan studies in the West. "In particular, he inquired whether there were Tibetan books in American libraries, and who dealt with the Tibetan language and culture at American universities." The conversation ended up lasting almost two hours. "I was astonished," noted the diarist, "by my host's thirst for knowledge, but a few days later the mystery was explained. Indian newspapers gave the surprising news" that Thubten Jigme Norbu "had flown from Calcutta, accompanied by a servant, for a longish stay in America."¹²⁹ Tharchin and the Austrian were two of the few last people to see and talk with Thubten Norbu privately before he made his way down to Calcutta and to freedom.

Having extracted what they thought was a sure promise from the Dalai Lama's brother to leave India for Tibet or China and thinking, therefore, that no more danger could emanate from this quarter, General Chang and the rest of his delegation departed Calcutta for Kalimpong where but a few days later, however, they were stunned on July 8th at the news beamed around the world by press and radio that Norbu had arrived in New York! This piece of intelligence, wrote Patterson years later, "threw Kalimpong into a ferment of expectation." Had the Dalai Lama's brother gone to America for help? Was she about to send troops to assist Tibet? And was His Holiness himself about to come to India? Rumors commenced to fly thick and fast in what Robert Ford has wryly termed "the political gossip factory of Kalimpong"!¹³⁰

Yet if Kalimpong was so deeply affected, "it was nothing," Patterson reported, "to what was happening in the Chinese camp." Chang and his delegation, he observed, "naturally expected" that because the Dalai Lama "now had a direct link with the United States through Taktser, he was in a position to reject the Seventeen-Point Agreement—and their presence in Tibet."* All their worst fears about America's possible intervention on the side of Tibet now surfaced. From the Chinese viewpoint there was by this time some warrant for suspicions about United States intentions with respect to Tibet. In 1949 the celebrated American news commentator and friend of American Presidents, Lowell Thomas, together with his son, had been given special permission to visit Lhasa that summer, an event that had been well publicized by the Tibetan authorities. And upon his return to the United States in October, Thomas through his daily radio program began to inform the American public about the Tibetan cause and advocated the shipment of "arms and advice" to Tibet. Furthermore, in his son's book on their visit to Tibet published in New York the following year, Thomas argued that "there is sufficient manpower in Tibet for defense purposes, if it is properly equipped and trained." Not only this, but early that same year (1950), the conservative American commentator Philip Jessup likewise broadcast an appeal for the United States to support anti-Communism in Tibet. Additionally, charges commenced appearing in the Russian press to the effect that the just-concluded Thomas visit was part of a "dirty adventure" to unlink Tibet from China for the purpose of establishing the World's Roof as a "colony and military base" which would be directed against China's new Communist government that had only recently been proclaimed by Peking on 1 October 1949. Fearful that America might, in its own way with Tibet, repeat the history of the 1930s when the Japanese had used Manchuria to launch their attack against China, the latter was determined that such would never happen via Tibet.¹³¹

* Apropos of this, Warren Smith has reported that even though the Dalai Lama had requested his eldest brother to delay his departure from Calcutta for America, the Rimpoche would not do so. For Taktser, Smith writes, believed that the very decision made by His Holiness "to receive the Chinese delegation at Yatung implied Tibetan capitulation, and therefore it was important for him to reach the United States, where he would represent an independent Tibetan voice." Smith, paraphrasing a message sent on 3 July 1951 by the Calcutta Consul General to the U.S. Secretary of State, *Tibetan Nation*, 311n. On the other hand, Melvyn Goldstein has noted that Taktser had "put his own spin on events when he spoke with the Americans," in that according to this historian he had declared to American officials at Calcutta that his brother "was surrounded by Communist sympathizers and agents who might obtain control of the Dalai Lama and Tibetan government at any time." Goldstein, *History of Modern Tibet—Volume 2*, 148.

Still two other events in 1950 would create further alarm at Peking. First, according to Patterson, reports began to circulate that a Czechoslovakian newspaper had quoted its Calcutta correspondent as having observed American officials supervising the unloading of arms from a ship docked at this port city's harbor side. But second, "a copy of a booklet on top-secret military briefing for [the use of] American troops on Tibet" had been making the rounds in Kalimpong, "and its existence," wrote Patterson, "was undoubtedly known to Chinese agents there." Entitled *Armed Forces Talk No. 348: Tibet: Roof of the World*, it was published by the United States Army. In addition, the erstwhile missionary reported that Gergan Tharchin himself "had received several pages of typed foolscap" excerpted from this booklet "and had been asked to publish it [in] the *Tibet Mirror*." The Tibetan newspaper editor, he added, had even taken "the original" of the booklet from his newspaper office files "to show to me." But Tharchin, Patterson observed, "was perturbed" enough that it impelled him to consult some officials; and "on their advice he did not publish" the material. Yet because it had already been circulated in Kalimpong to some extent, the knowledge of the material's existence must have heightened Chinese expectation of America's intrusion into the Tibetan affair. Indeed, yet that same year, one or more of these events may have impelled Peking Radio to allege that, quoting Patterson again, "there was a secret understanding between Nehru of India and America's ambassador in New Delhi "to assist the Tibetans militarily."

As though in substantiation of this allegation, and of the report, too, of the Czechoslovakian newspaper mentioned earlier, historian Shakya has noted that on 16 May 1950 Radio Peking announced as fact that the U.S. envoy to India Loy Henderson "had agreed with the Government of India that a large shipment of rifles, machine guns, sub-machine guns, grenades and ammunition should be sent to Calcutta for transfer to Tibet via Darjeeling. U.S. guards were to accompany the convoy and there was to be no Indian inspection." Although Delhi categorically denied the report of such an agreement that was later definitely found to be untrue, China continued to be fearful of America's involvement in Tibet. It was Peking's increasing perception that the U.S. was bent on undermining the recently-installed Communist government in China. This fear and this perception, adds the historian, were further strengthened when later that same month of May it became known to the Chinese that another of the Dalai Lama's brothers, Gyalo Dhondup, had suddenly turned up in Taiwan where he had met with Generalissimo Chiang on the 21st, with Radio Taipei having reported a few days later that the purpose of Gyalo's visit had been to seek out military aid from America.

And now with the startling news of Taktser Rimpoche's defection to the West, the Chinese delegation, in the words of Patterson, were currently "stranded in Kalimpong, not knowing whether to proceed" to Yatung "or to return to Calcutta, New Delhi or Peking." The longer they hesitated, he added, "the more face they lost." But to proceed precipitously to Yatung without a reliable assessment of the situation would be even a worse folly if the Dalai Lama and his Cabinet were simultaneously to depart Yatung for India with no one in the Chumbi Valley to welcome General Chang when he arrived there! For it must be understood that a very significant aspect to General Chang's mission was to convince the young Lama-King of Tibet—if he were not convinced already—to return to Lhasa, since

this would at least ensure the *possibility* of the Peking government making of him a puppet, through whom, if successful, it could exert more effective control over Tibet and Tibetans.

But now, a whole new set of circumstances would confront the Chinese were the Americans to indeed interpose themselves on behalf of Tibet. Years later, in fact, the Dalai Lama was reported by Anna Louise Strong as having told individuals in Peking, during a lengthy 1954-5 visit there, that both British and American agents had been at Yatung "discussing with the Dalai Lama's ministers what His Holiness should do." The questions uppermost in these alleged discussions were: Should the Dalai Lama take flight into India or return to Lhasa? Should he wage war with China or negotiate peace? Moreover, the Priest-King of Tibet is further reported by Strong to have also shared with various ones in Peking that "the Americans had offered him arms and money if he would fight the Communists." As will shortly be seen, however, any plan to have His Holiness take flight to India collapsed at the very last moment, thus undermining whatever agreement might have been in the offing with the Americans, and ensuring that the new Chinese master of Tibet would not at all lose face at Yatung. Otherwise, had it not been for the untimely appearance onto the Yatung scene from Lhasa of Tibet's three chief Abbots and her State Oracle, the General would most likely have failed in his mission to the Chumbi Valley.¹³²



Despite the unexpected delay, however, the Kalimpong visit by the Chinese delegation provided opportunity for Chang and the others of his party to engage in all sorts of intrigue and "tea-time espionage." As Patterson once observed, "Intrigue became almost a necessity, not just a pastime" in Kalimpong.¹³³ As a matter of fact, for the next ten years the border district of Darjeeling and Kalimpong was to become, in the words of one later visitor to the area, "a notorious trouble spot where Chinese spies, American spies, members of the Tibetan active resistance movement and shady intriguers of all sorts bobbed in and out like evasive noodles in a murky soup."¹³⁴ Moreover, one recent writer on modern Tibetan history has colorfully described Kalimpong itself as "home and host" at this time "to a wildly international group—Bhutanese royalty, Bengali intellectuals, Russian theosophists, Scots missionaries, the Afghan and Burma Rajas, Ladakhi Christians, Armenian traders, Khampa muleteers, Marwari businessmen, Chinese school teachers, English civil servants, and American adventurers among others."¹³⁵ Furthermore, the state of political confusion then existing all along the Indo-Tibetan border, but especially in the District of Darjeeling, was remarkable, to say the least. Tibetan officials were suspected of having many pro-Communists among them, a high percentage of Communists were to be found in the local Chinese community, and an Indian Communist representative was even in a position of political power within the Kalimpong constituency itself. Given this state of affairs, it was not difficult for Chang and his colleagues to make contacts with various Communist elements there. "I know of at least one group of influential Indian Communists," reported Patterson, "who came to Kalimpong as 'tourists' and had clandestine meetings with the delegation."¹³⁶ In addition, he noted that

General Chang even visited the mother and sister of the Dalai Lama in Kalimpong in order to extract certain concessions from the family of His Holiness. He was unsuccessful in his attempts.¹³⁷

Gergan Tharchin, too, was sought out by General Chang and his group.* Chang was a man who, as one foreign writer on these unfolding events put it, “made an effort to be jovial and friendly, but such virtues were foreign to his nature.” In actual fact, the writer went on, “he was really pompous, arrogant, short-tempered, and extremely sensitive about the prerogatives of his position.”† The General was the sort of person, he added, whom the Tibetans would “delight in deflating”—which was precisely the kind of counter-response the future secular lord of Tibet was about to receive, but with no personal ill-will intended, at

* In fact, during one of the conversations he would have with the Babu, the General had even plied the Indo-Tibetan with questions about Patterson, Chang having learned from his contacts with Communist elements in the hill town about the missionary’s critical involvement in the Calcutta affair with the Dalai Lama’s eldest brother. As learned by the present author from two letters and an email which Patterson sent him, Tharchin would subsequently inform the missionary of Chang’s interest in him and would additionally convey to the former missionary certain reports which he had heard of “Communist intentions (both local and Chinese) to ‘get rid’” of him. Indeed, it had been reported to Patterson by others that the General had turned “livid” at the news of Thubten Norbu’s escape to America, that “his furore was directed mostly” at the missionary, and that it had been Chang himself who “had given orders to get rid” of Patterson. The latter stated in one letter to the author that these reports about his intended liquidation had been “corroborated to [him] by the Indian Security Chief who offered to provide” him “with a gun license for safety!” And in an email, Patterson further stated: “My Tibetan servant [a Khampa] ... [had been] escorting me—without my knowledge—to and from the town bazaar [and] told me I was being followed by certain unknown individuals, who might have [ultimately] been scared off by the presence of my Khampa servant, so no attempts were actually made!” Nevertheless, added Patterson, “my servant attacked one of the people [a Communist] following me and beat him up” so badly that it “put him in hospital.” He would later explain in one of his books that his Khampa servant had “calmly informed the onlookers” who had witnessed the beating “that the Communist had tried to kill his ... master, and that if anyone else had any ideas the same would happen to them. Whether it was this threat, or continuing divine providence, I was never molested.”

Patterson, incidentally, had first met Babu Tharchin shortly after his arrival in the hill station from East Tibet in 1950. “I was very friendly with Tharchin,” he wrote in one of his letters to the author. And “because we were both Christians, we related well.” As a matter of fact, one prominent Kalimpong resident has reported to the present author that these two Christians had attended church services together at the Tibetan service held at the Macfarlane Memorial Church and also together sometimes at the services held at the Graham’s Homes Chapel. Their becoming acquainted with each other was during the time when, as the Tibet situation began heating up, the Babu’s hill town had commenced attracting a growing number of foreign correspondents who had come there in search of news concerning the World’s Roof. Naturally, they had begun to approach their fellow journalist Tharchin for information. This, in turn, wrote Patterson, led the careful Babu to come to *him*—now a foreign correspondent himself—with queries about the “status” of these visiting journalists and about Patterson’s personal “estimates” of them. “Our meetings together,” wrote the erstwhile missionary, were held “at the Tibet Mirror Press, although we sometimes met in Tharchin’s home.”

Letters to the author, Bonita CA USA, 22 Dec. 1998 and 28 Jan. 1999; also, email to the author, 19 Jan. 2001; see also Patterson, *Requiem for Tibet*, 131-3, for further details related to the threats on Patterson’s life; and the information re: joint attendance at church services is per interview with Achu N. Tsering, Jan. 1998.

† A similar estimate of this man’s demeanor has been provided by Abdul Wahid Radhu, the Ladakhi Moslem trader. He had halted for a few days at Yatung while traveling to Lhasa on business. Hence, he was there during the entire period of General Chang’s own stay at this Tibetan town, and thus had the opportunity to observe the future Chinese Communist ruler of Tibet in his public activity on the streets of Yatung, whenever not meeting with the Dalai Lama. Wrote Radhu long afterwards: “The general demonstrated affability, smiling at people in the street, especially those of modest state, and patting children. However, he was not able to fool anyone because his attitude smacked of the pride of power.” Radhu, *Islam in Tibet*, 240.

the hands of the lowly newspaper publisher on several occasions during the Chinese stopover in Kalimpong. The General, in the words of this same foreign writer (Lowell Thomas Jr), "was not [to be] met with humility as a conqueror," but would be "greeted with proud dignity as a guest." And in Tharchin's case, this implied, as he soon made clear to Chang and his delegation, that not unlike many other Tibetans on both sides of the border, the Kalimpong publisher still regarded Tibet as independent and that, as Thomas had phrased it, he like the other Tibetans "expected the visitor's stay" in the Land of Snows "to be impermanent."¹³⁸ This expectation, insofar as it pertained specifically to General Chang himself, would prove in the end to be true.

After an initial conversation with the Chinese delegation's head on routine matters, the ardent anti-Communist Tharchin presented a few sample copies of his Tibetan newspaper to Chang. The General remarked to the publisher, "We are very pleased to have heard that you are the first man to have brought out a printed Tibetan newspaper." As he said this he began turning over the pages of these sample copies of the *Tibet Mirror* in a cursory fashion. It so happened, however, that on one of the pages the new Communist mogul of Tibet spotted a picture of Chiang Kai-shek.* Immediately his countenance completely changed. The Red Chinese official's face became absolutely red! He also became quite angry. He suddenly closed the newspaper and the conversation came to an abrupt end.

Without realizing it Tharchin had just been treated to the kind of behavior which would become all too familiar to the young Dalai Lama in the troublous years which lay ahead for him at Lhasa. "I got to know [the General] quite well," His Holiness remarked long afterwards. "He was, I think, a decent man, a man of good heart. But very short-tempered. Without warning his face would suddenly turn bright red and his voice would rise, then moments later he would be so calm it was difficult to believe he was the same person. A true Chinese. Unfortunately he later suffered very much during the Cultural Revolution, and now he is no more."¹³⁹

* This Chinese general was a successor to Sun Yat-sen as President of China, ruling over the country from 1928 to 1931, and again from 1943 to 1949, when the Chinese Communists came to power. Although during the post-World War Two struggle for supremacy in China between Chiang's Nationalists and the Communists Tharchin in his newspaper had supported General Chiang in opposition to the Communists, eventually the Tibetan publisher and most of the Tibetan exile community in Kalimpong and elsewhere would become alienated from the Chinese general, who after the fall of the Nationalists on the mainland had fled with his supporters to the island of Taiwan (Formosa). This was because of Chiang's view (to be discussed more fully in the next chapter) that Tibet was a province of China, the one thing about which he and the Communist leaders had always been in agreement. Over the years since 1949 Taiwan had continually refused to budge on this point, and by 1965 the exile community's relationship with Chiang's government on the island was for all intents and purposes destroyed, even though the latter's support had been enlisted on the side of the pro-Tibet rebels a decade and more earlier by the Chinese wife of the Dalai Lama's elder brother Gyalo Dhondup. See Chris Mullin, "The CIA: Tibetan Conspiracy," *Far Eastern Economic Review* (5 Sept. 1975):31.

Interestingly, as late as mid-1962, Tharchin, despite his growing disenchantment with Chiang, hoped nonetheless that his Kuomintang (KMT) forces on Taiwan might still mount a counterattack against the Communist Chinese mainland. For in a letter to Hisao Kimura in Japan he wrote the following on 22 June: "We read in the paper that [Han] refugees [are] coming to Hong Kong from China. I think sooner or later the Communist Govt may not be able to stand. I do not know what the KMT on Formosa are doing. It is high time that they must now do [something]; if so, all the mainland people may revolt and join with KMT. Some say that America is holding back! It may be that the time is not yet ripe." Th to K Ltrs File. Subsequent events in China, Tibet and along the Taiwan Straits would prove this wishful thinking highly unrealistic.



A more formal reception was held for the members of the delegation, both Tibetans and Chinese, in the local Chungwha (that is, Chinese) School on July 5th.¹⁴⁰ The reception at the School had been organized by the local Tibetan and Chinese populations as well as by the Kalimpong branch of the Indian Communist Party. Ironically, in the years after its founding in 1941 by Kalimpong's small Chinese colony of mostly merchants and artisans,¹⁴¹ this particular school, situated a quarter of a mile distance from the town's center along the Bong Road, had been aided by the then Kuomintang (Nationalist) government of China.¹⁴² Even many of the teachers for the School had been sent by the Kuomintang government.¹⁴³ Now, though, there waved from atop its roof the red, five-starred flag of Communist China.¹⁴⁴

On the occasion of the Chungwha reception, some two hundred people were gathered within the limited confines of the School's small main hall or auditorium that served then, as it still does today, as an assembly hall, theater and gymnasium. At the front of the hall was a raised platform or stage on which, facing out towards the general audience, were seated the members of the Chinese Mission—including General Chang. Seated there as well were other dignitaries, invited from the local Chinese and Tibetan communities to be present at this very special event, some of whom would also address the assembled crowd. Invited, of course, was Gergan Tharchin; yet, not surprisingly, he chose not to sit on the stage with the Red Delegation but among those seated at a row of long tables that had been placed directly in front of the general audience located just below and back from the stage a short distance.

Tharchin's Chinese friend quoted from a few pages earlier, F. M. Shen, who at this time was still a teacher at Chungwha, was an eyewitness to this unusual event and could recall that the program began with a brief speech given by the School Board's President welcoming all the dignitaries. Thereafter various individuals rose up to speak, the first one being Chang Ching-wu himself. Shen recalled that the General was attired in the now familiar "Mao suit" and "floppy cap"—his entire dress being light bluish-gray in color. After addressing the assembly for about fifteen minutes, the General was followed by a number of other speakers, a mixture of both Chinese and Tibetans.

As it turned out, reported Shen, "the very *last* speaker on the program" was the maverick newspaper publisher himself. "Because Tharchin was who he was and was both Tibetan and Christian," noted Shen significantly, "the atmosphere became tense immediately upon his taking the stage." Long after the event the Babu himself confided that inwardly at that moment he had felt he "was compelled to get up and go to the front to address the elite gathering." "Every word, whether spoken by Chinese or Tibetans," he added, "was being recorded [by the Chinese] with meticulous care as fast as delivered." The recorders must have been taken aback by what they heard Tharchin Babu say. For the substance of his very short speech, delivered in his beloved Lhasan Tibetan dialect, was as follows:

... In Tibetan we have a proverb which says that everything is changing. For example, there is happiness and then there is sorrow. Everything turns like a wheel. This it seems is quite true, even today. Just the other day (and here the speaker pointed to the wall) there were different kinds of pictures on this wall, but now Chiang Kai-shek's

picture has disappeared and Mao's has taken its place. Tibet for centuries has been an independent country. The Chinese claim that it was under China. This state of affairs will not last permanently. It too will change. The Chinese will have to give up their claim to Tibet. Tibet will once again enjoy its original freedom and independence, free of all Chinese control.

When asked while having his "memoirs" prepared to comment on the impact his speech had had on those present, Tharchin observed that "the Tibetan section of the audience was so happy to hear these remarks that they clapped heartily, thereby indicating their endorsement of my statements. The Chinese were noting down every word I was speaking."

After the speech was concluded, the young, patriotic Tibetan boys present carried the brave little man from Poo on their shoulders for many meters as though he had been the hero of a victorious athletic team! General Chang and his Red Chinese delegation naturally felt very awkward and embarrassed at having had to witness this show of defiant courage. "They were *really* red!" Tharchin had exclaimed, his face beaming with satisfaction once again at the recollection of what he had done on that memorable day long ago.*

It will be of interest to know that four years later almost to the day, another similar memorable gathering of Tibetan and Chinese notables would be held, but in Lhasa, and at which another and far more famous Tibetan would stand up and speak in open defiance of Tibet's would-be masters from the east. The incident was recounted by Jigme Taring's wife, Mary La, in her autobiography published long afterwards. It was to be the inauguration of the unwanted Chinese-imposed all-Tibetan Preparatory Committee for the Autonomous Region of Tibet which would directly rule the Land of Snows for, but under the aegis of, the hated Hans. For the occasion representatives from all over Tibet, as well as several important Chinese political and military leaders, gathered themselves together at the capital for what was billed as a gala show of supposed unity and harmony for the future of Tibet within the embrace of the People's Republic of China. Speeches were to be given by such notables as the Dalai Lama himself, as well as the Panchen Lama, the Sakya Lama and other important Tibetan Lamas, together with China's highly decorated Marshal Chen Yi, General Chang Ching-wu, and other Han dignitaries.

But it was to be Tibet's former great military and political leader Tsarong Shape who, like Tharchin earlier, would become the hero of the day for Tibetans: he had the courage to

* All details and quoted material found in this and the preceding three paragraphs are based on information gleaned from either (a) the results of the present writer's own on-site visit to the School in 1991; (b) the substance of the interview he had with eyewitness Shen, Mar. 1991; (c) Tharchin's own recollections and comments as recounted in GTUM TwMs, Ch. 21, pp. 2-3; or (d) a rare photograph of the event found among the ThPaK that is believed, though not confirmed, to have been taken by Tharchin and which shows the long tables, the crowded audience behind those seated at the tables, as well as a large portrait of Mao hanging high up on the wall behind the audience.

Tsering Shakya, writer on Tibet's more recent history, mentions this event and cites an eyewitness who recalls the Babu making the speech but not his having been carried on anyone's shoulders. The eyewitness: Phuntsog Tashi Takla, Dalai Lama XIV's brother-in-law and member of the Tibetan delegation that had accompanied General Chang from Peking after the signing of the 17-Point Agreement. See Shakya 1999, pp. 79-80, with end-notes 112, 113. However, eyewitness Shen of Kalimpong's Chinese community, interviewed by the present author, confirmed the report given by Tharchin in the latter's "memoirs" of this having occurred.

say what all true patriotic Tibetans were thinking that day and wanted to hear but were themselves too fearful to voice. For when his turn came to step to the platform and speak “as a famous man of Tibet,” Tharchin’s good friend Tsarong simply but fearlessly declared in unalloyed candor: “We Tibetans have always resisted invaders and have never given away our country to anyone.” That was all he said, wrote Mary La, who was there to hear it; but “then,” she added, with obvious pleasure, Tsarong “walked off the platform and we all looked at each other and smiled ...”¹⁴⁵ Had they known about each other’s brave performance, these two friends, celebrated in their own way as famous sons of Tibet, would most certainly have taken great pride in each other’s courage and forthrightness!



Two days later, July 7th, a grand feast was arranged for the entire Chinese delegation at the home of one of the Pangdatsangs: “a large modern house set in a beautiful garden ... in the Eleventh-Mile district” of Kalimpong.¹⁴⁶ Now it was somewhat ironic that the delegation was to be entertained in this particular home, said to be a “magnificent house” belonging to “one of the richest men in Tibet, the noble and merchant,” Yangpel or Yarpel Pangdatsang (or Pangda Tsang, as the name also appears in the literature).¹⁴⁷ Just here, however, some background needs to be given.

Prior to the Communist invasion this noted family of three lay brothers* had been for years the leading family of the largest tribe in eastern and southeastern Tibet. These were the fiercely proud, independent and warlike Khampas of Kham Province, “a land of brigands as ruthless as they were handsome, and at times as cruel as they were carefree.” Besides enjoying a reputation as untamed bandits and rebels, the Khampas made the fiercest of the greatly feared and respected *dob-dob*, the infamous and physically enormous soldier-monks of Tibetan Buddhism. To the latter, wrote Hisao Kimura, who had had firsthand encounters with both these Khampa elements when on spy missions in East Tibet, there was attributed a saying that went: “No murder, no food; no pilgrimage, no absolution. On! onward on your pilgrimage, killing men and visiting temples.”† Though admittedly the Khampas were to be

* Actually, besides Yangpel, Rapga and Topgyay, there was a fourth brother—the eldest one, in fact—whose personal name was Pu Nyima, but who, like the other three brothers, was known by Pangdatsang, the name of the family estate in their native Kham. Born in about 1885, he for a time served as a lay official with the rank of Letsenpa (or sixth rank), but by the mid-1930s had become a monk. *Who’s Who in Tibet* (1938), 52. Interestingly, Carole McGranahan has noted that with respect to the sphere of Tibetan politics, there would develop among this trio of lay brothers a “familial division of labor”: Yangpel’s domain was “Lhasa social politics,” that of Topgyay was “everyday politics,” and Rapga’s assigned realm was “political theory.” As it turned out, each area of responsibility suited the natural inclination and personality of each of them. See her 2001 Ph.D. dissertation, “Arrested Histories: Empire and Exile in 20th-Century Tibet,” p. 160; and see *passim* for this latest in-depth study of this unique family and the role each member had played in more recent Tibetan history and politics; see especially pp. 174-215 for Rapga’s life and career.

† Kimura, *Japanese Agent in Tibet*, 156. Elsewhere in his book, the Japanese explained that the large Tibetan monasteries like the one at Kumbum, where he first made acquaintance with the *dob-dob*, could not survive only on donations but were functioning economic entities that administered estates and sent out trading

briefly allied with the Chinese Communists militarily (but *not* ideologically in the strictest sense), they would in time become, together with the Amdowas, the strongest opposition to the Chinese invaders. For the Khampas would come to realize by about 1954 that the Hans, in the words of Dawa Norbu, “were not liberators but suppressors” and would thereafter commence a revolt against the Chinese occupiers that would eventually spread from East to Central and South Tibet and culminate in the ill-fated Uprising of 1959.¹⁴⁸

The two oldest lay brothers, Yangpel and Rapga, both had houses in Kalimpong, but of the three lay brothers it was primarily Yangpel the eldest who handled the financial and business affairs of the family and was more likely to be found at Lhasa, at Yatung and at Kalimpong rather than in Kham. Having built up a vast commercial empire, with warehouses which were easily the largest in Lhasa, Kalimpong and Kanting (formerly Tachienlu), the business of this rich trading family had extended even to Peking, Shanghai and Calcutta. According to Amsterdam University historical geographer Wim van Spengen, the origins of the Pangdatsang family “consortium” date back to the privileges it had obtained from the Great Thirteenth following the end of Chinese occupation of Tibet in 1912. In the hands of the Pangdatsangs and a few other Tibetan merchant families rested the handling of the most important items of trade; in particular, wholesale wool. The Pangdatsangs and others therefore established agents in such trade centers as Kalimpong, and earlier, Darjeeling, requiring them to build and maintain huge godowns for the storage especially of wool for later shipment to Calcutta and on from there to foreign markets in America and Europe. Though there were some rich private merchants, like Tsarong Shape, in Lhasa, most trading families—including the Pangdatsangs—“served in one way or another,” writes van Spengen, “the interests of the Tibetan government and the monasteries on which its power rested.” With the Dalai Lama’s proffered privileges and his blessing, it took only a few years for Nyigyal Pangdatsang, the father of Yangpel, to create “a trading imperium that extended across the length and breadth of Tibet.” Sending his eldest lay son Yangpel to Peking for the purpose of establishing a commercial agency there, the Pangdatsang patriarch subsequently dispatched as well two other sons to eastern Tibet for tapping into the Southwest China trade. By these moves and others this Khampa merchant family was eventually able to control a considerable portion of the lucrative Tibet-China trade. But with the outbreak of disturbances along the Sino-Tibetan border in the 1930s, most of the Khampa corporate trading families—like the Pangdatsangs, the Sadutsangs and the family of Andrutsang, the later resistance-leader against the Red Chinese in the 1950s—soon settled in the strategic entrepôt of Kalimpong; which enabled Yangpel, after his father’s death, to rise rapidly to become without question the most important and probably the most powerful trader of Tibet.¹⁴⁹

So pervasive was this family’s presence everywhere and so influential because of its

caravans. Because of this, “these brawny and less scholarly fellows” performed not only menial tasks around the gompas but also, the more responsible among the dob-dob served as caravan leaders, while the less so served as muleteers and guards. “They spent more of their time practicing sword fighting and wrestling than they did in prayer, and were very fond of dueling—particularly over handsome young boys. They were a fearsome sight with their robes glistening with butter, their two curly locks also groomed with butter, and the rings they painted around their eyes with soot.” *Ibid.*, 62.

wealth—especially that of Yangpel—that one particular story, humorously reflective of this, has gained wide currency over the years among the Tibetans of Kalimpong and elsewhere. Yangpel Pangdatsang, so goes the story, was one of the richest men in Tibet, and certainly the wealthiest trader of Tibet.* He owned a great deal of property, too, in Kalimpong. One evening, a group of his caravan mule drivers were drinking heavily and having a good time together as they sat along one of the main roads of Kalimpong. Having in the course of the evening taken it upon themselves to defecate right on the road, the group of muleteers were reprimanded by a passerby for having done so and told not to do it again on the main road but elsewhere. To which the drunken men responded by uttering in all candor, and employing the much coarser term for what they had done, the following colorful retort: “The sky is Pangdatsang’s; the earth is Pangdatsang’s; so if we can’t defecate here on the road, where else can we defecate?!?”¹⁵⁰

One indication of the influence this rich Tibetan merchant had in his country’s political affairs was the fact that in 1948 Yangpel had the distinction of being chosen by the Government as one of four officials to be sent on a world tour that would last nearly two years. The four members of this goodwill Trade Mission “had been carefully selected for their culture and progressive ideas, as it was desired to show the world that Tibet was a civilized country.”¹⁵¹ Yangpel Pangdatsang was one of two members of the Mission who could speak a little English “and had some idea of Western habits and customs.” (The other was Surkhang Depon, the younger brother of Surkhang Shape, probably the most powerful and influential of the Kashag’s four Shapes and a son, like the Depon, of Surkhang Dzasa, Tibet’s Foreign Minister.) Going first to India, they then flew to China, next to America (they being the first Tibetans ever there), and finally on to Europe, returning to Tibet sometime in 1950. A further indication of Yangpel’s influence was the fact that in the 1930s he served as the Tibetan government’s Trade Agent in the British-controlled trade mart at Yatung in Tibet’s Chumbi Valley—a most important post that “allowed him to control all trade in and out of Tibet,”¹⁵² and in the late 1940s and on into the 1950s as Tibet’s Trade Agent in Kalimpong.¹⁵³ And by the time of the arrival of the Chinese delegation in Kalimpong (July 1951), this eldest of the lay Pangdatsang brothers was Governor of Yatung and the rest of the Chumbi Valley (or Dromo) and had a personal following of about two hundred armed Khampas there;¹⁵⁴ and furthermore, it was rebel Khampas like these, and Tibetan soldiers too, who by the late 1950s would come to be concentrated in southeastern Tibet and would be able to provide the constant rearguard protection for the Dalai Lama in what became his celebrated journey over the mountain passes into India in March of 1959.¹⁵⁵

It needs to be further understood, however, that the Chinese were not the only target of the Pangdatsang hostility. For many years prior to the Communist invasion from the east, the Pangdatsangs and others had been targeting certain elements within the Lhasa government to the west as well. As one English writer on the Land of Snows has aptly described it,

* “There was a competitive spirit between Yangpel Pangdatsang and General Tsarong, each claiming to be more wealthy than the other; but it was clear that Pangdatsang was far more than the General, though Tsarong eclipsed Pangdatsang in other ways—for example, so far as social and political influence were concerned, he excelled Pangdatsang considerably.” So said Gyan Jyoti, son of one of the wealthier commercial and business families in Kalimpong at this time, in an interview with the present writer, Feb. 1993.

the relationship between the Khampas and central Tibet was “much like that of the Highland Scots and the English” in Great Britain!¹⁵⁶ Absolutely loyal to the throne of the Dalai Lama, they nevertheless “could not brook the interference and financial trickery of the governors sent into eastern Tibet from Lhasa.”¹⁵⁷ Furthermore, they looked upon most of the ruling officials surrounding their “god-king” as far too autocratic and feudalistically backward in their rule and grossly opportunistic and corrupt in their official conduct. They wished to bring Tibet economically, politically and socially into the twentieth century, but it was their perception that the only way to achieve this would be to overthrow the ruling cliques then in power at Lhasa. “Agitating with other Khampa leaders for a stronger position *vis-à-vis* both Lhasa and Chinese powerholders,”¹⁵⁸ one of the methods they utilized later against the Lhasan powerholders, but for only a short time, was to clandestinely team up with the Chinese Communists to the east with the intention that once the overthrow was complete in Lhasa they would then on their own terms deal with the Red Chinese. In fact, the Khampas “were apt to fall behind whichever side—Lhasa or Peking—offered the most attractive terms for absentee rule.”¹⁵⁹ From all this one can perhaps discern that the Khampas, though greatly devoted to the Dalai Lama, felt only nominal loyalty to Tibet’s central political establishment with its lay and clerical aristocrats. In the opinion of John Knaus, they generally held the distant government at Lhasa in contempt, deeming themselves to be “Khampas first and then Tibetans.”¹⁶⁰

The third and youngest in this trio of lay brothers was Topgyay. He above the rest of these family brothers was looked upon as the accepted military leader of the Khampa tribe. At the time of the Great Thirteenth’s death, Topgyay had remained at the Pangdatsang estate where he and his followers would be engaged in revolting against Tibetan government troops during the period of confusion which followed the Tibetan Pontiff’s passing.¹⁶¹ Indisputably a charismatic leader, Topgyay was greatly “loved” by the Khampas “for his

* The motives of the Khampas and their leaders, it should be pointed out, were not all of one sort, even as Hugh Richardson and Warren Smith have made clear in their histories of Tibet. Commenting about the 1950 Chinese Communist invasion into eastern Tibet, Richardson observed that the main attack (which was around Chamdo, the center of Tibetan administration on the eastern border) consisted not only of Chinese troops but also of “a large admixture of Khampa irregulars from across the Yangtse.” Many of them “were deluded by Communist propaganda” which had indiscriminately played “on every sort of local grievance” and which had offered the Khampas “an independent eastern Tibetan government” that had long been one of their dreams. Others, noted Richardson, “were pursuing their own feuds”; while still others among these collaborating Khampas “were simply out for loot.”

On the other hand, Smith in his history has described the Khampas as often differing with regard to “whether they preferred to reform the Tibetan government or to form an independent polity in eastern Tibet; some naively thought that the Chinese would assist in those goals, but few if any were proponents of Chinese control over Tibet.” In 1949, notes Smith, Khampa leaders refused the Communist Chinese offer to support the Khampas’ opposition agenda against Lhasa so long as “Kham were constituted as an East Tibet Autonomous Region” and so long as “the Khampa movement became part of the Communist liberation of Tibet.” Hurriedly attempting to restore relations with Lhasa “for a united resistance” following the PLA’s entrance into Kham in 1950, Khampa leaders were nonetheless “no longer trusted by Lhasa” because of their well-known collaboration with the Chinese. Moreover, writes Smith, “the most damaging effect of some Khampas’ collaboration” was perhaps the fact that the Communist Chinese “were able to propagandize about their acceptance by the Khampas” and were therefore able to “obscure the actual nature of their entrance into Tibet.” See Richardson, *Tibet and Its History*, 183 and Smith, *Tibetan Nation*, 274.

reckless and swashbuckling ways.” “No challenge, whether political or personal,” declared George Patterson, who knew him well, “was too great for him to attempt.”¹⁶² Indeed, one of the political challenges which Topygay happily accepted and fulfilled with aplomb was to assist in forging Khampa unification by helping to settle internal differences then present among the Khampas. He became the leader of a political group that was formed for this purpose. Gathering in various parts of Kham and hosting parties with all kinds of popular activities such as horse-riding, picnics and dancing, he and his group had adopted as their symbol the *mtshun pa spun bzhi*, the “four harmonious brothers”: the elephant, monkey, rabbit and bird—a symbol of friendship and unity.¹⁶³

Present at Lhasa in 1949 when the Tibetan government issued its surprising expulsion order for all Chinese and certain other undesirables to leave the country (see again the previous chapter for the details), Topgyay was one of the East Tibetan undesirables forced to leave, along with Phuntsog Wangyal and his followers at the capital.¹⁶⁴ In 1950 he and his brother Rapga, both of them now on the scene in eastern Tibet, together with two leaders of the Amdowas in the northeastern ethnic Tibetan area of Amdo, were planning to revolt against the Lhasa government. This had not been the first attempt to do so. Earlier these same two brothers had unsuccessfully led a revolt in 1934 against the Lhasa government in Kham itself,¹⁶⁵ but they then turned their Khampas against a Chinese Nationalist army which had been sent to oppose them, again failing to achieve a victory. In fact, these two had met with defeat at the hands of “an unlikely combination of Tibetan troops sent by Lhasa to assert its remote authority, Chinese Nationalists defending Chiang [Kai-shek]’s uncertain claims, and [Mao Tse-tung’s] Chinese Communists who were just then passing through the territory on their Long March to Yanan.”¹⁶⁶

Immediately thereafter Rapga (1902-76)—“the intellectual, theorist and political schemer”—was obliged to flee to China, where in 1935 he had an interview with Chiang. Employed and supported financially by the Mongolian and Tibetan Affairs Commission in Nanking, Rapga went next to Kalimpong. There he met with certain Indian nationalists, whose anti-imperial democratic agenda for India he greatly admired. He then returned to China in 1938 via Tibet, whereas his servants had to depart India in disguise, bound for China on a ship out of Calcutta harbor. His family and friends in Kalimpong would later claim that Rapga had to leave India at this time because his meetings with the Indian nationalists had been deemed by the British to be unacceptable. While in China he would meet several times more with the Generalissimo, who would personally support Rapga with cash as well as with goods which he could sell. According to Carole McGranahan, British Indian officials now “considered him to be an ‘active Chinese agent’” seeking to create trouble in Tibet while residing on Indian soil, whereas instead, she writes, Rapga was “an active agent for a reformed and united Tibet” who “was intent on using the Kuomintang to achieve his goals . . . despite their intentions for [using] him” to achieve Nationalist China’s goal of ultimately “assimilating Tibet.” Her substantial research into the matter clearly supports this contention of hers.¹⁶⁷

As can be discerned from the foregoing information about Rapga, the latter, in contrast with his more military-minded younger brother Topgyay, was very much the thinker and student of politics. He was “quiet and studious, and a keen Tibetan classical scholar.” This.

according to Britisher Robert W. Ford, who served the Lhasa government as a trained radio operator in Kham during the late 1940s and knew him fairly well there. It was said, wrote Ford later, that Rapga knew more about the Buddhist scriptures than most Incarnate Lamas. He also could speak and read English and Chinese, both self-taught, and knew much more about international affairs than any of the Tibetan officials in Kham. Another of his friends and admirers, who knew Rapga far more intimately than Ford, George Patterson, went even further: that Rapga knew more about international politics than the entire Lhasa government put together!¹⁶⁸ Not only well conversant with the international scene, Rapga was likewise well aware of politics in both China and India, having been both an eager reader of newspapers and avid radio listener.¹⁶⁹ Moreover, reading books was one of his favorite activities, he having surrounded himself with many volumes on all sorts of subjects. And the story has been told by one of Rapga's former servants about his reading while even on horseback and of his being so absorbed in what he was reading that he was not even aware of his horse crossing a river!¹⁷⁰

Much the devotee of Dalai Lama XIII and a strong adherent of both the Chinese leader Sun Yat-sen and the Indian nationalists like Chandra Bose and Nehru, Rapga was given the opportunity by Gergan Tharchin to explain his political activities up to this moment in an article of Rapga's the Babu would publish in the *Tibet Mirror's* issue of 24 December 1936. In it the Khampa intellectual had noted that following the Great Thirteenth's death "there was a feeling of tension in Markham [an important town in Kham]. Intrigues between the ministers in Lhasa, whose activities were in opposition to the Pontiff, were the cause of this tension."¹⁷¹ He would later acknowledge that during the political chaos in Tibet which erupted after the Pontiff's death, he himself was not sure where he belonged—the Tibetan political world, in the words of McGranahan, having literally come crashing down around him.¹⁷²

Only upon his return to Kalimpong following his 1938 sojourn in China did Rapga begin to get a grip on what he wanted to do with his life for the benefit of Tibet. He would now bring his intellectual and political skills to bear on seeking ways to effect what he viewed as a long overdue improvement in the socio-political and religious polity of his beloved Land of Snows. But though a highly intelligent man capable of expressing himself well in English and knowledgeable of political concepts totally foreign to Tibet, Rapga, recalled Ford long afterwards, was nonetheless a very complicated individual. "He was easily the best educated Khampa I met," Ford wrote, "but I could never make him out."¹⁷³

Very few could. But there was perhaps one particular individual in Kalimpong who could figure out Rapga, for there the latter made the acquaintance of another *persona non grata* from Tibet by the name of Kunphela. It will be recalled that Kuchar Kunphela (?1905-63) had been the latter-day favorite of Dalai Lama XIII whom Tharchin had first met at Lhasa in the audience chamber with His Holiness back in 1927, but who had fallen out of favor with the Tibetan government upon the death of His Holiness in 1933 and the inevitable political intrigues that ensued thereafter.

By 1937 Kunphela, who had previously wielded unusual power and influence in both civil and military affairs at Lhasa,¹⁷⁴ was now reduced to managing a Tibetan wool godown in Kalimpong where, as was learned earlier, he became a close friend of Tharchin's. Here he also met and became associated with Rapga Pangdatsang in 1939, collaborating with

him and with another close friend of the Babu's, Changlo Chen Gung, in establishing what in its literature in English was known as the Tibet Improvement Party but which in Tibetan its name would be more accurately translated as the Western Tibet Reform Party (or, the Association for Improvement of Western Tibet) and which, when the Chinese was used on the Party's letterheads, would translate even more strongly as the Tibet Revolutionary Party. These three founding members of the Party, in the words of Heather Stoddard, "were celebrities in Kalimpong," so much so that "their comings and goings were reported by Babu Tharchin in his *Mirror* newspaper."¹⁷⁵ Tharchin was sympathetic to many of the Khampa intellectual's socio-political ideas and to the goal which the Improvement Party espoused of bringing about a unified modern democratic Tibet able to resist any encroachment from outside powers. McGranahan has recorded the fact of the close friendship between the Indo-Tibetan newspaper editor and the Khampa reformer. "From his house in the center of Kalimpong," she writes, "Rapga would often walk to visit Tharchin at the Tibet Mirror Press [office] in Mackenzie Cottage or at his home on the ridge above Tenth Mile." Like many other Tibetans of that time, he would come to the Babu "to discuss politics, world events, news from Tibet, and drink bottomless cups of tea." And because the Babu was trusted by all Tibetans in the hill station, not least by Rapga, the latter must have discussed with this "secret political player" from Poo the ongoing development of his Improvement Party and its aims and objectives for Tibet.¹⁷⁶

At the time of its greatest following, according to Rapga, in information he personally gave decades later to one Western scholar on Tibet, there were some three to four hundred sympathizers whom he wished to see gathered into the Party—both in Kalimpong and at the Tibetan capital¹⁷⁷—that already included as a participant *non-member*, as was learned in the previous chapter, the Amdo monk-scholar and social reformer Gedun Chopel during his years in India. What this group sought was not merely a change in regents at Lhasa but, in the words of its 1939 charter signed at Kalimpong by these three Tibetans, the "liberation of Tibet from the existing tyrannical Government" and the establishment of a democratic republic which would be a part of the Chinese nation.¹⁷⁸ This new government would replace what in their view was an outmoded feudal regime that had for so long been dominated by self-seeking powerful families and priestly cabals.

In the meantime, Rapga was applying himself, reported Patterson, to studying English more and honing up further on politics. And as his knowledge of these disciplines improved, he next set himself to translating into Tibetan several works by the father of the Chinese revolution, Sun Yat-sen—in particular, the series of lectures he gave in 1924 setting forth his vision for China, his *Three Principles of the People* (nationalism, democracy, livelihood—the latter essentially a program of state socialism: the equalization of land ownership and the regulation of capital)¹⁷⁹—as well as excerpts from Karl Marx and treatises on international law. And according to Heather Stoddard's 1975 interview with Rapga himself, the latter had stated that he not only used the original Chinese edition of *Three Principles* but also compared it with Gergan Tharchin's loaned English version of it, with the Babu having probably assisted him in translating this work of Sun's into Tibetan.¹⁸⁰ Moreover, as was noted earlier, Rapga even "wrote political articles for the Tibetan newspaper published in Kalimpong, the *Tibet Mirror* . . .,"¹⁸¹ which doubtless generated some interesting debate among Gergan Tharchin's

newspaper readership! Though Rapga did hold views that for a Khampa warrior were remarkably leftist, it was incorrect for him to have been labeled a Communist as some did. Nevertheless, the Pangdatsang brothers—who had a strong affinity for China and were sympathetic to her Republican ideas^{181a}—had long harbored the hope of one day introducing liberal social policies into their nation once “the Lhasan lords,” explained French author Michel Peissel, “could be replaced by a unified Tibetan government.” These Khampa leaders, noted this scholar in Tibetan ethnology, “could hardly restrain themselves seeing the abuses committed by the religious authorities, and loathed the corrupt court entourage of the Dalai Lama that fawned before the Chinese.” The Khampas, he added, “rose not against Communist ideology, but against the Peking emissaries and the [Tibetan] collaborationists.”¹⁸²

Here, then, in the words of McGranahan, is what Rapga and his fellow dissident intellectuals wished to achieve by means of the Tibet Improvement Party: “the group hoped to incite political change in Tibet, specifically, the shift from a conservative and feudal government to a more progressive modern one”—in fact, a reform of the Tibetan government “along the lines of Nationalist China.”¹⁸³ As Political Officer Hopkinson would perceptively describe it, “Rapga’s main theme was that [Nationalist] China meant progress, and India (British India) the opposite.” And even though, he added, “the symbol adopted” by the Improvement Party “was crossed sickle and khukri,” Rapga “was Kuo-min-tang, not communist.”¹⁸⁴

In summary, one could say that many, if not most, of Rapga’s primary ideas and aims for effecting the desired modernizing changes in Tibet were modeled on those of Sun Yat-sen for China; as a matter of fact, for Rapga, recalled George Patterson, Sun’s *Three Principles of the People* “was his bible.” Moreover, the husband of Rapga’s niece would later declare that his observation of Rapga—upon receiving a copy of the latter’s Tibetan translation of the *Three Principles* from the translator himself—was that the Khampa reformer’s admiration for Sun was so great that it appeared as though he were exhibiting *dadpa* (faith and devotion) towards the Chinese leader as if he were some Lama or god!¹⁸⁵ Some of these ideas and aims were the following: popular democracy (by which was meant people’s sovereignty, or control of the government by the people, but keeping “sovereignty” and “ability” separate; for whereas the people’s political power must build the state, the latter must be administered by experts); lay education, by which was meant the transformation of the monasteries into education centers for dealing with the near total illiteracy of the Tibetan people outside of the monastic population; initially, as stated in a 1945 Tibet Improvement Party document detailing the Party’s development since 1939, autonomy for Tibet within the political framework of Nationalist China, but a few years later, a call for Tibet’s “complete independence” and non-cooperation with China “in any form”; and, finally, the need to develop nationalism by uniting together into one Tibet’s local and regional areas east and west for the preservation, wrote Rapga, of “the Tibetan race, religion and language” that had been “produced through the efforts of past generations, Dharma Kings, scholars and translators,” but with local officials, he told Robert Ford, “having more say in running their own affairs ...”¹⁸⁶

McGranahan has noted that education and literacy were the essential features in Rapga’s reform program for transforming “Tibet’s tribal and feudal society into a functional

democracy.”¹⁸⁷ He had later acknowledged to Heather Stoddard that at this time of intellectual ferment in his own thinking, “many new ideas were spreading through Tibet,” but these ideas were only becoming known “among the elite and educated people” who, he ruefully explained, “would only make use of [them] for themselves.” Added Rapga, meaningfully, “the masses were too ignorant to be receptive and they had no rights whatsoever.”¹⁸⁸ McGranahan went on to cite a highly informative passage from one of Patterson’s books which discussed part of Rapga’s plan for bringing Tibet into the twentieth century, and whose central focus was education. Wrote Patterson in 1960: Rapga and his fellow reformers “wanted to introduce ... sweeping reforms, reducing the power of the monks ... and introducing roads, hospitals and schools. Rapga had even drawn up a scheme whereby the priesthood would be divided into eight grades, according to their abilities, and be used through the monasteries as a preliminary education system for Tibet, instead of just being a parasitic growth. Those who did not conform to any of the eight grades were to be forbidden the priesthood and returned to their families and manual labor.”¹⁸⁹

It was Rapga’s intense desire to open up many of Tibet’s myriad monastic institutions to the lay population for education and literacy, which for him constituted a key essential for introducing reforms into his country. Wrote this Khampa intellectual in his personal diary for 21 October 1949: “[I] thought about what could be done for the ignorant and powerless Tibetan brothers and sisters.” Furthermore, he publicly proposed the creation of a vernacular language to supplement Tibet’s classical scriptural Tibetan which for centuries had been used in all written forms. Indeed, in calling for a modern Tibetan language, Rapga asked that “scholars match contemporary meaning and language.” Viewing literacy as an essential aspect in the development of Tibetan nationalism, he therefore urged scholars to laud appropriate components of Tibetan culture, declaring: “Eat one’s own food, praise one’s own people.”¹⁹⁰

Now Rapga, as leader of the Reform party opposed to the Lhasa government, was reported to have been getting money from the sympathetic Chinese Nationalists. (In fact, according to Melvyn Goldstein’s history of modern Tibet, documents which he quotes verbatim reveal that not only Rapga but also Changlo Chen and Kunphela were mentioned by name as being in the pay of the Chinese.) Moreover, it was rumored, wrote Ford, that Rapga “had been found distributing bulletins decorated with the hammer and sickle.” At this time, of course, it was Britain’s policy to maintain Tibet as a buffer state in countering possible hostile Chinese actions against India and to preserve in place the *status quo* conservative regime in Lhasa. And hence, because all these reputed and known activities by Rapga’s Improvement Party were unacceptable to the British Government of India, and because these Party collaborators were known to be sympathizers of, and had even associated themselves with, the anti-imperial Indian Congress Party of Gandhi and Nehru, Rapga and Kunphela were declared by the British to be “undesirable elements” with “terrorist” proclivities and Chinese associations, and were therefore expelled from Indian soil and eventually ended up in China. This was in mid-1946. The event which had prompted this final action by the British was what had occurred on 19 June 1946: the British had raided the homes of Rapga and six others (including Changlo Chen’s), all of whom were under suspicion of being spies,

engaging in revolutionary activities, and/or counterfeiting Indian paper currency.* It was said, observed Goldstein, that Changlo Chen was spared from experiencing similar deportation action and permitted to remain in Kalimpong “only by the intervention of [“Rani Choni Dorje of Sikkim” and of] the Bhutan royal family, whose children he was tutoring.”†¹⁹¹

* No evidence of counterfeiting activity was discovered in any of these homes. Interestingly, two other of these six homes raided by the British were: (a) that of Tharchin's very close Chinese scholar-artist friend, F.M. Shen, who was mentioned earlier in the present chapter; and (b) that of the Chinese spy, Jampal Wosul (Jampa Wosel), who figures in the following chapter about Babu Tharchin's clandestine career as an intelligence agent for the British. The main source for documenting these raids is Goldstein's *A History of Modern Tibet*, 458, 458n. See also Carole McGranahan, “Arrested Histories . . .,” Ph.D. dissertation, p. 194, quoting Heather Stoddard's interview with Rapga in 1975, in which the latter reported, in part: “A number of people in Kalimpong had their houses searched and they were then interrogated . . . by the most important CID officer in India, E. Lambert . . .”

† As was intimated in Volume II, Chapter 20 of the present narrative, Changlo Chen Gung would remain at Kalimpong till most likely the latter part of 1947, at which time he turned up in China. For it is known from A. W. Radhu's testimony (see the next Text paragraph above), that at the Nationalist capital of Nanking he was reconnected with Kuchar Kunphela for a time. Meanwhile, and subsequent to Changlo Chen's departure from Kalimpong for China, the Tibetan government at Lhasa had finally authorized his return to Tibet. This had occurred on 15 November 1947; see Heather Stoddard, *Le mendiant de l'Amdo*, 313 note 70. (The present author hereby acknowledges his error in having stated in Chapter 20 that this had most likely occurred in 1951, he not having come across till much later Stoddard's undeniable evidence to the contrary.) It is uncertain, however, if, as did Kunphela (see again Chapter 20 for the details), Gung Kusho returned to Lhasa via Calcutta and Kalimpong or by way of the long overland caravan trail through western China. More than likely, he chose the easier former route which, as with the Kuchar, would probably occur sometime in 1948. If he did return to Tibet via Tharchin's hill station, then he might possibly have resumed for a while his earlier scholarly pursuits with the Babu, especially in translating into Tibetan additional portions of Charles Bell's *Portrait of the Dalai Lama* (London, 1946) that as noted before would appear serially in the *Tibet Mirror*, beginning in 1950. In any case, by late 1948 or early 1949, both Changlo Chen and Kunphela (who himself for certain arrived in Lhasa on 1 November 1948) would be back in the Tibetan capital well prior to Communist China's invasion of Tibet in October of 1950.

From Phuntsog Wangyal's political autobiography published in 2004 it is now learned that besides Changlo Chen's participation in the creation, publication and ongoing maintenance of a Tibetan/Chinese newspaper at Lhasa, this intellectual was shown other marks of social and political rehabilitation. These were bestowed upon him during the early 1950s; and interestingly enough, it was the Tibetan Communist, Phuntsog Wangyal, whose direct personal influence on events made all these marks of rehabilitation of Tharchin's scholar-friend possible.

It was he, for example, who in 1951 brought Changlo Chen and other Tibetan intellectuals into the research committee which ended up producing the aforementioned daily newspaper. Then, in very early 1952 Phuntsog established a modern public school at Lhasa, with Trijang Rimpoche, one of the two most senior tutors to Dalai Lama XIV, as its principal. But the person who actually performed the day-to-day duties of a principal was Changlo Chen, who was appointed the school's vice principal. Popular with the students from the beginning, this school taught Tibetan, Chinese, math and other substantive subjects. (Tsarong Shape, incidentally, along with Phuntsog Wangyal himself, were the vice directors of the school.) And finally, later that same year, Phuntsog was the driving force behind the establishment of a joint grain authority between the Tibetan and Peking governments for the creation of a central storage facility at the Tibetan capital from which would be sold grain to the populace on a regularized basis. The inauguration of this authority, noted Phuntsog, “had a secondary benefit because it enabled us [Surkhang Shape, Ngabo, Langdün, and Phuntsog Wangyal himself] to persuade the Tibetan government to allow a number of progressive former Tibetan officials . . . to rejoin as full Tibetan officials working for us.” Two of these former officials were Changlo Chen Gung and Kuchar Kunphela. To all intents and purposes, both were now fully rehabilitated—socially and politically. See Wangyal, *A Tibetan Revolutionary*, 177-9.

While Changlo Chen, incidentally, would still be alive and working at the Tibetan capital in the critical year of 1959, the Kuchar would die of illnesses at Lhasa on 22 December 1963. In the latter's account of his life

Apparently, however, Changlo Chen would later decide to leave India voluntarily, after which he himself ended up in China as well. It just so happened, too, that at about this same time—late 1947—Abdul Wahid Radhu would also find his way to China, having gone there on a business venture connected with his family's trading company. This Ladakhi Moslem trader would be in China some eighteen months. Arriving first at Shanghai, he shortly afterwards went on to Nationalist China's capital, Nanking. Being the Nationalist Chinese capital, it would naturally attract a considerable number of Tibetans who over time would create a sizable enclave of residents; especially so after 1930 when the Lhasa authorities decided to establish the Tibet Bureau there that year which would serve as the representative office of the Tibetan government.¹⁹² Here at Nanking Radhu fortuitously met up with Gyalo Dhondup, one of the elder brothers of Dalai Lama XIV. And through him he would encounter once again the aforementioned trio of Tibetan progressives he had lately known so well in Kalimpong, and whom the British had branded as undesirable elements. In fact, Rapga Pangdatsang's Nanking home had by now (early 1948) become the rendezvous point for Gyalo and the other three Tibetans, since Kunphela and Changlo Chen had taken up residence with Rapga. Radhu, who became a regular visitor in Rapga's home, would later remark that though cordial *personal* relations existed between Gyalo and Rapga, there was *political* disagreement between the two: the Dalai Lama's brother standing as a firm supporter of complete independence for Tibet whereas Rapga *at this period* having, in Radhu's words, become "the man of the Chinese" who by his persuasive influence "had pulled" his two lodging guests "into the Chinese orbit."¹⁹³

Yet Radhu's assessment of Rapga's affinity towards the Nationalist Chinese was only partially accurate. For it becomes clear in perusing McGranahan's scholarly study on Rapga and his Reform Party that his interest in international politics, and more particularly in those of China and India, "had but one purpose"—which was for them "to be applied [beneficially] to his own country, Tibet."¹⁹⁴ Explains McGranahan further:

Taking his cues from Sun Yat-sen, and heeding the prophecy of the 13th Dalai Lama, Rapga believed that the conservative and unsettled Tibetan government could not survive post-World War II realignments of state sovereignty and regional power, including the threat from China. The Tibet Improvement Party was his response to these concerns.¹⁹⁵

narrated by his wife, it would come to be known, as summarized by historian K. Dhondup who translated it, that Kunphela had apparently given himself up entirely "to the building of the new Tibet in collaboration with the Chinese and took up every work given him with dedication and efficiency." In fact, during the latter years of his life, marked early on by his marriage in 1954 to Lhazom Tseten Dolkar and the fathering of their three children, he had especially devoted himself, in the words of the Tibetan historian, to working "in one department or the other under the Chinese," but that the wife's account of this concluding period in his life fails to "contain even a glimpse of his feeling of either joy or sorrow, laughter or pain under the new system." Which easily leads to the suspicion of a biased account having been written, published originally in Tibetan "under the supervision of the foreign power now ruling Tibet." See page v of K. Dhondup's Preface and his Translator's Note on pp. 217-8 that concludes the historian's translation of L. T. Dolkar's biographical account, "Kuchar Thupten Kunphela," part of the Appendices section of Dhondup's *The Water-Bird and Other Years*, 209-18.

However, Rapga made it clear that though he had connected himself and his Party to the Kuomintang to garner assistance for his design to reform Tibet, such should not be interpreted, as did the British, as signifying his political subservience to the Chinese Nationalists. Declared Rapga when interviewed long afterwards: "The Party was not dependent on the Kuomintang. We had created it in order to introduce reforms into Tibet, because if the country were not to change its [governmental] system, it would be incapable of resisting an aggression coming from outside, such as [that of] the Chinese Communists."¹⁹⁶

One particular contemporary and close friend of Rapga's, Gergan Tharchin, confirms this expressed view of the Khampa reformer. Said the Babu to Heather Stoddard in 1975: Rapga "is a subtle and very intelligent man. He was seeking the support of the Kuomintang, while not wanting to be under its control. The group's objective was the unification of Tibet..."¹⁹⁷ Two "other witnesses residing at Kalimpong" whom Stoddard would likewise interview in 1975 and who, along with Tharchin, had "acknowledged the weak bonds which united" the Kuomintang and Rapga's Party were F. M. Shen and Abdul Wahid Radhu. Shen, like the Babu, told Stoddard that "the Party was linked to the Kuomintang without being under its control"; and Radhu observed that Rapga "thought he could manipulate the Kuomintang, wanting to use its members, whom he considered as being corrupt, parvenu and influenceable. He was aiming at the future of 'True Tibet,' at the same time juggling important sums of Chinese money."¹⁹⁸

Two other contemporaries and friends of the Khampa intellectual were George Patterson and Geoffrey Bull, fellow Christian missionaries of the Plymouth Brethren denomination, who knew and associated with Rapga and Topgyay in Kham during the late 1940s. Both entertained not the slightest doubt about Rapga's true interests: they were for the welfare of Tibet. Bull especially gave expression to where Rapga's heart truly lay. Wrote the missionary later in a letter from Kham to Patterson in Kalimpong:

Rapga, being the brilliant man that he is, with the very highest interests of his country's complete independence at heart, will compromise no principle and endanger no enterprise by haste or impatience. He has just been reading Marx's *Dialectical Materialism* but, while interested from the point of view of philosophical discussion, he nevertheless repudiates and rejects completely the Communist system. Co-operation with the Chinese, in any form, is obviously repulsive to him and he feels that such a policy must eventually result only in Tibetan extinction.¹⁹⁹

Hence, far from being a "Chinese stooge," an "inefficient Chinese agent," a medium on Indian soil for "Chinese intrigues" in Tibet, or that his Tibet Improvement Party served as nothing more than "a Kuomintang front" or as "a branch office of the Kuomintang in Tibet" (all aspersions or assumptions voiced by the British), this Party's founder was later deemed by the Tibetan historian W. D. Shakabpa to have been "a great [Tibetan] patriot."²⁰⁰ As was noted earlier, Rapga and his Party's connections with Chiang and the Kuomintang should not be construed as "political subservience" to China but as a political scheme to bring about a beneficial end for Tibet. Indeed, it is McGranahan's considered view that Rapga and his confrères in reform had deemed the Improvement Party to have been a *Tibetan*, not a Chinese, effort.²⁰¹ Nevertheless, when it became clear to Rapga that China was intent on

assimilating Tibet (“Gradually,” wrote the Khampa despondently in his diary in February 1949, Tibet “will naturally flow like a small river into the ocean [of China]”²⁰²), he would ultimately sever all ties with the Nationalists and with China herself.* In Patterson’s view Rapga had been “an astute and far-sighted politician” whose ideas and agenda for Tibet had clashed with long-held British policy of preserving Tibet’s *status quo*. Not only had he been misunderstood by the British, Rapga, as Tharchin Babu would himself assert later, had also been misunderstood by “the nobles” at Lhasa and by the other members of a mostly provincial Tibetan government there.²⁰³ In short, like many of the other modern-day Tibetan reformers, this brilliant intellectual from Kham was a man very much ahead of his time.

Rapga, who had become disillusioned with his political association with the Nationalist government and would publicly resign from the Kuomintang Party in February 1948,²⁰⁴ left China and found his way back to Kham in time to take part in the plans of his brother Topgyay for the Khampas’ second attempt at rebellion against the Lhasa government, in concert with the Amdowas.²⁰⁵ But with the unexpectedly rapid advance of the Chinese Communist invaders to the east (who had by this time overthrown the Chinese Nationalists), their plans for a revolt to the west had to be shelved for the time being. Whereupon the Khampas and Amdowas turned their sights away from Lhasa and instead once again towards the greater enemy, the Chinese. Only they, it seemed, were capable of putting up any effective opposition to the well-armed and disciplined Communists. The Khampas and Amdowas “had the arms, the courage and the ability to take on the Chinese and defeat them.” Even so, they too failed to withstand the overpowering onslaught of the Chinese. What had still remained as part of Tibet in the old provincial areas of Kham and Amdo quickly fell to the Communists.²⁰⁶

Nevertheless, the Pangdatsangs and their followers continued to nurse their intense dislike for the generality of Lhasan officialdom, though remaining constant in their fealty towards the Dalai Lama and respect for the members of his family. In fact, it was Yangpel Pangdatsang, notes the Dalai Lama’s eldest brother, who in Kalimpong “put me in touch with” Yangpel’s missionary friend Patterson,²⁰⁷ the one whose invaluable assistance, mentioned earlier, effected his escape from Calcutta to America. It was also Yangpel who only a few months before had indicated to Patterson that he would make his armed Khampa followers in Dromo (the Chumbi Valley) available “to take the Dalai Lama [then at Yatung] from reluctant fellow-traveling [Tibetan] officials by force if necessary ... if the Dalai Lama personally requested him to do so”—which thing His Holiness in fact did. But in the end the entire well laid-out plan of Patterson’s collapsed. It had been conceived in Kalimpong in collaboration with the Americans²⁰⁸ and involved those there like Heinrich Harrer, the

* As early as 1947 Rapga—now back in China—had begun to experience growing dissatisfaction with the Kuomintang. “I sent my opinion to Tobgyal [his brother] ... in Kham,” he wrote in his diary on 29 October, “telling him that we should no longer be representatives for the Kuomintang, but should work for Tibet’s cause.” Less than a month later, on 10 November, Rapga spoke again of his concern about the Chinese, he writing: “I paid for news about Greater Tibet, Kham, and the troubles of Chinese control [over Tibetan territory] to be published in the newspaper.” The ultimate break with the Nationalists came a few months later when on 27 February 1948, the Khampa reformer would record the following: “My statement of resignation from the Kuomintang was published in the newspaper.” All three diary entries are quoted in McGranahan, “Arrested Histories,” Ph.D. dissertation, 2001, p. 209.

Dalai Lama's mother and sister and other relatives who lived near Patterson, as well as of course Yangpel's Khampas. The plan collapsed with the sudden appearance at Yatung of the leaders of the most influential segment of Tibetan society: the Abbots of "The Three Pillars of State" monasteries who were adamant that the Dalai Lama should stay with them in Tibet, and when also the Nechung or State Oracle, the Medium who is resorted to on the most serious occasions involving the nation's life, twice at Yatung "directed" when under spirit-possession that His Holiness "must return to Lhasa."^{*209}

These clandestine expressions of help and support of the Fourteenth Dalai Lama and his family by the Pangdatsangs just prior to the arrival of the Chinese delegation in Kalimpong made it doubly ironic, therefore, that the luncheon feast in honor of General Chang and his entourage should be held in the rebel Khampa's home. Yet the rich rebel Khampa leader-merchant had hardly discarded his loyalty to Tibet altogether. For although in his diary Baron Nebesky-Wojkowitz had recorded that this "same man who bought the new cars to receive the Chinese" into Kalimpong also "gave a banquet in their honor" a few days later that took place "on the first floor of his modern house," the diarist noted as well that within the same house but "underneath, in a ground-floor room converted into a chapel," Pangdatsang had "two dozen lamas pray all night long—... they ... praying for the destruction of all Red Chinese!"²¹⁰



Now it so happened that the humble Tibetan from Poo had also been invited to the luncheon feast. And as Gergan Tharchin entered the banquet hall, Chang Ching-wu tried to be friendly with him. "When the actual dinner commenced," Tharchin explained, "a glass of

* In fact, the final blow to the plan came in the form of an additional intervention of the gods: A bowl containing two balls of *tsampa* was placed before an image of the goddess Palden Lhamo. Inside one ball was a small rolled-up piece of paper on which was written: "Return to Lhasa"; inside the other, its paper read: "Do not return to Lhasa." The bowl was then spun quickly round and round till one of the balls fell out onto the ground. Upon this ball being opened, it was learned that its paper signified that Tibet's ruler should return to the capital. What else, indeed, could the Boy-King do but obey the Three Pillars of State, the State Oracle, and Tibet's venerated Goddess! Such intense *religious* pressure brought to bear upon the ruler of the world's then most religious country left this young Priest-Sovereign with no other alternative, regardless what his personal preference might have been. As one of the U.S. State Department's highest officials at the time, Dean Rusk, would ruefully recall several decades later, this intervention from the gods had even overruled the assurances given to Tibet by the most powerful country on Earth!

To make certain, incidentally, that no conspiracy had been set afoot by the majority of Tibet's officialdom, which was in favor of a return, the suspicious Surkhang Shape, who—wishing to make, in the words of Melvyn Goldstein, "a last-ditch attempt to thwart" the majority opinion, had been the one to suggest that this "divine lottery be held before making a final decision—had, in concert with Junior Tutor Trijang Rimpoche, immediately opened the other ball to see if its piece of paper had the same, or opposite, message. It had the latter, and thus their suspicions were laid to rest. See Shakya, *Dragon*, 84; Knaus, *Orphans of the Cold War*, 100; and Goldstein, *History of Modern Tibet—Volume 2*, 145. Interestingly, it would appear that the Junior Tutor had wavered in his opinion on whether His Holiness should return to Lhasa or not, even though his personal attendant would tell Goldstein in 1992 that both Junior and Senior Tutors of the Dalai Lama were in favor of not going into exile. *Ibid.*, 142.

wine was given to me for a toast. I accepted the glass but did not drink the contents of it. My religious conviction prevents me from drinking wine, and so it was not my custom to drink it,” as previous chapters of the present biography have clearly indicated. “Inwardly,” added the Tibetan, “the members of the Chinese delegation were very angry with me but outwardly they did not exhibit any signs of disturbance or annoyance.” Tharchin, in rounding out the story, went on to say that

the Chinese Communists were very clever. For after two or three years attempts were made by the Chinese to win me over to their side. In the early 1950s they had [, by the 1954 treaty with India,] a trade consulate in Kalimpong and they used to try to woo me by promising to purchase an unusually large number of my Tibetan newspapers, they presuming that for the sake of financial gain I might relent in my attacks against the Chinese Communists and thus in this way the general public would be won towards the Chinese cause also.

Once even a *Tibetan* aristocrat (obviously sent by the Chinese) came to see me here with presents. He said in the usual roundabout aristocratic way that I should not publish any more anti-Chinese articles. Instead I should concentrate on the “progress” made by China in Tibet. If I agreed the Chinese would order 500 copies of every issue of the *Tibet Mirror*, and they would also make sure that I wouldn’t run at a loss.

But their calculations went completely awry, for I refused. Their attempts to buy me off proved a colossal failure. It was a big fiasco. In fact, it boomeranged, since I went on publishing article after [adverse] article about the Chinese Communists—which embarrassed them no end.²¹¹

The Globe Magazine, the magazine part of a newspaper published in America, featured an article under the caption, “One Man War with Mao.” In the article, which appeared some time after the Chinese invasion of Tibet, the correspondent made reference in this unusual fashion to Tharchin’s struggle against the Chinese Communists. He had apparently been impressed by the outspoken character of the *Tibet Mirror*’s pages in their expression of outrage over the invasion and takeover of Chamdo in East Tibet by the Chinese and their subsequent unjustified actions and policy statements. Among other things the writer described how the Kalimpong publisher was using his Tibetan newspaper as an instrument in what had now become an ideological struggle against the Communists. The *Tibet Mirror*, reported the *Globe* correspondent, had recently featured a series of articles by Tharchin whose purpose was to present the truths and facts of the past as a means to offset the Chinese Communist propaganda then emanating from Peking and elsewhere. “In my articles,” explained the founder-editor when interviewed years later, “I often used to refer to Tibetan history, and in particular to the ‘Great Religious Kings’ which prove Tibet’s independence.” On the other hand, he complained, the Chinese were saying that “Tibet is ‘backward,’ and my endeavor” to counteract this line of propaganda “was to demonstrate in my writings that Tibet was far from being a ‘backward’ country; it was a great civilization.” The Tibetan newspaper, Tharchin added, still musing over the *Globe* article, “had everything in it” with which to defend the Tibetan cause of freedom and independence.²¹² A copy of the clipping from the *Globe* shortly after the article had appeared was kindly sent to Tharchin by an admirer of his. But one day the *Mirror* publisher gave it to a Tibetan official on loan, who unfortunately never returned it.

Although the article was never returned to Tharchin, the contents of the lost clipping were never far from his mind throughout the tumultuous decades of Indian-Tibetan-Chinese relations which ensued from 1950-51 onward. During the closing months of the *Tibet Mirror's* existence, for example, the Tibetan publisher had occasion once again to make reference to the now celebrated *Globe* article. In the December 1962 number of the *Mirror*, Tharchin Babu issued an appeal for information his readers might deem to be worthwhile publishing in his newspaper as a way of helping to carry forward the struggle against what he termed "the world's general enemy—the Communist Chinese." Reminding his readers first that this enemy had only recently "infiltrated across the Indian border from Tibet as hidden thieves," the Tibetan—and now Indian—patriot-publisher declared in no uncertain terms where he stood *vis-à-vis* the monstrous threat posed by this voracious neighbor to the east. Describing himself as "the old man," Tharchin then wrote in part as follows:

On this issue the old man had opposed the Communist Chinese most furiously by means of his newspaper twelve years ago. I had seen and read a foreign newspaper article with the headline, "ONE MAN WAR WITH MAO" ... which was written about the old man and his newspaper. But now, it is not "one man" but more than 400 million Indians who have decided to strongly oppose Mao, and that has pleased me much. The old man thought of going to the battleground, placing the gun on the shoulder and facing the enemy; but this is not possible due to old age. Therefore, taking up pen and by means of the newspaper, the fight against the Chinese—a protest fight—has to be resumed again.

Then explaining that because of ill-health and financial problems the *Mirror* had had to be suspended since the previous September (1961), the revived publisher went on next to say that "due to a strong will power" and the counting it a "privilege" to "serve the Government" by means of the press, he was now intent on "starting the [newspaper] work once again." The publisher concluded by requesting "advice" from his longtime readers "for maximizing the good things and minimizing the evils," and ended by making the following promise: "If any information submitted is worth giving coverage and is beneficial to both India and Tibet, I will entertain it most gladly."²¹³ As was pointed out in the previous chapter, however, this was one of the last issues of the famous newspaper for Tibetans ever to be published.

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After three days of sorting out the possible implications for the Chinese of the stunning news received July 8th that Thubten Norbu had arrived in New York, General Chang apparently felt it politically safe and diplomatically free of embarrassment to go to Yatung. For on the 11th of July, the General and his Chinese delegation—accompanied by a representative of the Tibetan government sent down to Kalimpong by the Dalai Lama to act as a guide for the party traveling to meet His Holiness—were off towards the Chumbi Valley via the 14,000-foot Natu La that crosses the mountainous Sikkim-Tibet border. They had stopped first in Gangtok on the same day, but no interview was permitted; and on the next day (the 12th) the party went on its way to Yatung where it arrived on the 14th.

At the latter place the General would be prepared to present gifts to the young Dalai Lama upon his visit to the Dungkhar Monastery two days later. He would then be prepared for both of them to proceed together to Lhasa, with his intention of “symbolically” entering the Tibetan capital with His Holiness. By this time the latter must surely have begun to grow anxious at Yatung about the impending encounter; for by his own admission, recorded later, the Dalai Lama had weeks earlier mused to himself that he “was not looking forward” at all to meeting General Chang.²¹⁴

Even so, the moment he had hoped would somehow never arrive did nonetheless finally come when on July 16th the sixteen-year-old spiritual potentate of Tibet experienced the first of many future encounters with the new secular lord of his homeland. An incredible burden of responsibility was obviously weighing down heavily upon the Boy-King at this critical time, and those who saw the young Dalai Lama could not help but take pity on him for the role which had been thrust upon him almost without mercy. One of those who visited His Holiness at Yatung shortly before the arrival of the unwanted Chinese General was none other than the former Tibetan Army Commander-in-Chief himself. Reported General Tsarong’s “daughter,” Mary La, long after the event:

Tsarong had met His Holiness at Yatung and he said afterwards, “I could not help shedding tears—he is so young, but taking such great responsibility.” Tsarong was as loyal to the Fourteenth Dalai Lama as he had been to the Thirteenth; he used to say, “How lucky we are to have such a lovely-looking Dalai Lama—had he been a short, ugly-looking person, what to do? We have to love him!”²¹⁵

Though encouraged by General Tsarong and other well-wishers who came by to offer their support and advice, the still quite young Tibetan ruler had remained in a quandary for some time. Harboring serious doubts within himself about returning to Lhasa, he also had to contend with some of the monastic advisers around him who “insistently” counseled that “he should come to terms with Peking” and return to the Tibetan capital and rule within the embrace of his country’s new masters. So reported Heinrich Harrer who, having spent some time in Yatung and its environs on his recent exit from Lhasa to India, had become well-informed of the Dalai Lama’s feelings and the internal state of affairs within the Tibetan government there. Confided the sixteen-year-old Priest-King’s former tutor to America’s ambassador at New Delhi, Loy Henderson, in late March 1951: “The Dalai Lama does not know which way to turn for advice.” For though in his conversation with the ambassador the Austrian had described his royal pupil as “more intelligent and better informed on world affairs than any of his advisers,” Tibet’s young ruler was nonetheless inexperienced in handling such an incredibly complex international situation.²¹⁶

Moreover, he could not really expect to obtain sound advice from the majority of his Government officials, since they were incapable of rightly discerning the true nature of the situation posed by the Chinese Communists. For it had been reported to the Americans in late June by W. D. Shakabpa that more than half of the Tibetan officials had no understanding of the implications of the situation which the Government was responsible to resolve. And consequently, hinted Shakabpa, because of a lack of a better solution in their thinking, there was increasing pressure being placed on Tibet’s ruler to simply accept the

Peking Agreement.* Indeed, following up on this report by Shakabpa, the U.S. felt it necessary to send a second letter to the Dalai Lama which addressed this very matter but now with much more directness and candor. Delivered at Yatung on 6 July, the letter began thus: "We sent you a letter two months ago about the danger of the Chinese Communists." It continued: "Some of your advisers probably think that they understand the Chinese Communists and can make a bargain with them. We do not think they understand Communism or the record of its leaders ..."²¹⁷ Little wonder, then, that the Dalai Lama knew not who really to turn to among his officials for quality advice! Indeed, it was Ambassador Henderson's view that "unless someone in whom this young man might have confidence should give him advice, he will fall into the Chinese Communist trap, or he will be in an extremely unenviable position in India."^{217a}

Hence, between the momentous event of 23 May at Peking and the anxiously anticipated arrival of General Chang at Yatung in mid-July, His Holiness had been struggling within himself to know how best to deal with the decision now confronting him. As John Knaus has observed, the Dalai Lama's position in the entire matter "was crucial." Here, he writes, was what faced Tibet's Boy-King:

If he returned [to Lhasa], he would legitimize Chinese control, but he might be able to run interference for his people. If he crossed the border into exile, he would preserve the institution of his office and perhaps become a rallying point for an effective challenge to the Chinese, but his people would feel abandoned and he risked becoming an irrelevant international relic. He was caught in a painful political and moral tug of war, pulled in several directions by his own conscience, the demands of his new Chinese overlords, the uncertain promises of his newly-found American friends, the concerns of his family, and the divided counsel of his advisers.²¹⁸

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Now on the day fixed for General Chang's first meeting with the Dalai Lama, which took place at the latter's hillside monastery residence, a messenger came running up from Yatung to Dungkhar with the message of his imminent arrival. "At this news," admitted the Boy-King long afterwards, "I felt both great excitement and great apprehension. What would they look like, these people? I was half convinced that they would all have horns on their heads. I went out onto the balcony and looked out eagerly down the valley towards the town, scanning the buildings with my telescope.... Suddenly I spied movement. A group of my officials was heading in the direction of the Monastery. With them, I could make out three men in drab gray suits."²¹⁹ The youth then went back inside his quarters and stationed

* Ironically, Shakabpa's own advice to His Holiness turned out to be highly unrealistic and what the American Consul at Calcutta would term "a mistake." For the Tibetan diplomat revealed to the Consul that he advised the Dalai Lama to wait in Yatung to talk with the Chinese delegation, confident was he that the Tibetans could obtain changes in the terms of the Seventeen-Point Agreement; but if not, His Holiness would still be able to escape to India. See Warren Smith, *Tibetan Nation*. 312n.

himself near the curtained windows that looked down upon the approach to Dungkhar's entranceway below. Peering from behind the curtains, the Dalai Lama now beheld at very close range a rather "short, slight man in his mid-forties"—he who would become his and Tibet's nemesis—and also two of the General's officials. As the young Tibetan ruler years later was wont to recall this momentous event, his Chinese visitors that awful day, who besides being dressed in gray suits also wore peaked caps, appeared to him to look "extremely drab and insignificant among the splendid figures of my officials in their red and golden robes" of high office. He went on to add, however, that "had I but known, the drabness was the state to which China was to reduce us all before the end, and the insignificance was certainly an illusion."^{*220}

The Boy-King, together with the members of his Government, now received with restrained dignity the Chinese General. Chang, interestingly, had insisted that he meet the Dalai Lama on equal terms. The latter's officials, however, had made sure that the General's seat was placed a little lower than that of His Holiness, thus signifying, in accordance with Tibetan protocol, the Dalai Lama's supremacy.²²¹ The General's first official duty was to present "Chairman Mao's letter to the Dalai Lama at the meeting," after which all present sat down and commenced to talk for a few hours together.²²² In his most recent autobiography (1990) the Dalai Lama has provided a fuller account than before of what transpired here:

Our meeting together was coldly civil. General Chiang Chin-wu began by asking me whether I had heard of the Seventeen-Point "Agreement." With the greatest reserve, I replied that I had. He then handed over a copy of it, together with two other documents.... Of these two supplementary documents, one dealt with the Tibetan Army. The other [containing the secret clauses] explained what would happen if I elected to go into exile. It suggested that I would quickly realize that the Chinese had come in genuine friendship. I would then certainly want to return to my country. That being so, I would be welcomed back with open arms. Therefore, there was no point in leaving.

Next, General Chiang asked me when I intended to return to Lhasa. "Soon," I replied, not very helpfully, and continued to act as aloof as possible. It was obvious by his question that he wanted to travel back to Lhasa with me so that we could enter the city together, symbolically.²²³

It would appear that the youthful Tibetan ruler had waited to make his final decision about returning to Lhasa until after the General's arrival. In his first autobiography (published in 1962), the Dalai Lama had written that ever since the 23 May Agreement had been signed at Peking, some but not all of his officials had thought he "should go to India for safety before it was too late." Only after "some argument" had ensued, he recalled, did

* Amaury de Riencourt was left with a similar bleak impression when just two weeks earlier he had witnessed at the Singapore airport some of these same officials, both Chinese and Tibetan, as they were en route to Calcutta and on, then, to Lhasa via Yatung. Recalled the French writer on Tibet: "I saw them on their way through Singapore on July 1, 1951. The contrast between Kunsangtse and his stalwart Tibetans, wrapped in their brilliant silk brocades, and the shabby uniforms and nondescript caps of the Chinese Reds was startling. The Chinese stood modestly behind the smiling Tibetans, but there could be no doubt as to who were the real masters." *Lost World: Tibet*, 307.

everyone finally agree that "I should wait until the General came, and see what his attitude was before we decided."²²⁴ According to Nai-min Ling, a compiler in Hong Kong of a sourcebook on Tibetan events covering this period, General Chang "had gone to Yatung and persuaded him to return to Lhasa." The compiler's source for this information was two-fold: a Communist publication on major events in Tibet published in 1959 at Peking, as well as the statement quoted above from the Dalai Lama's initial personal memoirs.²²⁵

In his more recent autobiography the Dalai Lama has shared much more intimately what had been the factors in his thinking to bring him to the decision to wait. While the eldest brother of the Dalai Lama had been marking time at Calcutta in late June-early July in anticipation of his departure for America, he, along with others, had repeatedly urged His Holiness to leave Yatung for India at once. They held out the hope that allies in the struggle against the Chinese could be found, notably the United States, who would "be sure to offer their support." These individuals had pointed out that America was vigorously opposed to Communist expansionism and was even then fighting in Korea in support of that very purpose. "I could see the logic of their arguments," acknowledged the Dalai Lama; nonetheless, he felt sure that because the Americans were already engaged in combat on one front, this fact would surely lessen the likelihood of their eagerness to open up a second one. But besides the letters from Thubten Jigme Norbu and others pressing him to flee to India, the Tibetan ruler reported receiving a letter, not any different in content, from another close friend: "I also received a letter in similar vein from Heinrich Harrer," he confided, "who ... was now in Kalimpong. He firmly stated his view that I should seek exile in India—and was supported in this view by a few of my officials." Significantly, added His Holiness, the Senior Tutor to the Dalai Lama, Ling Rimpoche, "was equally adamant that I should not."

Faced with this dilemma created by the contrary opinion of his various advisers, the Boy-King reasoned within himself along the following lines: "If my brother's letter was anything to go by, it seemed that there might, after all, be some hope of winning foreign support. But what would this mean for my people? Should I really leave before even meeting with the Chinese? And if I did, would our new-found allies see us through thick and thin?" He seriously doubted it. As he continued his ponderings, two particular considerations constantly intruded themselves into his thinking:

Firstly, it was obvious to me that the most likely result of a pact with America or anyone else was war. And war meant bloodshed. Secondly, I reasoned that although America was a very powerful country, it was thousands of miles away. China, on the other hand, was our neighbor and, whilst materially less powerful than the United States, easily had numerical superiority. It might therefore take many years to resolve the dispute by armed struggle.

Furthermore, the Dalai Lama, who had apparently read his history well, returned to his deeply felt suspicion that because of the character of American democracy, he could not bring himself to believe that the people of the United States "would put up with unlimited casualties." Imagining a time when the Tibetans would be on their own once again, the careful-thinking young ruler of Tibet mused that "the result would then be the same, China would have her way and, in the interim, there would have been the loss of countless lives,

Tibetan, Chinese and American, all to no purpose whatever.” In the end, thought His Holiness, “I ... concluded that the best course of action was to stay put and await the arrival of the Chinese General. He must be human after all.”*²²⁶

More than likely, though, the teen-age ruler of Tibet had already fairly well made up his own mind, if not that of his advisers, to return to Lhasa, having probably come to that conclusion three or more days before the General’s arrival at Dungkhar Monastery. For on 11 July, Tsipon Shakabpa, Tibet’s representative at Kalimpong, who was acting as an intermediary for receiving and delivering numerous messages back and forth between Yatung and sympathetic foreign governments like the United States, received word from the Dalai Lama to the effect that he would be meeting with the Chinese General and would return to Lhasa in ten days (that is, on 21 July). In the light of this decision, furthermore, His Holiness had instructed all Tibetan officials in Kalimpong to return to Yatung with the Chinese delegation that would be leaving that very day; and a large number did, in fact, depart on the eleventh with the delegation.²²⁷ Certain it was that by the next night the decision in the young Dalai Lama’s mind to return to his capital had crystalized in his thinking beyond the point of alteration. For it may be recalled that according to George Patterson the previously mentioned plan conceived in Kalimpong for the nocturnal escape on July 12th of His Holiness to India had collapsed that very night, dashing whatever hope there might have been in that direction of avoiding a return to Lhasa. This date, in fact, has now been more or less confirmed by what historian Melvyn Goldstein reports in his published history of the period. In it he notes that on the very next day, the 13th, the U.S. Consulate in Calcutta received two telegrams from its American diplomat at Kalimpong which stated that Tsipon Shakabpa had notified him that the Dalai Lama had indeed approved seeking asylum in India but that his advisers had favored his returning to Lhasa. Furthermore, Goldstein has documented that a month later, in a telegram of 14 August transmitted to the American Secretary of State from the U.S. Embassy at Delhi, it was revealed that the Dalai Lama had sent two personal letters to his dear friend Heinrich Harrer in which he had indicated that “he would have preferred to leave Tibet” but “had decided [to] return to Lhasa in accordance with [the] ‘wishes and opinion of the majority of Tibet’.”²²⁸ For as historian Goldstein has pointed out, “the largest group” at Yatung within this governmental majority included, besides the lay officials there, “virtually all of the monk officials”; and they were supported in their view not only by the powerful “abbots of the Three Monastic Seats” but also by (a) the Kashag’s two Prime Ministers who had been left behind at Lhasa to manage affairs there while the Kashag was at the Dalai Lama’s side in Yatung and (b) “by other top officials at Lhasa.”^{228a}

* Interestingly, the young teen-ager would later report what subsequently would occur between himself and his older teen-age brother Lobsang Samden when both saw General Chang up close for the first time. It so happened that the Dalai Lama’s brother had the opportunity to position himself in a room immediately adjacent to where the initial meeting between His Holiness and the Chinese general was to take place, and from this vantage point he was able to peek into the meeting room. In relating the incident the Dalai Lama first noted that neither he nor his brother had ever seen “a Chinese ‘Communist’” before. So when the meeting ended, Lobsang Samden quickly ran into his brother’s room and “said with amazement” to him: “‘Oh, these people are also human beings.’” “That,” reported the Dalai Lama about his brother, “was his first expression after he saw the Communist Chinese.” Quoted in Goldstein, *History of Modern Tibet—Volume 2*, 198.

In the light of the entire foregoing discussion, one would be hard pressed to disagree with the appraisal of the situation surrounding the Dalai Lama's moment of decision that was put forward at this very time by the U.S. consular official stationed at Kalimpong who had been in contact with Shakabpa and others during the final weeks leading up to the decision. A summary of it, included in a message sent from Calcutta's American Consul to the U.S. State Department, reads as follows:

During this critical week he [the liaison official] was convinced, after talking to numerous persons, that most of the Tibetan officials with any knowledge of outside affairs are anxious for the Dalai Lama to leave Tibet. Apparently, however, they are unable to counterbalance the tremendous weight of superstition and selfish officialdom including delegations from monasteries, oracles of incredible influence, and the misguided wish of the Lhasa Government itself to preserve, within Tibet, the religious integrity of Tibetan life as personified and symbolized in the Dalai Lama.²²⁹



What therefore most likely was all which now remained to be settled with the Chinese officials was the question of logistics for the return journey to the Holy City. The Dalai Lama had been rather pleased with his first meeting with General Chang Ching-wu at Dungkhar, which to him had apparently allayed his earlier misgivings. "My first impression," he reported in 1990, "was rather as I had suspected. Regardless of all the suspicion and anxiety I felt beforehand, during our meeting it became clear that this man, although supposedly my enemy, was in fact just another human being, an ordinary person like myself. This realization had a lasting impact on me." With the passage of time, however, an older and wiser Dalai Lama would come to rue that first impression. At this moment, though, there was the unpleasant task, from the viewpoint of his Tibetan officials, of coordinating the movement and supply of the two respective entourages—the highly unwelcome Chinese one belonging to the General and his many followers, and the even more numerous one belonging to His Holiness. With the demise of the Patterson/American-Pangdatsang-Dalai Lama plan of escape to India from Yatung, triggered as it was by the Nechung Oracle's insistence that the young "god-king" return to the place of his throne, the opportunity at this juncture for repeating Tibetan history had thus passed. The Dalai Lama now set his face towards the Habitation of the Gods.

In a mule, yak and pony caravan that numbered about one thousand animals in all, the Dalai Lama, accompanied by his Government, departed Yatung, as previously announced, on the 21st of July. Also, just two days behind the religious ruler of Tibet, but for only part of the journey, was General Chang himself with his own entourage, who—having departed Yatung on 23 July immediately after receiving the Indian Political Officer Sikkim, Harish Dayal²³⁰—probably went as far as Shigatse. A proposed side visit by the Dalai Lama to Sakya Monastery had to be abandoned, however, when the new Chinese master of Tibet and his party recommended it as "unnecessary," thus compelling His Holiness to take the

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the direct route via Gyantse to Shigatse. Chang Ching-wu may have viewed as “unnecessary” and wasteful of precious time the Dalai Lama’s desire to fulfill religious obligations at Sakya; but for himself the General did not at all think it unnecessary or time-consuming—nay, he felt it most essential—that the entire traveling caravan purposely “halt at several places” along the way to enable him “to reconnoiter thoroughly” the route to Shigatse! At the latter place His Holiness took a slight detour that enabled him to visit the Monastery which less than a year later (on 28 April 1952) would become the ecclesiastical home of his Chinese-indoctrinated rival, the young Panchen Lama, who was still on the way to Trashilhunpo overland from China.

At this point, then, General Chang left the Grand Lama and his entourage and hastened on to the capital, which he reached on 8 August. In the end, Chang’s earlier intention of arriving together with His Holiness at the Tibetan capital had to be abandoned, for as the latter had explained later, thankfully “my officials had managed to avoid this” unwanted scenario during the Tibetan-Chinese discussions back at Dungkhar.²³¹ The new overlord of Tibet would be disappointed a second time and made angry by the way he was received at Lhasa. The Kashag had decided that Tibet’s two Prime Ministers should not go outside the capital a few miles’ distance, as was the official custom at times, to greet the General and his entourage. This was because the Tibetan government continued to deem Tibet’s ultimate power to be with the Kashag. Were the Prime Ministers *themselves* to go meet the General, it would imply an acknowledgment by the Tibetans of the Chinese representative’s supremacy. Chang and his officials, more conscious of ceremonial protocol than even the Tibetans, took umbrage at this symbolic action. Not until a week later would Chang meet the Prime Ministers for the first time. This entire incident, in fact, would be the beginning of strained relations between the Prime Ministers—especially Lukhangwa—and the General that would only come to an end when several years later the Chinese would force the Dalai Lama to sack Lukhangwa and have a new Prime Minister appointed. Meanwhile, it was to be Lhalu, the former Governor of Kham, who would lead the reception committee to greet Chang and his officials.²³² Nine days later, the Dalai Lama and his caravan at last made their colorful though doleful entrance into the capital under the watchful eye of the new secular lord of Tibet. On the 17th of August 1951 the spiritual, if no longer the temporal, leader of the Tibetan people had finally returned home.*²³³

* Though the U.S. State Department and the CIA had failed, despite the most vigorous and sustained efforts imaginable, to prevent the Dalai Lama’s return to Lhasa, they did not abandon further attempts to extricate him from Tibet. In fact, only a few months following his return, State and CIA launched a new effort to persuade Tibet’s Boy-King to allow them to rescue him from the clutches of the Chinese. In an interview long afterwards with the Dalai Lama’s eldest brother Thubten Jigme Norbu, who at the time of this new effort was living just outside Washington DC, John Knaus learned of its outline. If His Holiness would agree to the plan, and if he could “make it out of his capital,” then the Americans would seriously consider “intercepting the Dalai Lama along his route” out of Lhasa “and flying him to safety.” And to this end, the CIA and the new Assistant Secretary of State for Far Eastern Affairs, John Allison, who was as eager as his predecessor Dean Rusk to get His Holiness out of Tibet, had requested his brother “to determine” if the ice were sufficiently thick for a plane to land on either of two lakes within a radius of 50 to 100 miles of Lhasa: Yamdrok Tso to the south or Nam Tso to the north of the Tibetan capital. They had also planned for Tibet’s ruler “to bring 30 people with him and promised to support a considerably larger retinue in exile in India, Ceylon or Thailand.” However, this audacious plan was politely declined by the Priest-King, although he asked his brother to maintain contact

The decisions which would now be taken by the National Assembly and the Dalai Lama over the next two months at Lhasa, as noted earlier, would in the end signify the commencement of the dismantling of Tibet's centuries-old religiously-based polity. Having at first innocently taken at face value the honest- and sincere-sounding words and clauses of the Seventeen-Point Agreement, many Tibetans had deemed it a matter of little consequence if, writes historian Tsering Shakya, "Tibet was regarded internationally as a part of China," since according to the Agreement "their social and cultural autonomy were [to be] safeguarded." Moreover, absent from the document were the dreaded words "Socialism" and "Communism." It had simply stated that "various reforms" would be implemented in accordance with the local conditions and the wishes of the Tibetan people. And hence, adds the historian, there were "strong factions" in the country who believed that the Agreement was not only acceptable but that a "Communist China" and a "Buddhist Tibet" could even "co-exist peacefully." Little did they realize that with the Tibetan government's naïve acceptance of the Agreement signed at Peking, a radical socio-political transformation would be set in motion that by steps and by stages would eventually sweep away every vestige of Tibet's long-cherished independent national status and of nearly all of her former socio-economic and religious culture.

Even so, it cannot be overlooked, this same historian has perceptively observed, that the Chinese would never have obtained Tibetan acceptance of the Agreement "had they confined themselves to diplomatic means" alone. Only after they had invaded the Snowy Land, and attempts by Tibet to garner international support had failed, did the Tibetans seek out a dialogue with China. "Once the Chinese had shown their might," he adds, "the Tibetans had no choice but to reach a diplomatic compromise."²³⁴ Nevertheless, it was a compromise, it need hardly be said, with which most all of Tibet's leadership who were responsible in acquiescing to it—from the Dalai Lama on down—would come to regret having entered into one day; and that, not long hence.

Meanwhile, down in Kalimpong, Gergan Tharchin would continue as before to take an active role in Tibetan affairs. He hoped, if possible, to contribute to a lessening of the negative impact upon his ethnic brethren both within and without Tibet of what had been transpiring over these many months. During the ensuing decade, however, he would be greatly grieved, though not entirely surprised, by the horrendous cascade of events that would overtake his ethnic homeland. For the Babu it would be a time of unrelenting disappointment, pain and sorrow.

with the Americans and "not allow misunderstanding" over the collapse of the previous exit plan from Yatung a few months earlier "to cloud the relations" between the two countries. *Orphans of the Cold War*, 117. The time-frame within which had occurred all correspondence to and from the Dalai Lama relating to this matter was the winter season, late 1951 to early 1952.

C H A P T E R 24a

Undercover Agent for the British Raj and the Role of Tharchin's Newspaper *vis-à-vis* Occupied Tibet

"Tharchin ... was my most useful source of information on Tibet."

—Eric Lambert, Head of British Intelligence on Tibet for India's Northeast Frontier Region, 1942-7 (letter, Lambert to the author, Dublin, 16 Dec. 1991)

The Lord said to Moses,... "Send ... spies to explore the land of Canaan ..." When Moses sent them out, he said to them, "Go north from hence into the southern part of the land of Canaan and then on into the hill country. Find out what kind of country it is, how many people live there, and how strong they are. Find out whether the land is good or bad and whether the people live in open towns or in fortified cities...." After exploring the land for forty days, the spies returned to Moses and ... reported what they had seen.

Numbers 13:1-2, 17-19, 25-6 TEV

"I want you to go and discover whether or not it is true that China is making preparations for an armed invasion of Tibet," announced Tharchin. "Of course you realize that this will mean wandering around the border areas of eastern Tibet. These regions are remote and lawless, and can be dangerous in the best of times.... You may as well know that you won't be the first person I've sent. In fact you will be the third. The first seems to have died of illness and the second just disappeared."

"Who will I be working for?" I asked a little foolishly. "Me," Tharchin answered sensibly. "Not only do I want the news for my newspaper, but I'd like to warn the Tibetan government if there is any danger."

I knew that behind "me" were the figures of Eric Lambert and Lhatseren, but that hardly mattered.... In spite of all that I had been learning, I was getting restless, and was ready to jump at the chance of an adventure such as this.... Here, too, was a chance ... perhaps to help a country to retain its independence.... I agreed right then and there without any more questions.

—Dialogue between Gergan Tharchin and Dawa Sangpo (aka Hisao Kimura) in November 1946; recounted in Kimura (as told to Scott Berry), *Japanese Agent in Tibet* (London, 1990), 155-6*

* As indicated elsewhere, *Japanese Agent* by Hisao Kimura constitutes the single best source for evidence of Tharchin Babu's undercover activities on behalf of the British. Consequently, Kimura's published account of events and statements related to the Babu's involvement will be cited quite frequently throughout the present chapter. Hence, the reader should be aware that whenever information and/or passages have been extracted from this particular work, it will be indicated directly within the narrative's Text (rather than documented in the Notes for the chapter), and will appear in parentheses at the appropriate place on each occasion by using the simple designation *JA* followed by the pertinent page(s); e.g., (*JA* 155-6).

FOR THOSE STILL ALIVE TODAY who had known him, and even known him well, it may come as a rude shock to learn that Gergan Tharchin had been a spy. Not in the usual sense of that term, of course; but a secret intelligence agent, nonetheless. Not even the closest members of his family—not even his two wives—had been aware of it. For this was a matter, in the survivalist tradition of all spies everywhere, which Tharchin had kept very close to his chest. So secretive had he been, in fact, that not a single one of the many friends, relatives or close associates of his whom this writer has interviewed or corresponded with had ever known or suspected this facet of the Babu's multifarious career. Not even the latter's most frequent informant at the Tibetan capital, Sonam Topgay Kazi (not to be confused with the older Sonam Tobden Kazi, a British Tibet frontier cadre officer and later Independent India's Trade Agent, Yatung), who was acquainted with most of the intelligence men surrounding Gergan Tharchin, was ever aware of the Babu's secret involvement in British undercover operations.* A passage from one of his numerous informative letters sent to the Babu from Lhasa makes this clear: "I cannot follow or understand what you meant by ATS23. Is it to be written on every letter cover or what?"¹ Yet, just as Hisao Kimura, the former Japanese spy who would now work under Gergan Tharchin as an intelligence agent for the British, had a code number—in his case ATS5 (*JA* 161)—just so, ATS23 was most likely the code number which had been assigned the Babu by British Intelligence, but the Kazi was completely in the dark as to what it signified.²

* This despite the fact that the Kazi, himself the son of a Sikkimese landed aristocrat and Government official, had been approached on one occasion in Gangtok by the son—the Raj Kumar—of that country's ruling Maharaja asking if he wished to be recruited by Eric Lambert for an Intelligence post. Per interview by the present writer with S. T. Kazi, Oct. 1991. Had he accepted, the Kazi would have most probably been posted as an agent right on the estate of his father, Tsetan Tashi Kazi, that consisted of some 60,000 acres which extended up to the very edges of the Tibetan border (and touching not only the Tibetan frontier but that of Bhutan and of course India). For as will shortly be learned, one of the specific places where Intelligence Chief Lambert had sought to plant secret agents on this side of the border with Tibet was in the tiny but strategically situated kingdom of Sikkim. And the young Kazi's ancestral estate could not have been more strategically situated itself since the main Indo-Tibetan trade route ran right through it!

Nevertheless, young Sonam Kazi, who never did meet Lambert, was not interested in the offer at the time, since "things were going well" for his future. However, not long after being posted in early 1949 to Lhasa as "an English- and Tibetan-knowing assistant" on the Indian Mission's clerical staff, and already beginning to tire of this line of work because it no longer held his interest anymore, young Sonam began to pester Tharchin to inquire of Lhatseren (Lambert's replacement as Intelligence Head and one whom he knew fairly well) about a posting in Tibet itself which Lhatseren had mentioned to the Kazi when the latter was last in Kalimpong. For example, on 18 June 1949 he wrote the Babu as follows: "Did L. [i.e., Lhatseren] find any suitable person to post in Tibet as he was saying last time? Please do write me something on it." And exactly one month later, again he inquires: "How about the post under L. Tsering in Tibet? I wrote you many times but no reply came from you. Please do let me know it." And still once more, two weeks later, desperate for more interesting work, the Kazi brought up the matter again: "May I once again remind you if that post which we talked about is still vacant; if so, I will apply for it." He would keep reminding Tharchin of this even three and four years later.

Yet the Kazi was never tapped for the post by Lhatseren, he remaining at Lhasa till March of 1956. Perhaps the Babu had secretly not wished to see young Sonam's life endangered (for the latter was almost like a son to him); or else Lhatseren for whatever reason felt the young Sikkimese was more valuable as a news informant at the center of Tibetan politics than as an intelligence operative out in the field. In any case, the Kazi was unaware of the Babu's own covert involvement with both Lhatseren and Lambert.

For the letters either quoted from or alluded to above, see the Kazi's letters to Tharchin, all from Lhasa, as follows: 28 June, 28 July, 14 August 1949; 7 September 1952; and 20 April 1953; ThPaK.

Or take as another example, one of the closest and dearest friends of the Babu, Atuk Tshering, whose distinguished Police and Intelligence biographical profile was outlined in an earlier chapter. At this time he was Kalimpong's Inspector of Police, but later he himself would rise through the ranks of India's Central Intelligence apparatus, eventually even working under Lhatseren who would replace Eric Lambert as Intelligence Chief for Tibetan affairs. Yet never did he become privy to Tharchin's covert work for the British and Indian governments, though he may have suspected something of the sort since some individuals like Atuk were very much aware of the fact that the *Tibet Mirror* office served as a clearinghouse as it were for all kinds of Tibetan news and information. His suspicions are intimated, in fact, in a letter he wrote to the Babu at the height of the shocking news of Lhasa's sudden and seemingly unprovoked expulsion of all Chinese from the country in the spring/summer of 1949. In it Tharchin's friend, then a Deputy Superintendent of Police with the I.A.R.F. (Indian Army Reserve Force?) at Barrackpore India, indicates something of the newspaper publisher's key role in matters Tibetan:

My dear Guruji:—

... I know you must be very very [*sic*] on account of so many developments taking place in those regions in which you are vitally interested. You must be getting large numbers of correspondence inquiring about these things. I can imagine so many secret agents running after you for some reason.

Is there really a revolt in Tibet? Has the Chinese Mission been expelled from Tibet? Is Pandit Nehru visiting Tibet or Sikkim in near future? Can you enlighten me, please.

I hear that Inspectors and Sub-Inspectors of Darjeeling Police, who know Tibetan, are being selected for [the Ministry of] External Affairs work. Do you know when [more likely, where—illegible here] they will be employed? I am so sorry that I am here. I want so to be in that line [of work]....³

Little did Atuk Tshering perceive with any degree of certainty that his newspaper friend up in Kalimpong was centrally involved in that very line of work with those serving in Intelligence; for as David Snellgrove could report (see next below), Tharchin was very closemouthed in what he shared about his relationships with other people.

To give but one other example of how unaware others around Tharchin were, there is the instance of the well-known Tibetologist, Professor David L. Snellgrove. He had first met Tharchin Babu in late 1943 and would go on to become a fairly close associate of his whenever he was in Kalimpong during the 1940s and '50s. Yet Professor Snellgrove was greatly surprised to learn from the present writer about the Babu's covert activities. He himself had been involved in Radio Intelligence handling "top secret" material while an officer in the British Indian Army's Signal Intelligence Directorate at New Delhi during the War years of 1943 to 1945. By a chance meeting one day on a Calcutta-Siliguri night train Captain Snellgrove made friends with a fellow officer in the British Army who was bound, on leave, for his home in Kalimpong. This was none other than Lieutenant Lha Tsering, a Sikkimese-Tibetan who after the War would work most intimately with Tharchin in Tibetan intelligence-gathering operations for the Indian government. Indeed, at the conclusion of their train travel together, it was Lha Tsering who introduced Captain Snellgrove to Tharchin,

his longtime friend and fellow resident in the hill town. Yet in all of Snellgrove's interaction with the Babu in the years thereafter, he never suspected the Tibetan publisher to be anything other than the persona by which all others knew him. As he himself long afterwards remarked in his letter to the author:

... my work was then "top secret" and I therefore never talked of it to Lha Tsering. He likewise said nothing about what he was doing, and I knew that one did not ask such questions. Until I read your letter I knew nothing of Tharchin's activities on behalf of the British Raj, for he too was of necessity discreet. As far as I recall he never talked to me about his relationships with other people.⁴

These, then, are but three randomly-selected illustrations, from among many which could be cited, of what was indicated in the Preface to the present work: that this entire aspect of Babu Tharchin's later career had for the longest time remained quite hidden from view. Intimations of it had only begun to surface here and there as the writer went deeper into his research on the life of this unusual man. Until more recently, however, the Babu's covert involvement in British intelligence-gathering efforts could never be firmly corroborated. Now, though, it has been substantiated in the most unambiguous terms—thanks to several sources both published and unpublished. Doubtless, as time goes on, additional pieces of information about this clandestine facet to his career will come to light; but enough data have been revealed already for a fairly well defined picture to emerge of Gergan Tharchin's undercover activities on behalf of the British Raj.



Yet these activities of the Babu were essentially of two types, not just one. There was the *official* kind, the sort of effort that was solicited of him by Government officials on their own initiative and which will be the primary focus of the present chapter; but there was also an *unofficial* kind of intelligence activity Tharchin had engaged in which he voluntarily commenced doing as far back as 1927 and perhaps even earlier. Indeed, as to this latter type of activity, by his own admission, for quite a lengthy period he had habitually gathered intelligence information about Tibetans and Tibetan affairs in an unofficial manner and had then submitted the same, unsolicited, to various authorities in British India who were vitally concerned with developments on the Roof of the World.

The most revealing acknowledgment of this practice was made by Tharchin in his quite unusual letter of Christmas Day 1937 to Sir Charles Bell marked *Private and Confidential* and quoted from at some length on several occasions previously in the present work. In the letter can be found a most remarkable passage. It in fact forms part of a lengthy informative postscript in which the Babu took the opportunity to recount retrospectively what he had been doing ever since the mid-1920s (a time-frame which postdated the year of Bell's final retirement from official Tibetan involvement: 1921, the very year which had marked Tharchin's first major visit to the Land of Snows):

During many years I did supply much news to Mr. D. Macdonald, to Mr. Laden La, also

to Rai Bahadur Norbhu Dhondup, and sometimes to the Political Officer.... In 1928, on my way back from Lhasa, I paid my respects to Mr. [Arthur J.] Hopkinson, the then British Trade Agent at Gyantse [and later to be the Political Officer], and gave valuable information, and he rewarded me with a sum of Rs. 100/-.⁵

All these gentlemen the reader has by now become well-acquainted with. They were of course highly-placed officials in the British Government of India involved almost exclusively in their official duties with Tibetan affairs, and there is no doubt they all benefited in their work in one way or another from this unofficial but credible and reliable source of information. As Bell himself averred to Tharchin in response to the Babu's dispatch to him of some valuable intelligence he had gathered firsthand while at the Tibetan capital: "Thank you very much for your letter ..., and the interesting news that it contains. It has been a great pleasure to receive it, especially because you are outside the official circle, and so can give *independent news*."⁶

As but one example of the kind of intelligence the Babu had supplied Bell with, yet not only Bell but other interested British officials, can easily be gleaned from a letter he had sent the former Political Officer in February 1937 from Kalimpong. The particular passage from among several in the letter which could be cited exhibits how thorough and detailed this would-be intelligence agent could be in the task he had voluntarily set for himself of keeping officials informed of important developments related to Tibet:

Kusho Nyar Chen Rimpoche [Ngagchen Rimpoche], the high official of the Tashi [Panchen] Lama, is here at Kalimpong and is going soon to China. [*Who's Who in Tibet* (1938) shows three stars opposite this person's entry on page 48, signifying his being among "the most important" Tibetans in the country; indeed, he ranked next to the Panchen Lama at Trashilhunpo, and was personally involved, after fleeing to China with the Panchen in 1923, in the decade-long negotiations both at Lhasa and in China for the Panchen Lama's return to Tibet.]

One high official of China who was in Lhasa for the past 3 or 4 years [is the one who] had come with Hong MuSang [General Huang Mu-sang, Vice-Chief of Chiang Kai-shek's General Staff, and the leader of Nationalist China's Condolence Mission to Lhasa in 1934] and stayed in Lhasa. With him there were several young men who knew English and also were doing lots of secret service in Lhasa, though this official had pretended to be learning the Tibetan religion and stayed in the large monastery of Drepung. His young men were making maps and taking the temperature of Lhasa.

This official [i.e., the high official of China mentioned above], whose name ... is Lee Oyon [Major Lu Wu-yuan], arrived here on his way to China and left day before yesterday. He is taking [i.e., he took] with him a learned Geshe, by name Sherap Gyatsho, who was at Norbu Lingka and made the revision of the Kangyur when the Dalai Lama was in life. He is one of the most learned Geshes in Lhasa at present [and was the monkish master at Drepung, it will be recalled, of Gedun Chopel]. He was called by the Chinese govt to Nanking for a pay of 1000/- Chinese dollars per month and he is going to make a Tibetan-Chinese Dictionary.

On arrival of this Chinese official [Major Lu] here at Kalimpong I saw a telegram received through wireless from Lhasa which was sent by the Tashi Lama from "Kiyudo" [Jyekundo] in Quod-letters.*⁷

* "... in Quod-letters." This is perhaps a misspelling for Quad-letters; which, if correct, could possibly signify that the telegram in question was sent in an unusual coded format. It was far more common back then for

This willingness of Tharchin's to report such sensitive material about Tibet he had most humbly attributed to his sense of loyalty and patriotism as a British subject out of sincere concern for India's best interests. For example, in a letter sent from Lhasa to Sir Charles that was chock-full of confidential news on Tibetan politics, government and foreign relations which he had collected while there during the summer of 1937, he concluded by saying:

Now I close this letter. I may get more news and definite news about the new Dalai Lama and will let you know. Regarding political news, if I had some [extra] money to spend I could get many [news items], but I am unable to do this now, nor do I think it wise to do so [at the present moment]. Anyhow, I am a loyal British subject; so, I am trying to gather some more news and will let you have it again. I may stay here one month more.

And on another occasion Tharchin explained further to this former Political Officer for Tibet his motive for providing such intelligence to him. This he did in a letter he sent from Kalimpong to Sir Charles later that same year—the same Christmas Day letter quoted from above that was marked *Private and Confidential* because of the sensitive nature of its contents, relating as it did to the two exiled Tibetan officials, Kuchar Kunphela and Changlo Chen Gung, who had found their way to the Babu's hill station. Near the end of the letter Tharchin wrote in a similar vein with regard to his loyalty: "These Tibetan officials are not doubting me [i.e., They trust me], and tell all to me; but for the sake of our British government I am bound to inform you and also the Political Officer, as I am a loyal subject of our Government."⁸

And on still another occasion, writing in 1963 to Independent India's Political Officer Sikkim at Gangtok, Babu Tharchin was moved to declare: "As regards my loyal services, Your Honour might be aware that there is a large file in Your Honour's office which will relate all about my loyalty and works done for the Government [of India]."⁹

Yet anyone who knew Gergan Tharchin's heart in more than a superficial manner would realize immediately that behind these sincere professions of British loyalty and concern for

enciphered messages to be encoded in five-letter/number groupings than in four- (or quad-) letter/number groupings. This per Colonel (Retired) Cliff Walters, Director of London's Royal Signals Museum, who suggested this possible explanation for the phrase to Alan Wallace, Editor of *The Wire*, a publication of the Royal Signals of Great Britain organization. The latter, in turn, communicated to the present writer the Colonel's suggested explanation in an email dated 20 September 2006. Nevertheless, as Alex McKay has observed to the present author, there is a question here whether the enciphered telegram has reference to Chinese codes (which by this time, McKay remarks, "the British could read anyway") or to British codes. In his opinion, "it could have been either." Email, McKay to the author, Thailand, 20 September 2006.

By this time, of course, the Chinese had a radio transmitter installed at Lhasa which, together with a radio operator, had been brought there by the Condolence Mission of 1934. Not to be outdone by the Chinese, the British set up their own transmitter which the Gould Mission to Lhasa of 1936-7 had brought with them. And according to McKay, this Mission's Radio Officer, Sergeant Dagg, had soon worked out the Chinese Mission's frequency and thus "the British were able to intercept [the Chinese transmitter's] messages." And although the British-installed telegraph line was made available to the Tibetans who in certain instances employed their own codes, this telegram from the Panchen Lama, who was then situated just inside China along the Sino-Tibetan border, and sent to the Chinese military official Major Lu Wu-yuan in Kalimpong, might well have been, in McKay's opinion, a message intercepted by the British and that Tharchin's referenced Quod- (or Quad-) letters might therefore have signified a Chinese-encoded message, or else some kind of rendering of Chinese or Tibetan characters. Email, McKay to the author, London, 14 September 2006.

India's best interests lay what was perhaps a deeper concern for the welfare of his ethnic homeland. Uppermost in his Christian heart and soul was his love and concern for the best interests of Tibet, whose viability as an independent nation free from foreign influence or aggrandizement—whether at this time it be Chinese or Russian in origin—stood as the *sine qua non* for eventual penetration of the country by the message of Christ. For he, like so many Himalayan heralds of the gospel of Christ before him, had made the Christian conversion of Tibet and its people a specific daily matter of prayer for many, many years.* Love for his ethnic countrymen and the unquenchable longing to see them, from his Christian perspective, delivered from gross spiritual darkness motivated him to do all in his power legitimately to ensure that the Land of Snows remained free and independent. And to that end, this stalwart advocate for Tibet felt it was his duty—nay, his moral obligation—to inform the British authorities in India of any intelligence he deemed significant which could assist them in maintaining the stability of this strategic buffer on the Subcontinent's northern frontier. This meant keeping a wary eye on not only internal threats to that stability but *external* ones as well. And from the Babu's viewpoint, what had posed the greatest threat to Tibet's well-being ever since the late 1920s was what his friend the Great Thirteenth Lama of Tibet had once termed "the Red Ideology": initially, that of the Soviet variety; but subsequently, and more ominous in its appearance, of the Chinese sort.

* This heartfelt attitude and desire on the part of Gergan Tharchin was no better exemplified than by what he had written in 1928 in a letter to the American missionary to the Tibetans, Victor G. Plymire (1881-1956). During 1927-28 the latter had made a lengthy trek from Tangar (Donkyr) in Northeast Tibet all the way westward to the strategic Central Tibetan checkpoint of Nagchuka located some 100 miles north of Lhasa. There he had hoped to gain permission to travel down to the Tibetan capital where he intended to share the gospel. But because a wave of "Bolshephobia" had swept over Lhasa at this time, the Tibetan government—suspecting Plymire, as did the British, of being a Bolshevik spy—forbade him to head south but instead ordered him to exit Tibet by traveling farther westward and crossing the border into Ladakh. Tharchin and another Christian, both of whom at that moment happened to be in Lhasa, heard of Plymire's marking time at the northern checkpoint waiting for an answer to his ultimately unsuccessful petition made to the Lhasan authorities for permission to enter the capital. Some months later, by letter from Kalimpong to the American, Tharchin explained how he and his fellow Christian at Lhasa had begun to pray immediately for the missionary that he might somehow be permitted to come to Lhasa. He then added these words:

By the grace of our Lord Jesus I got very good opportunities [while at Lhasa] to testify for the Saviour individually [which was described in some detail previously in Volume II, Chapter 18 of the present narrative—author]. I praise ... the Lord for all His wonderful work; [and] though the land [of] Tibet is not opened yet for the Gospel fully, ... He is doing wonderfully through His chosen messengers.... I am sure the word of God [i.e., the Bible] is ... life & light and will give life & light to some [Tibetans].... I am praying very much for Tibet and I do hope in the Lord that [in] His own time [He] will choose the land for His Kingdom.... Let us pray that we may ... work hard to win ... [Tibetans] by the power of the Holy Spirit.

Some twenty years later the Christian Babu would still be expressing sentiments similar to these he had shared with missionary Plymire. This he did in a letter he would write in 1948 to an officer of the Wong Press at nearby Kurseong, Jesuit Fr. M. Wery. The Babu was seeking to purchase from Wong some idle Tibetan types it possessed which he urgently needed to add to his own insufficient supply for continuing to print his *Tibet Mirror* newspaper. And in the letter Tharchin would declare in part the following:

My sole ambition in publishing the paper is that Tibet should know the outside world and also prepare for the kingdom of God.... The Tibetans are beginning to ... realise the importance of it [the paper] and I am sure in times to come, if it is God's will, the door [to Tibet] will be opened for all missionaries....

... I request you to help me by letting me [have] the Tibetan types so that I may be able to develop



Not to be lost sight of in all this is the fact that Gergan Tharchin's "come-of-age" period politically was this very time-frame now under discussion. Prior to this period, of course, he had imbibed deeply of India's nationalistic aspirations. Born in 1890 just a few short years following the establishment of the National Congress Party which would soon boast the freedom-minded Mohandas K. Gandhi as one of its leading members, it would not take long for Dorje Tharchin to support—at least in his thinking and attitude if not by any overt action—the eventual independence of India from the Empire. It will be recalled that at the age of twenty-one this Indo-Tibetan from the cultural backwater of Poo village was by then sophisticated enough to recognize the divided opinion which existed among the Indian populace over the grandiose Delhi Durbar event of 1911 at which Their Majesties, King George V and Queen Mary, had in person been proclaimed India's Emperor and Empress. Though he had thoroughly enjoyed the color and magnificence of the occasion as one of its many attendees, the youthful Dorje had not himself been taken in by its imperial pomp and glory. By then already something of a student of history and politics, he had perceived sharp differences in the reaction to the event by elements within the Indian society. "The visit of Their Majesties to India," he had condescendingly observed, "captivated the minds of the feeblest only. Indeed, the overt loyalty of the common people seemed to me staggering—beyond the limits of human imagination; whereas the patriotic, independence-minded section of the people, who were in the minority at the time, attached no significance and paid no attention to the celebrations whatsoever." As was remarked earlier in Chapter 4, although as a young man Tharchin had been greatly moved by what he had witnessed of India's British Raj in 1911, he had already grown quite sympathetic towards the nationalist movement in general and its most prominent leader Mahatma Gandhi in particular, for whom he had the highest regard.* Freedom and nascent nationalism were beginning to sweep India and the world, and the Tibetan from Poo would not be left behind in their wake. In the words of one recent writer on Gergan Tharchin, "British citizenship and Christian beliefs did not necessarily make one an accomplice to empire."^{9a} (As a matter of fact, so supportive of the long Indian drive for self-rule and independence had Tharchin been throughout the latter stages of its history that on the day when independence was finally achieved in 1947, the exultant Babu

my publication for the good cause to help Tibet and prepare for future [missionary] work.

Tharchin to Plymire, Kalimpong, 15 Apr. 1928, Plymire Papers, Collection 341, Box 2, General Correspondence 1908-1931, Billy Graham Center Archives, Wheaton IL USA; transcript of the letter kindly sent by email to the present author by John Bray, Tokyo, 28 May 2007; and Tharchin to Wery, Kalimpong, 28 June 1948, ThPaK.

* Doubtless, one of the reasons for the Babu's admiration of Gandhi was the latter's emphasis in his life on religious and moral values and of his known respect for Jesus and the Christian Scriptures. See end-note 9b, indicated just a few lines hence in the Text above, for an extensive historical review of the Mahatma's contacts with prominent Christians throughout his career (including Sadhu Sundar Singh), as well as a brief discussion on the role which Tharchin's newspaper played in making the Indian leader such a popular figure in Tibet.

had personally wired Nehru the Prime Minister, congratulating him on the birth of the new nation!^{9b})

But there were other political and social winds beginning to blow through Asia and across much of the rest of the world. These were the deceptively appealing currents of Communism, Fascism, and Militarism of a grossly totalitarian sort. These, too, were vying for the allegiance of men's hearts; but in the mind of Gergan Tharchin, by now a thorough-going product of the nationalistic and freedom-loving movements of the West, these other currents would in his estimation prove most inimical to the well-being of the Himalayan arc of nations and its various peoples; especially was this his view with respect to Tibet, and if inimical to Tibet, then by logical extension most certainly inimical to India too. But of these competing doctrines of political and social revolution, that which appeared the most menacing, because its presence was much closer geographically, was Communism: in particular, the menace posed by what had already taken place in nearby Outer Mongolia by the late 1920s and by the upheaval of civil war between Communists and Nationalists that was spreading havoc everywhere within the borders of Tibet's vast and most immediate neighbor to the east.



If the Babu was an admirer of India's nationalist-minded and freedom-loving Mahatma, he was likewise an admirer of Tibet's progressive-minded and Communist-hating God-King, Dalai Lama the XIIIth. For though the latter was a confirmed Buddhist and Tharchin a staunch Christian, the two nonetheless saw eye to eye with respect to the anti-religious danger posed to Buddhist Tibet were the decades-long Civil War in China to end in victory for the Communists. For those leading the Communist surge there, especially the likes of Mao Tse-tung, were self-proclaimed prophets of the end, ultimately, of all religious expression in their country except the "pseudo-science of Marxism-Leninism" itself. Once united and strengthened under the arbitrary rule of Chairman Mao, would a heady, vibrant, and now exultant Communist-oriented China be satisfied with remaining within her normal borders? Both knew that Chinese history—even rather recent history—would belie any such sanguine thought, since even China's Republicans had not remained content; for had not Yüan Shikai, President of the new Chinese Republic, issued an official decree in April 1912 which had declared that Tibet should be considered a province and an integral part of China?¹⁰ Yet even the Kuomintang (Nationalist) Party founder, Dr. Sun Yat-sen, who was a far more republican- and democratic-oriented Chinese leader than his predecessor Yüan ever was or could be, had himself not been above exhibiting his own intentions that had as their ultimate aim the incorporation of Tibet and other ethnic minority areas into the Chinese nation. For had he not established in the early 1920s the Mongolian and Tibetan Affairs Commission? It was a high-level bureaucratic office whose administrative standing, as was the case with its corollary during the Manchu dynasty, would be of equal rank with the other governmental ministries^{10a} and whose creation had obviously been designed for the eventual drawing in of

these so-called minority entities into the political and military framework of the greater Chinese dominion.

Moreover, in 1928, the Nationalists, now under the leadership of Sun's hand-picked successor, Chiang Kai-shek, had demonstrated more forcefully than heretofore the historical fact of China's two-centuries-old possession by military conquest of much of the ethnic Tibetan territory of Lhasa's ancient imperial eastern province of Amdo by linking this territory that year with Chinese western Kansu Province to form the new Chinese province of Chinghai. Furthermore, the area just to the south of the aforesaid Amdo, which is in that part of Tibet's region of Kham situated east of the Yangtze River and which likewise had been wrested from Lhasa's sovereign control by Manchu China in the eighteenth century, would witness repeated attempts by the Chinese to reassert themselves as the rightful owners of this large and prosperous region whose Chinese provincial name had been known as Sikang from its very creation by the Nationalists in 1936. The Chinese attempt in 1917-19 had ended in defeat at the hands of stronger Tibetan forces which had been greatly strengthened by Tibet's purchase from the British in 1914-15 of 10,000 long-barrel Lee Metford rifles; but after several attempts in the early 1930s, the Nationalist Chinese were victors over the Tibetans at last, pushing back the latter to the west bank of the Upper Yangtze, thus more or less reestablishing China's western boundary with Tibet that had been in effect—with variations thereof—ever since 1727. Right up to 1950, in fact, the Yangtze's upper reaches—known to the Chinese as the Jinsha River and to the Tibetans as the Driчу—would remain as the *de facto* border between the two countries. These various administrative measures and military actions dating from the downfall of the Manchus in 1911-12 would accordingly bring the Chinese right up to the edge of political Tibet's eastern frontier and would serve as warnings to an ever-watchful Dalai Lama of far worse developments for the Land of Monks and Monasteries were the materialist-minded, anti-religious Communists to win the struggle for supremacy over China.*¹¹

Now one of the reasons for the Babu's admiration of the Great Thirteenth stemmed from the prophetic warnings the Inmost One of Tibet had issued to his people concerning the Red Menace. These warnings, it may be recalled, were enshrined in the Grand Lama's parting political testament written just before he passed away in late 1933 (see the previous chapter for all the relevant passages). Profoundly impressed by these warnings, the future freedom-fighter for Tibet, once the Testament had been made known, never forgot it and

* One of India's keenest writers on Asian politics has pointed out that "there is little difference between the territorial perspectives of Sun Yat-sen, Chiang Kai-shek and Mao Tse-tung ..." with respect to the land of the Tibetans and that of other so-called separated minority brethren who, in the view of all three of these Chinese leaders, should have always been united with "the one big Motherland" of China. Bhabani Sen Gupta, *The Fulcrum of Asia* (1968, 1988), 138. For an excellent in-depth historical analysis of all three of these territorial perspectives, see Warren Smith Jr, *Tibetan Nation* (1996), its Chapter 10, "Chinese Nationality Policy and the Occupation of Tibet." Even up to today, notes Paul Ingram, Nationalist Sun's successors in Chinese rule—whether the Nationalists under Chiang and those who followed him in rule on Taiwan Island or the Communists under Mao and his successors in rule on the Mainland—all of them without exception have very much seen eye to eye on this particular issue down through the years. Ingram, Secretary of the Scientific Buddhist Association (but later called OPTIMUS), has made this abundantly clear when preparing the latter's human rights report on Tibet that was issued in 1990. See note 75 of this present chapter's End-Notes where this matter is further outlined in some detail.

never allowed his newspaper readership to forget it, either. For he would now and then reprint the late Lama's remarkable document in the *Tibet Mirror* as a reminder of the coming danger and as an instrument to rally disheartened Tibetans to stay the course against the Chinese threat and not yield to its blandishments.^{11a} Indeed, just shortly after the Communist government of China had been victoriously installed at Peking in October 1949, it let it be known that it took umbrage at Tharchin personally for having published the late Lama's Testament earlier that year, citing the Babu and the publication of it in his newspaper as the reason for the Tibetan government's precipitate action in having expelled all Chinese from Lhasa only a few months after its publication. This is known from a letter Tharchin wrote to the then Political Officer in Sikkim, Harish Dayal, dated 5 December 1949:

I have heard from some sources that the Chinese are blaming me for having published the last will or instructions of the late Dalai Lama in my February issue this year which had made the Tibetan government think about and plan to turn out the Chinese from Lhasa. And I also heard that I was instructed by the Indian government to publish the said article, though it is not true.¹²

To the contrary indeed, Tharchin on his own initiative had simply done what for many years past he had been doing continually: following the dictates of his heart in using whatever instrument or opportunity at his disposal to help counter, if he could, the mounting tide of danger he, like the late perceptive Dalai Lama, sensed was about to engulf his beloved Tibet. And for him the *Tibet Mirror* and its news-dispersing capability was just such an instrument at his disposal. As a matter of fact, the editor had come to look upon the printing and circulating of his Tibetan newspaper as a definite countervailing force against growing Chinese propaganda aimed at a Tibetan population that was predominantly ignorant of what was going on outside its borders. Typical of Tharchin's conception of the role which the *Tibet Mirror* should play in Sino-Tibetan relations in particular is the following statement he wrote during this period as justification for making an appeal for additional financial support to ensure its continuance:

It is very hard for an old man of over 60 years of age to attend to all [duties of running the newspaper] that at present has a shortage of funds and staff.... This is the only paper which is keeping the minds of the Tibetan public in Tibet as well as in India, and [the minds of] all Tibetans or Bhutias in the border lands, from yielding to the Communists' propaganda. The Editor is getting letters from Lamas in the monasteries asking that the paper be sent, but they never send in the subscription payments. The Editor wished he were a rich man so that he could print several thousands of copies to send in and guide [the minds of] the Tibetans in Tibet.... He is praying to God that he may get some help to continue its publication ... He earnestly appeals to all the freedom-loving rich people to extend their hands to help the Editor so that he may prepare a dam against the Communist flood which has now already reached into Tibet.¹³

It can be seen from this statement of the Babu's, so typical of other and similar ones scattered throughout the Tharchin Papers, that he had taken most seriously to heart the dire

Testament warnings of Tibet's Lama-King about the inevitable era of the Red Ideology he saw coming, and his concluding words of admonishment to all who loved Tibet that

unless we learn how to protect our land [from that destructive era],... all will be eliminated without a trace ... remaining.... Moreover, our political system, inherited from the Three Great Kings, will be reduced to an empty name: ... and my people will be sunk in fear and miseries and slowly pass their days and nights in a reign of terror. Such an era will certainly come.

The editor-publisher of the *Tibet Mirror* had therefore seized upon the Testament as simply another but very dramatic weapon, among others in his growing arsenal, which he could use in the struggle which he felt had to be waged against the oncoming Red Tide. More than likely, in fact, Tharchin deemed the reprinting of the Testament's text as but his own particular contribution he could make in helping to fulfill the Great Thirteenth's admonition for Tibetans everywhere to "make every effort to safeguard [themselves] against the impending disaster," to "use peaceful means where they are appropriate; but where they are not appropriate, [to] not hesitate to resort to more forceful means"^{13a}; in short, to "learn how to protect their land" from the approaching long dark era of Communism. * For were its anti-religious and anti-God creed to be imposed upon Tibet's people, what hope, the Christian Babu thought, could there possibly be for the entrance, at last, of the Christian faith after so many fruitless centuries of waiting and hoping? Not in his lifetime, certainly, and perhaps not for another ten generations to come. The Great Closed Land, if enveloped by yet another form of spiritual darkness, would continue to remain closed to the gospel of Christ.

* Indeed, the Tibetan publisher was always on the lookout for ways to use his press to the best advantage as a means of contributing to this lofty ideal. Another and quite unusual example of the Babu's clever employment of his printing press to further the political well-being of Tibet and to try to help ensure her independence in the face of the approaching danger was what had motivated Tharchin to reprint in 1950 a Tibetan-language literary work which he had first published back in 1936. The title of the work in question and the name of its author as they appeared on the title page of the booklet were: *A Song of Lhasa Memories & A Poem in Alphabetical Order Composed by H. E. [the late Sawang] Shekarlingpa at Darjeeling in 1911, on the Occasion of H. H. the 13th Dalai Lama's Visit to India*. Writing to Harish Dayal, the Indian Political Officer at Gangtok, just after the young 14th Dalai Lama had been compelled to flee to Yatung from the Tibetan capital in December 1950, Tharchin, having enclosed a copy of the reprinted work, explained what he hoped to accomplish by its publication. Among other things, the letter reveals the skepticism he harbored towards the general Tibetan leadership, whom for the most part he deemed to be woefully weak-willed and more concerned about their own interests and personal security than those of their homeland people. The arch-defender of Tibet wrote in part as follows:

I think if the officials of Lhasa [who were now at Yatung] have to come to India again [as had happened in 1910 when Chinese troops approached and then occupied Lhasa], I may sell [these copies to] them ... It may help to remind them that they must not forget Lhasa and [they must] try their best to do something so that they may go back to Lhasa as the 13th Dalai Lama was able to do and kept Tibet independent. Tharchin to Dayal, Kalimpong, 18 Dec. 1950, ThPaK.

This famous poem by the poet and scholar Shelkar Lingpa contains forty-six stanzas, each concluding with the unforgettable refrain, so meaningful for anyone who might be in exile from his Tibetan homeland: "I remember Lhasa" (*Lhasa dran*). Jamyang Norbu has provided a translation of one of these stanzas from the celebrated poem:



Given, then, this kind of overarching religious and political perspective that so decisively determined Gergan Tharchin's outlook and approach to the geopolitical concerns he had with respect to Central Asia, an outlook and approach that governed his thoughts and actions during the decades which were to follow the mid-1920s, it should come as no surprise that the Babu inevitably took on the role of a voluntary gatherer of confidential intelligence on Tibetans, Tibetan affairs *and* the Chinese: at first, of course, the Nationalists (who always harbored their own designs upon Tibet), but increasingly, too, the Communists, as the outlines of a Red victory in the Chinese Civil War gradually began to emerge. He was imbued with a moral imperative, as it were, to keep himself and those in high places informed of what was going on inside and outside the Roof of the World.

Yet it is doubtful if at the beginning it was at all a conscious matter with him. Over time, however, he must have commenced taking stock of the unique place and position he by degrees began to assume on the political and cultural landscape of Tibet. Here he was, a rising Tibetan educator, a publisher of works on the Tibetan language and literature, a budding Tibetologist who would frequently visit the Land of Snows in pursuit of further scholarly studies, and most important of all the editor and publisher of the only really viable Tibetan newspaper in existence—with all that this latter undertaking might mean in terms of gathering and disseminating information and news. The development of his multifaceted career, it seemed, had been a preparation for just such a troubled hour as this in the affairs of his ethnic countrymen. As one Kalimpong citizen once remarked, "In the Tibetan society Gergan Tharchin would come to enjoy the highest respect because Tibetans recognized that he was indispensable to their cause *vis-à-vis* China."¹⁴ At some point, therefore, the Babu must have realized that his growing access to information and his ever increasing capacity to gather it constituted an unparalleled opportunity for him to serve both his country of birth and his country of ethnic identity: whose political destinies, he felt, were inextricably bound up with each other as they were together more and more confronted by the rising threat of the Red Menace. Indeed, "even though the Press is a private one in my name," the Babu had retrospectively written in 1963 about this dual responsibility of his, "yet its works were always done for the Government [of India] as well as for the Tibetans."¹⁵

Amidst the many shops and stalls in the busy market square
The thousand delightful movements of soft supple bodies
All gathered there, the beauties, none missing,
Showing off their sweet smiling faces ...
... I remember Lhasa.

The other stanzas, explains Norbu, "describe the surrounding landscape, institutions and religious life in Lhasa." One can therefore well understand why Tibet's arch-defender chose this particular work to reprint as a reminder to those who might too easily be willing to forfeit what had been regained back in 1911-12: Tibet's independence. See Norbu's Internet Website essay, "Newspeak and New Tibet," Part III, unnumbered page, at www.TibetWrites.org.



It is little wonder, therefore, that this educator-scholar-publisher soon became a magnet for those Tibetans who wished to speak privately what was on their mind. Perhaps they wished their confidences to go no further than the publisher's ears. On the other hand, they may have hoped or expected, for whatever motive, that what they said would find its way into the public prints—but of course given attribution anonymously. But then again, it is even conceivable that given the Babu's increasing connections with well-placed British Indian officials, some of these very same people who were drawn to Tharchin hoped or even assumed that what they conveyed in private to him would more than likely be communicated in time to these officials. Nevertheless, all those who sought out the Babu's ear knew they could trust him to use his discretion as to what should be revealed, when, and to whom; and by the same token, what should not be revealed at all.

That Tharchin Babu had the ear of influential and powerful Tibetan leaders is no better exemplified than by what happened to him upon arriving in Lhasa for his second visit there. This was in 1927, only two years following the inauguration of his Tibetan newspaper. Within the context of the present chapter's focus, it would do well to repeat here from the preceding volume's Chapter 18 the present author's account of how the *Tibet Mirror* publisher had been inundated with requests to see and converse with him:

Tharchin ... expected to see several Tibetan officials as well as old friends and acquaintances, all of whom in the past months and years had received and read his Tibetan newspaper. Indeed, shortly after his arrival, reported Tharchin ..., "I paid my respects to all the Tibetan high officials and they were very glad to see me again in Lhasa and were very kind to me." He went on to indicate ... how his interaction with these officials created for him an incredibly busy schedule from the very outset of his visit to the Tibetan capital. "I had no time to stay at home," Tharchin explained, "every officer sending servants; sometimes two, but even three, will come at a time to call me [to their masters' homes], and I go with the man who comes first, and then I have to stay the whole day" with that official ... Some of these same individuals would even come themselves personally to the newspaper publisher's Lhasa residence to pay their respects to him because they recognized and appreciated the original and lasting contribution of his newspaper to the people of Tibet. Other individuals, however, of higher rank and influence, requested the Kalimpong publisher to call on them at their homes that they too might tender their thanks to him for his publishing efforts on behalf of Tibet and discuss a wide range of other topics with the Babu.

One such individual was Tsarong Shape, whose significant talks with Tharchin at this time were touched upon in Chapter 17. The humble Tibetan from Poo mentioned in his letter to Rev. Graham how this powerful and influential official "called me again, and I was the whole day with him," after which "I came back at 9 p.m. ..." It was on this occasion, incidentally, that the Babu had received the startling but heartwarming comment from the lips of Tsarong ... that "Tibet may become civilized through your newspaper."

These myriad conversations in 1927 established for all time Tharchin's place as a confidant to so many at the center of power in Lhasa. With each succeeding visit to the capital, the

circle of those in positions of influence and authority who sought him out would enlarge. Yet so, too, did the same occur down in Kalimpong whenever these and other individuals of high rank or importance would have reason to visit there, which grew increasingly more frequent with every passing year. (Indeed, as but one example, it has been reported to the present author by Achu Tsering, son of the late Intelligence Officer Lha Tsering mentioned earlier, that on several occasions he had observed Tsarong calling on the Babu at his newspaper office.^{15a}) But in Lhasa there was a small coterie of his closest friends in high places to whom he would always go for news and information of a sensitive sort, whether it be concerned with internal Tibetan politics or, as was increasingly the case, with the growing Chinese threat, Nationalist or Communist. One such friend, of course, was Tsarong Shape, the former Commander-in-Chief of the Tibetan Army. It was at the latter's Lhasa residence, it will be remembered, that Tharchin stayed while on his next visit to the capital in 1937. And while still a guest at Tsarong House that summer, the Babu had a compulsion to relate by letter to Sir Charles Bell the contents of a highly confidential conversation he had just had with the Shape, a further example of the trust and confidence Tibetan officials reposed in him; for in the letter the Babu wrote the following intelligence:

I had a very private talk with Tsarong ... and he also told me that Tibet is bending towards China. All the officials talk with me openly as they do not doubt me [the Babu's quaint way of saying that they trust him]. Also, Tsarong told me that the discipline of the Tibetan Army is very bad; it is not good as before; the old rifles are not good, but of course they hope to get new ones; but when the Army is not good, not properly trained, he fears that even with good rifles, that will not be of much help. He has lots of ideas to improve the Army, but it seems that he alone can't do much, and neither does he have any power to act.¹⁶

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Yet in this same letter is another fascinating passage whose contents are illustrative of still another interesting facet to the Kalimpong publisher's intelligence-gathering activity. Given the generous, helpful and compassionate nature of Gergan Tharchin, which became legendary among all who knew him, the recipients of his kindness were more than eager to recompense him in the best way they knew how, especially if they occupied any kind of sensitive or influential post, whether high or low, in the Tibetan or Indian or even the Chinese governmental bureaucracy: they would pass on news or confidences to him which he might relish having. It took on, in fact, the *appearance* of a quid pro quo development that on the contrary was something which arose quite naturally, as the passage in question from Tharchin's letter to Sir Charles amply demonstrates:

At Gyantse I met the Dewan Bahadurs; they are rather in trouble, for I have to get Rs 70/- from him, as he took one pony from me; but now I can't get it. Here in Lhasa I met his former wife whose voice is not good [meaning unclear]. She became the wife of the Chinese official's interpreter and she asks me to write her respects to you and also she

says she wants to write you a letter soon. I can get lots of information from her husband, as he interprets everything between the Chinese official and the Tibetan government. He is one of my friends. Six years ago he and his mother came to Kalimpong and they were in great trouble at that time. I tried to give a little help, so now he is very grateful to me. He also asks me to give his respects to you.¹⁷

Now anyone who knew Gergan Tharchin well enough would know that there was absolutely nothing ulterior behind his kindhearted generosity: such compassionate helpfulness was something deeply rooted in his Christian faith as well as in his humble beginnings of great poverty. As a matter of fact, it was not unlike the *agape* love (an expression of *divine* love) which his Lord and Master, Jesus, exhibited constantly in His daily walk on the earth: He did so, expecting nothing in return for having done good. And it was this example of Jesus which by the power of God's Spirit the Babu sought to emulate in his own daily life. Moreover, in the instance under discussion, Tharchin could little have realized six years earlier that the recipient of his kindness *then* would come to hold *later* such a sensitive position as interpreter to the Chinese representative in Lhasa!—surely an indication, if any were needed, that there was no ulterior link between his generosity and any desire to gain clandestine information. Nevertheless, as the above passage makes clear, though there was no thought of any recompense for Tharchin's acts of kindness, there was, willy-nilly, a by-product to his compassion which he could neither gainsay nor deny: if, as in the case at hand, the one benefited by it was in a position to do so, he would show his gratefulness by providing the Babu with items of news or some confidential intelligence. Even so, what in essence transpired with the grateful interpreter was merely another opportunity, among many which routinely presented themselves, for the Babu to take advantage of in ferreting out intelligence data that might be helpful in countering what he saw was an ever-present threat to Tibet from China. That the source of the information happened in this case to be someone who had earlier benefited from Tharchin's generosity was something purely accidental. Finally, though, it must be acknowledged that because the instance of Tharchin's helpfulness just now delineated was not uncommon, its frequent occurrence could conceivably lead to the belief on the part of a less knowledgeable observer that there might just be a base motive to much of Tharchin's kindness. It must be stated in reply, however, that the reason this apparent quid pro quo phenomenon was not a rare occurrence was, to put it quite simply, because the Babu's *agape* liberality was not a rare occurrence, either!



Now it is obvious that for the Babu's intelligence-gathering endeavors to be a success, and whether they be undertaken for the sake of his Tibetan newspaper or for the enlightenment and guidance of British officials, he could not be the only contact point or collector of news. The political and geographical terrain was too vast, the issues too complex, and the personalities involved too many for just one person to ferret out all relevant intelligence. It would require a sizable network of individuals who by virtue of their status, office or location

were in a position to observe the activities and movements of important persons or be in the know of events, conversations, developments and even telegrams, letters and reports which would be journalistically or politically significant. Such a network, of course, could not be developed overnight; it had to be painstakingly built up over a period of time into a viable and effective group of informants whose basic code of honor was secrecy, honesty and accuracy and whose loyalty to the cause—whether that be the progress of the *Tibet Mirror*, the defense of Tibet from the threat of any new incursion into Kham by the Chinese Nationalist Army, or the growing anti-Communist struggle—was unquestioned.

It can be stated here with a great deal of certainty that over the years since the founding of his newspaper Gergan Tharchin was able to create just such an informal group of people whom he could depend upon to keep him informed regularly of any newsworthy item of information or intelligence they might come into possession of wherever they might be. They became the eyes and ears as it were of Gergan Tharchin himself; and they were situated in such strategic places as Lhasa, Shigatse, Phari, Gyantse, Yatung, and naturally Kalimpong itself. The Tharchin Papers are replete with messages and letters which were sent to the Tibetan publisher informing him of this or that piece of news or confidential disclosure. Here is but a sampling of such communications received at various times from various informants at various places scattered throughout the informal network. They reveal a wide variety of subject matter deemed significant enough to have been sent by the informants.

Lhasa, 10 January 1929: I have no news to mention about Tibet which is worthy of information to you; as everything seems to be going smoothly. I would advise you that you should mention as much as possible in your newspaper about China and HH the Tashi Lama [the Panchen Lama who had fled Shigatse and Tibet in 1923], as everybody in Tibet seems to appreciate information about China.

Gyantse, 31 October 1942: The two American gentlemen [Tolstoy and Dolan] who are proceeding to Lhasa to interview the Dalai Lama are arriving here on the 2^d Nov. and they will leave for Lhasa after a few days stay at Gyantse.

Lhasa, early 1948: Do you remember the name Ma Kuang Ching? Mostly he was called Shiao Chung Ching here.... Recently he sold his house furniture, for he is going back to China via India. His start will be very soon. He is a tall thin fellow with narrow moustache. Indian Mission in Lhasa has got his photo and I saw it. At his departure from Lhasa to India I'll wire you like this—"Goods left here."

Lhasa, 6 March 1949: There is not much agitation of the Communists in Lhasa of today, it seems.... The rumour goes strongly that Mapu Fang's 2000-man Army has already left Siling but no one knows where they have gone to.... I write once again to say that correct information can be collected if there is enough pay so that news collectors can be kept by me; otherwise, we can get only hearsay news. I have got connection with: Tharing, Kapshopa, Ragarshar, Tsarong, Monks of Sera, Dray Phong's [Drepung's] two big Lamas, and others. No news is heard of Panchen Lama. It is said they [the Chinese Nationalists] may bring two incarnations. The present [Tibetan?] armies were also suspected to have sent to check whether any Chinese escorts are with the Panchen Lama.... P.S. Wire me when you get this letter and let me know if [these news items] are of any value. If good, just say, "Good health."

Yatung, 8 August 1949: On the 26th July five [of the many expelled] Chinese have arrived from Shigatse, on 30th 11 from Lhasa, 1st Aug. 18 from Lhasa, on 7th 40 Chinese

with the Head of the Chinese Mission, including children, have arrived and all of them are staying at Chumbi.... The I.T.A. [Indian Trade Agent] Yatung has arrived here on 29th July from Gangtok and now he is busy, and went yesterday to Chumbi to meet the Head of the Chinese Mission. Tibetan and Chinese officials are coming here for lunch at Agency.

Yatung, 14 March 1952: The Head of the [Communist] Chinese of Lhasa has requested of the Kashag and the Dalai Lama to appoint Ngabo and Ragashar as Vice Commanders-in-Chief. They agreed and appointed them. Chinese soldiers have reached Phari on 11th March. I think they will soon proceed towards this place.

Lhasa, 7 September 1952: All the [Tibet Mirror] papers were returned to you ... The Chinese are suspecting that we [at the Lhasan Indian Mission] might be helping [i.e., supplying] you with news, etc. So it's better that they were returned to you this time. People came to know of your recent issue of the paper [that was returned] because the Chinese office had a copy brought up by someone from Kalimpong. I got about six inquiries asking if I have the paper. Most of them know what the paper contained. As you think [i.e., As you have written in the newspaper], it is quite right: people are glad with you, but the other party [that of the Communists?] is not!!!

Yatung, 29 December 1952: ... about the two Indian Communists: they are still at Chumbi with strict guards. Now, 13 buildings are nearly completed at Chorten Karpo, and the Chinese are shifting their rice at Chorten Karpo which was piled up at Chumbi. No more interesting news.

Yatung, 1 May 1953: On 24th April the Chinese here presented a *Thrangshi* [movie, play?] about the Korean War: As the U.N. was about to win the war in North Korea, Chinese Communist soldiers poured into North Korea, killing many U.N. troops, mostly Americans. At last, while American troops were retreating from North Korea, hundreds of [North Korean soldiers?—undecipherable] poured into [Southern?] villages and left all burning. Also [in the *Thrangshi*] they showed bombing by Americans of civilians and children, and they explained in Tibetan that Americans and British are our deadly enemy, so we must be careful of them in future, and the show ended.

Yatung, 22 May 1953: Chinese bridge near Yatung bazar not completed but men and animals are allowed to pass over this bridge as the old one is dismantled.... The construction of road from Lingmalling is said to be quite broad but muddy, and people say it is impossible to use carts.

Kalimpong, undated memo marked "Confidential": The man who is the right-hand man of the present Panchen Lama sent for his second wife and family from Peking; the wife with five children all dressed in Chinese and speaking Mandarin left Kalimpong this morning for Shigatse.¹⁸

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But if the resourceful Tharchin was served by faithful and diligent "stationary" informants, he was likewise served by an amorphous group of transients who found their way, for whatever reason, to the Babu's hill station. There they would stay for shorter or longer periods, as the spirit might move them. One particularly identifiable class of transients served the Babu *very* well: these were the ubiquitous Mongolian lamas—Mahayana Buddhist to the core—who were always welcome at the Tibetan capital, no questions asked. Often traveling to Lhasa on pilgrimage or else enrolling at Drepung and the other Lhasan monasteries

for higher monastic studies (several hundreds of them always being in residence at these immense religious institutions at any given time), these Mongolians would also break away from their stay at the Tibetan capital to make their way south through Tibet bound for India's own holy places. And naturally Kalimpong was the first major halting place for them upon reaching the Land of Buddha's Birth.¹⁹

Now over the years Tharchin Babu had shown special favor towards these pilgrim monks and lamas from Mongolia as well as towards many Tibetans on pilgrimage too. News of this particular favor had naturally spread through both communities at Lhasa and even throughout the general monkish population of Tibet and the two Mongolias themselves—Outer and Inner. For instance, the ex-Japanese spy Hisao Kimura, while on a secret intelligence mission for Tharchin and the British which took him into East Tibet and just inside the neighboring Chinese province of Chinghai, happened to stumble upon a Lama at a small temple across the river from the monastic town of Jyekundo. He was none other than the incarnate Lama, the Jyekundo Rimpoche. This distinguished personage, Kimura would report later, "had made a pilgrimage to the holy places of India and visited Tharchin on the way; so that our introduction from the latter assured us kind treatment."²⁰ The former Japanese agent has written much more about Tharchin's connection with these pilgrims in his memoirs of the period when he himself was posing as a Mongolian monk and working for the Babu at his Tibet Mirror Press:

In the spring of 1946 ... a large number of Mongolian monks and lamas came from Lhasa on pilgrimage.... Since Tharchin made it a habit to be helpful by printing leaflets and guide maps to the sacred places,²¹ as well as clearing out a warehouse across from the printing press for the pilgrims to use, he was often the first person they called on. This was extremely valuable to his position in the intelligence network, and it was also a chance for me to make important contacts, for as a Mongolian in his employ it fell upon me to take care of the Mongolian pilgrims.... [Then too,] the Tibet Mirror Press was a place where Tibetans [and Mongolians] on pilgrimage or other business could always be sure of a temporary job. (*JA* 152, 185)

With the prospect of a place to bed down gratis, timely assistance for their eventual holy pilgrimages in India, and the possibility if desired of temporary employment, it was not surprising that Tharchin was treated to a steady stream of Mongolian visitors; many of whom, as hinted at by Kimura, could provide valuable information to an interested and clever conversationalist like the Babu about developments in the remote regions of Central and East Asia. Such information these pilgrims might have been able to learn in the course of their lengthy travels along the caravan trails which stretched for hundreds and thousands of miles across this vast area of the Asian continent. These ancient routes extended from the two Mongolias and southern Siberia in North and East Asia, southwestward through northern China and eastern and northeastern Tibet, then down to the sacred Tibetan capital itself, and finally southward to the Jelep La and into India. It was an enormous region of trackless wastes and rugged mountains but also of lush valleys and fertile fields and forests; it was also a region infested with scoundrels, thieves and brigands of every stripe bent on pillage, rape and murder; yet it was an area, too, which could yield up, to a traveler alert and

astute enough, its myriad secrets about wandering rebellious nomads, unending civil wars, internecine conflicts among warring factions, clans and tribes, the latest political news of more than passing significance, as well as ominous signs of troop concentrations and even clandestine plans for attack on an unsuspecting neighboring country. Surely an incredibly rich source of information many of these Mongolian travelers and Tibetan pilgrims were—a mine of intelligence just waiting to be tapped by a resourceful, skillful and strategically-placed person like Tharchin who quickly comprehended the unique situation that was his and exploited it to the full.

In this regard, an example of what might occur upon the arrival of Mongolians on Gergan Tharchin's doorstep was the experience encountered by the Japanese spy Kimura who at the time had been posing as Dawa Sangpo, a Mongolian monk supposedly studying at Lhasa's Drepung Monastery. He had been accompanied in his long spy journey from Inner Mongolia by the Danzans, a Mongolian pilgrim couple who were themselves posing as Dawa's sister and her husband. Dawa had been introduced to the Tibetan publisher by an Outer Mongolian *thanka* painter and artist named Dharma, whose name, typically, had been given these three travelers during their stay in the Tibetan capital. Dharma had at one time been a monk-pilgrim himself at Lhasa but who now lived in Kalimpong with his Lhasa-born wife and their children. Here is how Kimura described what had transpired upon initially meeting the talented undercover agent for Tibetan intelligence:

At first I thought Tharchin, who was small and dark with a thick moustache, looked more Indian than Tibetan, but his friendly and open directness reassured me. Though he was fluent in Tibetan, Urdu, Hindi, Nepali and English, we had no common language, and I had to rely on Dharma to interpret....

"What can you do? Do you have any skills?" Tharchin asked, looking a little dubiously at the ragged pilgrim who had presented himself. I had made an attempt to tidy up, but nothing could disguise the patches and holes in my old robe.

"Nothing special," I answered nervously, wondering what he would say if I told him I could speak, read and write Japanese like a native.

Dharma came to my rescue. "He told me that he read books on the new age at a Japanese school in Inner Mongolia. I'm sure that can't be held against him now that the war is over."

Mr. Tharchin laughed at that, then thought for a moment and gestured toward a map on the wall of his Press office. "Do you know what that is?" he asked. I told him it was a map of Asia, and he asked me if I could point out the route I had taken to come to India from Mongolia. Starting at Zarin Sume I carefully traced the route we had followed through Ninghsia to Tsaidam then south with the caravan to Lhasa, and finally the three-week journey across the Himalayas. He then asked me if I could read the place names. I obliged him, telling him that the Japanese school had taught the English alphabet. He looked at me intently for a moment ...

"All right," he said finally, "you can help with the printing for a while. Fifteen rupees a month." It would not keep the three of us, so I asked about the Danzan couple. They were just simple nomads, I said, but they could do all the things a nomad could do. "There's always wool to be spun," he said after a moment's thought. "Bring them up to the house and I'll introduce them to my wife. She's in charge of that sort of thing."

And so Kalimpong became our home ... (JA 136-7)

Friendships were thus readily made and information of varying significance just as readily extracted over time and sorted out thereafter. Moreover, upon returning weeks or months later to those places from whence they had begun their journeys, certain of these pilgrim-travelers, Dawa Sangpo included—and no matter whether Mongolian or Tibetan, could now be trusted to serve as couriers bearing confidential messages back to Lhasa and other Tibetan centers of importance, where Tharchin the intelligence network chief had his informants. They might even be dispatched back to faraway Mongolia where the Babu might perhaps have a few spies of his own lurking about. It was an informal arrangement conducive to conducting clandestine fact-finding work of every description, and the Babu's Tibet Mirror Press provided the perfect cover for it. So perfect was it, in fact, and so subtly and carefully conducted was Tharchin's undercover network operation, that over the years of its existence none of the Babu's regular associates in the Press nor any of his friends, relatives and family members involved on and off in the publishing work was ever aware that such an ongoing intelligence-gathering and -disseminating activity had ever taken place. In this respect, at least, Tharchin Babu could be regarded as a spy indeed, and a very good one at that!

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Now at some point in the development of Gergan Tharchin's informal intelligence apparatus, the British Government of India—having been aware for some time of the Tibetan publisher's extracurricular activities—came to realize that it might be helpful to its own intelligence operations on Tibet to tap into the Babu's undercover network by establishing an official contact with it. This it did by the year 1943 or 1944, and perhaps even earlier. But the staunch, ever alert, and single-minded advocate for Tibet's well-being made it crystal clear that he would only engage in this cooperative venture for the sake of his beloved ethnic homeland. For did he not intimate to one of his many admirers from a younger generation of Tibetans where his heart and soul truly lay—"with Tibet"^{21a} As Kimura would himself report long afterwards: "I was to learn that Tharchin was committed to the welfare and the independence of Tibet, and though I did not know it at the time [of initially meeting him], he had extensive contacts with the secret world of British intelligence—with which he willingly cooperated as long as it was for the benefit of Tibet." (JA 136)

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As can be discerned from the foregoing narration of Gergan Tharchin's emergence as a British secret agent concerned with the World's Roof, the Raj, in the words of historian Alex McKay, "did not rely solely on the [British frontier] cadre for information on Tibet." From his excellent study on *Tibet and the British Raj: the Frontier Cadre 1904-1947*

(1997), one learns that there were many local, indigenous sources of intelligence at the cadre's disposal which greatly enhanced the ability of the British to gather all kinds of intelligence essential to the creation and maintenance of British India's foreign policy *vis-à-vis* Tibet and those Central Asian powers having an interest in the Snowy Land like Russia and China.

It would do well, therefore, to provide the reader some historical background on how and through whom the British Raj in India had over the years and decades developed its wide-ranging intelligence-gathering capability regarding Tibet. But for this one must go back to the days right after the Younghusband Mission to Lhasa of 1903-4. And here the present author is indebted to McKay and his seminal work already cited.

The British historian first of all mentions the help India received from Nepal's representative in Lhasa who regularly forwarded lengthy situation reports—admittedly of “mixed value,” based as much of them were on rumor—to his home Government at Kathmandu. The latter would in turn pass them on to Britain's representative at the Nepalese capital.

But another, and quite intriguing, intelligence source for the British were various Christian missionaries based along the Sino-Tibetan border. Imbued with their ongoing desire to gain entrance into the Great Closed Land, they incorrectly believed their support of increased British or Chinese authority would result in their finally being permitted into the Forbidden Land. McKay has documented how such missionaries as J. R. Muir and James Edgar would frequently send “long reports,” forwarded to India via Peking, on conditions in eastern Tibet, much of which had reliable military value. Muir, for example, in one of his reports, had even provided a small map he himself had drawn which, he wrote, “will show better the disposition of the troops on the frontier.” And according to McKay, Edgar—a distinguished longtime Australian/New Zealand missionary to Tibet who at one time actually ministered just inside the Closed Land—had “actively solicited intelligence assignments” from the British! These, and other missionaries like them, writes McKay, “were, in effect, unpaid spies.” It ought to be noted in passing that though Gergan Tharchin was not above receiving remuneration offered now and then for his unofficial contributions to British intelligence gathering, he was not unlike Muir, Edgar and other missionaries with respect to what motivated them to serve as a source of news and information on Tibet: the great hope common to them all of witnessing at long last the open and unhindered entrance of the gospel of Christ into the Land of Monks and Monasteries.

The presence of British Trade Agents inside Tibet widened greatly the Raj's capability there to collect intelligence, since these cadre officers would now be close by to those Indian Buddhists who themselves dwelt in Tibet and might be willing, as two of the latter indeed were, to provide regularly, in the words of one annual Gyantse Trade Agent Report, “valuable information about Lhasa and Tibetan affairs.” These two willing Buddhist residents from the Indian subcontinent were two close relatives of Sikkim's Maharaja and who lived on large estates located just a few miles outside Gyantse. Additionally, the British could count on Lhasa's Ladakhi commercial community and the ubiquitous Indian traders as further sources of information. Both groups could obviously travel more freely in Tibet than could the Trade Agents and, reports McKay, would be expected “to deal with the Agents in

the normal course of business." A further consequence of the Trade Agents' presence, and later that of the British Mission at Lhasa, was the fact that Agency staff, Mission servants, and even Medical Officers on duty at these Agencies and Mission were all good sources of information—whether that have been in the form of bazaar gossip, popular opinion, or the physical health and fitness of medical patients from the wealthier and therefore more influential sections of Tibetan society.

Prior to the Younghusband Mission, Chinese authorities in Tibet had employed couriers as their method of contact with their home Government. But with British introduction into Tibet of both telegraph and postal services, the Chinese opted in favor of these more modern methods of contact. Consequently, notes McKay, the British cadre "gained invaluable insight into Chinese plans" since both their letters and telegrams were "routinely intercepted and read in India" before they were forwarded on to China.

And then, of course, there were the "secret agents"—usually indigenous employees of the British—who were dispatched from both the Trade Agencies and the Political Officer at the Gangtok Residency. McKay points out that ever since the days of Trade Agent William O'Connor, a monthly "Secret Service allowance" had been provided the Trade Agents for making payment to their informants—one of whom, it will be recalled, would be Gergan Tharchin himself. The lists of recipients of these funds, adds McKay, "reveal the wide range of informants used," especially by O'Connor: (a) "nationals whose interests coincided with those of the British"—e.g., Indian traders, Bhutanese officials, and even the Nepalese representative posted to Gyantse (whose regular monthly payment amounted to 50 rupees); (b) villagers, who might each receive one or two rupees for their cooperation; (c) servants of Lhasa officials and the Panchen Lama's clerks at his Trashilhunpo Monastery, all of whom received payments of between 10 and 50 rupees each; (d) the clerk of Gyantse's prestigious *Dzongpon* or District Officer; (e) various monks at monasteries in Lhasa and throughout Central Tibet, all of whom became paid informants, some of them on a regular basis; and even (f) informants in the Chinese Army during its presence at Lhasa and elsewhere in Tibet and among the employees of the Chinese Ambans when they, too, were still present at Lhasa! "No possible source," explains McKay, "was ignored." Antecedent to all these twentieth-century "secret agents," of course, were the famed nineteenth-century pundits who had so well-served the Survey of India in gathering all kinds of intelligence about Tibet (see later in the present chapter regarding their clandestine activities).

Now the process of gathering information, this British cadre historian had gone on to say, "was by no means one-sided. Though they denied it, Britain, China, Russia and other powers such as Japan all spied on Tibet and on each other's activities there." Furthermore, McKay makes clear that the Tibetans themselves monitored the British most carefully, resulting in one instance in the dismissal in 1908 of one of the Gyantse Trade Agency clerks on charges of passing confidential papers about Tibet to the Chinese in Lhasa (this had been none other than Gergan Tharchin's Mission School Headmaster of a later day at Ghoom, Karma Sumdhon Paul, who many years afterwards was exonerated of such charges by the very person who had originally dismissed him: F. M. Bailey, at the time of dismissal the Gyantse Trade Agent, but by the time of exoneration in 1922 the P.O.S. at Gangtok; see again Volume I, Chapter 5 of the present work for the details). The Tibetans could be "refreshingly honest" about

their watchfulness of the British, added the historian humorously; for when one particular visitor to Tibet in the 1930s inquired of the “guides” whom the Tibetan government had provided her if they were reporting her activities to the Dalai Lama, they replied without any hesitation, “Of course.”²²



From this brief historical background on the development of British India’s intelligence-collecting endeavors, it becomes clear that the Raj’s employment of Gergan Tharchin as an undercover agent was not in the least unique. As has been learned already, he, like many others who were engaged by the British to perform this kind of clandestine work, was indigenous, loyal, reliable, discreet, and talented. What *was* unique about Tharchin, however, was the fact that in linking up with him, the British Intelligence community would now have in their network of spies and informants someone who had organized, developed and trained a network of indigenous, loyal, reliable, discreet, and talented informants of his own!

Furthermore, and perhaps of equal significance, the head of this informal network of informants had what proved to be a perfect cover for carrying out such surreptitious activity: he published a newspaper which naturally required—no suspicious questions asked—having a number of individuals here and there who, if not news reporters in the normal understanding of that phrase, were nonetheless gatherers of news and information of vital interest to their superior who just happened to be the proprietor, editor and publisher of the only viable Tibetan-language news journal in existence. And hence, the Babu’s news publishing operation, with its far-flung network of contacts for gathering information, was looked upon by all and sundry as an essential, even indispensable, activity for these crisis times in Indo-Tibetan history and was thus accepted as something quite natural and innocuous.

Given, then, this kind of activity which Tharchin’s newspaper enterprise made possible, could anything be more desirable as a suitable means of concealment for engaging in a clandestine collection of intelligence? Little wonder, therefore, that British Intelligence in India dealing with Tibetan affairs would be extremely interested in gaining access—even if only indirectly through linkage with its head—to such a network that by this time was already in place, had proven itself to be both experienced and capable, and whose not inconsiderable number of “agents” were scattered far and wide throughout much of Central Asia. Ergo, the link-up was well-nigh inevitable.



As a consequence of this link-up with the Babu’s Tibetan-related clandestine operation, it was not long before Tharchin’s name began to appear on the distribution lists of official Government memoranda. Such a list would appear at the end of each memo’s text, indicating which need-to-know individuals were to receive a particular communication. That the Babu’s

name was now included was evidence that this new undercover agent for the British Raj would be kept informed, to the degree it was felt necessary, of what the relevant officialdom was itself being apprised with regard to the Roof of the World. For instance, in March 1946, Tharchin's name appears at the end of a memorandum sent by none other than the Political Officer for Tibet, A. J. Hopkinson, and addressed to the British Mission in Lhasa. This official memo gave detailed data on the Tibet Goodwill Mission's reception in New Delhi, a day-by-day report that identified those prominent political leaders who were present on every occasion mentioned, including foreign dignitaries from other countries such as Afghanistan, America, China, Holland and Persia. Listed on this particular memorandum, as one of those recognized to receive it, Tharchin's name is found among the likes of British Intelligence Chief E. T. D. Lambert himself; also, Major G. Sherriff, Crookety, Kalimpong; as well as the British Mission, Lhasa, and the British Trade Agent, Gyantse and Yatung.²³

But then, too, it was also not long after the link-up with Tharchin's covert operation had occurred that on the streets of Kalimpong there discreetly began to appear in the company of the Babu a somewhat shadowy figure, who apparently chose by design to remain that way during the next half-decade. This individual, whose name has appeared once or twice already, was Eric T. D. Lambert from Ireland, who headed up the Indian government's own Tibetan Intelligence program between the years 1942 and 1947. Since Lambert constituted the most important point of contact between these two undercover enterprises relating to Tibet, it would do well to devote a little space to his personal history.²⁴



Eric Thomas Drummond Lambert was an important mid-level Officer of His Majesty's public service in India who held a variety of posts as a member of the Indian (Imperial) Police between 1929 and 1947. Son of the late Septimus Drummond Lambert, Eric was born in Ireland in 1909, was educated at the Royal School in Dungannon, and spent one or two academic years at Dublin's famed Trinity College in 1928 and 1929 before going off to India in the latter year. There he would spend nearly his entire career on the Subcontinent in the Northeast Frontier Region before retiring from the Imperial Police in mid-1947.

Within a few years following his arrival in India Lambert, at only age 26, was made Political Officer for the Brahmaputra-Chindwin Survey and would serve in that post for two years (1935-6). Two years later he became the District Commissioner of the Naga Hills, and throughout the Japanese invasion of that area during the Second World War Lambert was with the Nagas and other Assamese hill tribes. During the War year of 1942 Lambert served as British India's first Political Officer for the Tirap Frontier Tract. His duties during these years as a political officer have been described by Sir Percival Griffiths as having been, to say the least, "very diverse." Explains Sir Percival further in his extensive history of the Indian Police: "He had stopped human sacrifice amongst an aboriginal tribe; he had surveyed the densely-forested border area; and earlier in 1942 he had organized the rescue of many thousands of [war] refugees."²⁵ But by far his most fascinating and unusual

experience during this same year of 1942 involved his association with China, Britain's ally against Japan. For Lambert was commissioned by the Chinese Nationalist Army as a General in the Chinese Armed Forces with the task assigned "to find and evacuate the Chinese Vth Army from Burma to Assam India," a most remarkable assignment to be asked to undertake, indeed, but one which, given his knowledge and experience in that region of the world, he nonetheless successfully accomplished against all odds (including "an attack of high fever") between June and August of 1942.²⁶ In fact, writes Griffiths in his book's chapter on the Indian Police in time of war, "it is impossible in an account which must be limited to a few paragraphs to convey any idea of the hardships involved in Lambert's expedition or of the courage and resolution, combined with his unique knowledge of the frontier areas, which enabled him and his party to accomplish it. It is very satisfactory to record that, in addition to being decorated with the King's Police Medal, he was invited to China, fêted for a week by the Chinese Army and decorated with the Chinese Army Medal of the 1st Class."²⁷

Following his stint as the Tirap Tract's initial Political Officer, Lambert was shifted from there to become Assistant Political Officer in 1943 for the strategically-important town of Sadiya and its vicinity and the same position in Pasighat the next year. "From here," Lambert wrote in a letter to the present author, "I visited the Tibetan frontier due north [by] going up the Dihang and crossing the Siyom.... The nearest I ever got to Lhasa was to Gyantse in 1944."²⁸ During that same War year Lambert would also serve as the Chief Civil Liaison Officer of the XIVth British Army in Assam. After his retirement from the Imperial Indian Police in 1947 at only the age of 37, he went on to fashion a new career for himself with the Foreign and Commonwealth Office that would take him to many foreign lands over the next two decades. As such, Lambert carried out his duties for the FCO in several countries of Southeast Asia, and several in West Africa, South America (especially Venezuela) and Central Asia (in particular, Nepal and Afghanistan).*



But by far the most intriguing service he rendered the British Raj, and which is most germane to the present discussion, was his half-decade of duty as the one in charge of

* As a consequence of his long years of Government service in many parts of the world, Lambert was honored in a number of ways. In 1943, he received the KPM (King's Police Medal); in 1946, the OBE (Officer—of the order—of the British Empire); in 1969, the CMG (Companion, Order of St. Michael and St. George); in 1942, as already alluded to in the Text above, the Chinese Armed Forces Distinguished Service Award (First Order, First Class); and in 1983, the Cruz Militar from the Venezuelan government. Lambert also became President of the Republic of Ireland Branch of the Burma Star Association, a Corresponding Member of Venezuela's Academy of History, and a Trustee of the National Library of Ireland. Among his publications have been *Assam* (jointly with Alban Ali), 1946; articles in the Journals of the Royal Geographical Society and Royal Siam (Thailand) Society; *Man in India*; *The Irish Sword*; and *Voluntarios Britanicas y Irlandeses en la Gesta Bolivariana*, 1982. It should be noted, incidentally, that on the title page of a copy of *Assam* found in the Babu's personal library there is inscribed in ink by Lambert the following: "To Mr. Tharchin, with the compliments of the authors." Finally, it should also be stated that Lambert had been a Fellow of the Royal Geographical Society and the Royal Anthropological Institute. He would die at Dublin in 1996.

British Intelligence for the entire Northeast Frontier Region of India that included within his jurisdiction for this activity both Kalimpong and Darjeeling. Without question, his many years of wide-ranging experience in that Region provided Lambert with a superb background well-fitted for this much more covert task on behalf of his Government. This more clandestine undertaking included, of course, intelligence efforts as they related to Tibet. In fact, Lambert has himself provided a brief job description of this aspect of his overall undercover responsibility. In the same letter to the author cited before, the Intelligence Chief had this to say:

From the end of 1942 till my retirement from the Indian Police [and] from India [entirely] in June 1947 I was responsible for Tibetan Intelligence, employing agents in Lhasa and elsewhere on the Indian side of the Tibetan border, and in Bhutan, Nepal and Sikkim.... The main object was keeping the Chinese and Japanese at bay.

Keeping the Japanese at bay with respect to Tibet had naturally been the first order of business during the latter stages of especially the Sino-Japanese conflict which, along with the hostilities within the entire Asia-Pacific theater of World War II, finally ended in 1945. But during the entire period of his stint as Intelligence Chief, Lambert had been concerned as well with keeping at bay any military incursions into Tibet from neighboring China—whether that have been Nationalist or Communist in origin. The Civil War in China between these two elements had automatically resumed in the last half of 1945 when by that time it became increasingly apparent that their common enemy—the Japanese—were heading for certain total defeat at the hands of the Allies on the Asian mainland and elsewhere along the East Asian Pacific rim. And as the Nationalists began to experience defeat upon defeat in their struggle against the Communist forces, Lambert and his successors, and certain associates like Tharchin, were gradually to turn their attention more and more towards the Communist Chinese threat to Tibetan (and, by extension, British Indian) interests and less and less towards that of the Nationalist Chinese.

Nevertheless, though ever alert to the possibility of a Communist victory in the civil war, during the heady days of the mid-1940s it was clearly upon the Nationalists that British Intelligence, including now the undercover efforts of Gergan Tharchin, was chiefly focused with respect to Tibet. As the Babu would himself say in late 1946 in explaining why at that time he was recruiting Kimura for a sensitive spy mission to East Tibet:

The British have always understood the wisdom of keeping Tibet as an independent buffer state, and India, under self-government, will continue that policy.^{28a} The problem is that right now the British have their hands full with trying to figure out how to hand over power. We're worried that the Chinese [read: Nationalists] might take advantage of this, swoop into Tibet, and take over before anyone knows what is happening. I want you to go, therefore, and discover whether or not it is true that China is making preparations for an armed invasion of Tibet.... Not only do I want the news for my newspaper, but I'd like to warn the Tibetan government if there is any danger. (*JA* 155, 156)



Now Lambert had his overall Intelligence headquarters centered in the Assamese city of Shillong at a place called “Oaklands.” And though there was only a small staff to assist him in the Tibetan unit of this Central Intelligence Office (C.I.O.), it was a good staff. In his letter to the author, Lambert briefly described who they were, one of whom was the son of a most distinguished British civil servant who had served India many years *vis-à-vis* Tibet, and with whom the reader has by this time become acquainted. Wrote Lambert: “Rai Bahadur Norbhu Dhondup’s son Charles was my Tibetan assistant. I had also a Bhutanese, a Sikkimese, and another younger Tibetan clerk and assistant who was very helpful.” Indeed, it was this younger Tibetan assistant, unidentified by name by Lambert, who would in time prove to be one of the key communication links between India’s Tibetan Intelligence unit in Shillong and Babu Tharchin in Kalimpong whenever Lambert could not himself visit the distant hill station and meet with the Babu directly. For in the Tharchin Papers can be found a number of letters which this clerk-assistant had sent from the C.I.O. to the Babu during the mid-1940s. One of them in particular is most revealing (see below).

Now this Tibetan clerk-assistant was in fact a young Christian man from Kalimpong named Nima Isaacs whose employment in the Tibetan Intelligence unit at Oaklands had been arranged for with Eric Lambert by the Babu himself, in keeping with the latter’s frequent practice of sending needy unemployed young men to Shillong and elsewhere for jobs.²⁹ Born in January 1926 into what was apparently a Christian family (since at his birth he was given the name Joseph), he was baptized in 1945 and given the name Nima on that occasion, which occurred just prior to his going to Oaklands.³⁰ Young Nima arrived on the scene in Shillong on the 2nd of June 1945, and in his first letter the following day to his beloved benefactor Tharchin (who was almost like a father to him) he wrote, but in not very clear English, the following tender missive:

My dear Babula,

... I met all the clerks besides [i.e., in addition to] Mr. Lambert and Norbhu La [Charles, the son of the Rai Bahadur]. They arranged for my boarding and asked me to take rest up to Monday morning.... I could neither see Norbhu La nor go to the [Welsh Presbyterian] Mission but still I am trying my best. I am not completely joined to this office [i.e., the C.I.O.] because my Salieba [*sic*; Sahib?, i.e., the Top Chief, Lambert] had left for Delhi and I have to wait for him. More in my next. Closing with best love to Amala [Tharchin’s wife Karma Dechhen] and to Phupu [nickname for the Babu’s 8-year-old son Sherab Gyamtsho].

Yours lovingly,
Nima Isaacs

Apparently the staff could not wait for Lambert’s return, which would not be till nearly two months later; for in another letter sent by Isaacs from the C.I.O. to the Babu and written in late July, young Nima wrote that he had been doing some clerical work in the office anyway and now wished to impress the Chief when he would ultimately return by

learning and doing his duties as well as he could: "... I am trying my best to improve in this office job and also in order to become a permanent clerk. Up to date, I am attending my office in proper time. In a real matter [i.e., in a really important matter] I am very careful, that I heard of Mr. Lambert who is about to come, for it is sure that I have to show my experience [to him] in the same [i.e., in the important matter mentioned previously]...."

Suffice it to say that young Isaacs must have impressed Lambert his Chief, because he did go on to become a permanent clerk. More than that, however, he became an able assistant to the Britisher who later termed his job performance as having been "very helpful." He would also serve as an able Tibetan assistant to Lambert's successors after he left India in 1947. For early the following year (1948) Isaacs was sending highly sensitive inquiries to the Babu and writing them in very good English for having only been on the job less than three years and not having been that well educated in the first place upon his arrival at Shillong three years earlier.³¹ By 1948, of course, India was no longer under British control; moreover, the Central Intelligence Office had been moved from the Shillong city district of Oaklands to its new headquarters known as "Dhrubendra Bhawan" and located in the city district of Shillong called Kench's Trace. One of the sensitive inquiries forwarded to the Babu by Isaacs shows not only a marked improvement in his general knowledge of things and in his ability to express them in English; it likewise discloses a keen interest by India's Tibetan Intelligence unit in the activities of prominent Nationalist Chinese leaders, in this case the infamous warlord Mapufang, China's notorious Moslem ruler of one of that country's most strategic interior provinces; but the letter from Isaacs in addition provides strong evidence of just how much the C.I.O. was dependent upon Gergan Tharchin's intelligence apparatus for the acquisition of covert data relative to Sino-Tibetan affairs. Wrote Isaacs on 5 February 1948:

We recently are in receipt of the information that two secret agents of President MA of Chinghai Province are in Calcutta now. It is stated that one of the agents is passing under the name of LOBSANG TEMPA. His face is pock-pitted and he is 6 ft. in height. As desired by D.C.I.O., could you very kindly let me know their actual names and present activity, and past activities, if any?...³²

Another and even better example, however, of just how dependent upon the Babu the C.I.O. at Shillong was for acquiring significant Tibetan Intelligence data can be discerned from the text of what appears to be a rough draft version of a two-page typewritten memo found among the Tharchin Papers. It was dated by the Babu in his familiar inked handwriting as "9/5/50"—i.e., 9 May 1950—and entitled, again in his handwriting, as "Men Who Came Down from Lhasa Last Year": a reference to the sudden expulsion of all Chinese and other undesirables from Tibet as a consequence of an order to this effect having been issued in the late spring of 1949 by the Kashag on behalf of a hastily convened National Assembly two weeks earlier. From internal evidence it becomes fairly certain that the memo had been prepared by Tharchin in response to an inquiry from Shillong that had most likely been communicated to him by Nima Isaacs. But even if this were not the case, the information contained in the memo must surely have been forwarded to Shillong since this extremely interesting document discloses, among other things, the following: (a) additional data

regarding the movements and activities of the Tibetan Communists, Phuntsog Wangyal and his Khampa followers, following their collective expulsion from Lhasa (see two chapters earlier for details); (b) the fact that an intelligence file had been established on P. Wangyal dating back to at least 1945 but most likely much earlier; (c) sensitive information about the internal political division at Lhasa over the expulsion decision; and (d) data on Chinese Communist machinations and the attempt by China to insinuate herself into Tibetan political affairs. The memo reads in part as follows:

WANG CHIA - in Tibetan his name seems to be Wangyal; if so, he might be Phuntsog Wangyal, the man from Batang who went back to China last year with the Chinese from Lhasa.

PO CHIH - in a Chinese newspaper it is written Chi Po; if Chi Po, then in Tibetan Gelpo might be his name.

TSAI LIANG - in Tibetan Tshering Namgyal might be his name. It is said that these are all from Batang sent by the following party to Peking.

KETA - in Tibetan, Kalsang Dragpa might be his name, and some think that [he is] a relative to the brother-in-law of Sadutshang [who, as mentioned two chapters earlier, was the rich Khampa merchant who currently resided at Kalimpong]....

KSIA KE TAO TENG - in Tibetan he is Jage Tobden or Shake Tobden, one of the head leaders of the Yang Babas [of] Phuntsog Wangyal; about him we may have some references in connection with Phuntsog Wangyal (1945).

PANGDA DOCHI - this is Pangda Topgye, the youngest brother [of the famed Pangdatsang brothers from Kham where Batang is].

CHANG LANG CHIEH - in Tibetan, Tashi Namgyal, and said to be Kesang Tshering's man [i.e., the follower of Kesang Tsering, the alias for Thubten Wangchuk (Thuwang), the younger brother of Phuntsog Wangyal mentioned two chapters earlier].

It is said that some time past the Chinese newspaper in Calcutta published that the three men—namely, Wang Chia, Po Chih and Tsai Liang—arrived Chungking from Peking, after their visit to Peking, and met the S.W. Chinese High Political Officer or C.-in-C. Leu-Pechen [General (subsequently Marshal) Liu Po-chen, the then Commander of (Communist) China's powerful 2^d Field Army and Chairman of the South-West China Military Affairs Commission], the one-eyed General who was said to have been trained in France, Germany and in the Russian High Military School. At present he is said to be in Chungking.

It is heard that the subjects of the Tibetan government are getting tired [fed up] with the Government....

It is heard that Mr. Shakabpa [one of Tibet's Finance Ministers] was the man who had planned the turning out of the Chinese in Lhasa, and now many officials are thinking that this was done wrongfully to mislead them. Also, there is rumour that some of the [Kashag?] members are for [forming a mission for] going to China and Mr. Shakabpa is not pulling well [i.e., his thinking is not influential anymore?], and some are not willing [for such a mission] to go.

It is said that the [Communist] Peking government conferred a high title upon the elder brother of the Dalai Lama, TAKT SER RIMPOCHE, who is said to be at Kumbum Monastery [where he was an abbot of one of that monastery's subsidiary gompas]; [it is] also said that he should lead the new [Chinese-indoctrinated] Panchen Lama to Tibet. It is also said that if he does so, then the T. G. [Tibetan government] may not

stop the Panchen from entering Tibet [as had been the case with his predecessor whose several plans to return to Tibet had always been accompanied by Chinese insistence (and just as always rejected by Tibet) that he be escorted back by a contingent of Chinese soldiers—an obvious attempt by China to gain influence in Tibetan internal affairs].

It is also heard that some Mongolian party arrived at Nagchuka [the well-known halting stage and checkpoint north of Lhasa, only a five-days' trekking distance from the capital], but do not know yet who they are. The T. G. is said to have received a radio message from there.

If any evidence were needed, this memo surely demonstrates how effective at this critical juncture in Tibetan affairs Babu Tharchin's informal undercover apparatus had been in gathering news and covert data of every kind for Lambert and his successors in Shillong's Tibetan Intelligence unit. It ought to come as no surprise, therefore, that the British Intelligence Chief should have so categorically asserted, as he did in his letter to the present writer, that "Tharchin was my most useful source of information on Tibet." The Kalimpong publisher had not only been serving—and serving well—his country of ethnic identity but also his country of birth. And the Government of the latter must certainly have entertained no regrets at having linked up with the Babu's clandestine network of informants; since that Government's intelligence program centered at Shillong was more than amply compensated for whatever cost, effort and time were involved in maintaining this contact in the distant frontier hill station of Kalimpong. Yet Lambert and his Shillong office would be compensated even more by Tharchin's undercover activity on behalf of the British Raj, as the following pages will make abundantly plain.

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Just here, however, there is need to take note of the further development in British India's Intelligence program *vis-à-vis* Tibet, since the historical narrative presented a few pages earlier primarily concerned itself with the first one or two decades of the twentieth century. Once again, the present author is indebted to Alex McKay, the historian who published in 1997 a thorough study on Britain's frontier cadre concerned with Tibet.

McKay pointed out that during 1936-7 there had occurred a reorganization of British India's intelligence-gathering program on Tibet. This was shortly after Basil Gould and Hugh Richardson had assumed their posts of Political Officer Sikkim (P.O.S.) and Head of Lhasa's British Mission, respectively. First of all, it would appear that the preponderance of responsibility for collecting intelligence in India's NE frontier region was transferred from the P.O.S. to the C.I.O. at Shillong. It needs to be understood that India's overall Central Intelligence Bureau (CIB) had been created by the then Viceroy, Lord Curzon, in April 1904 and placed under the responsibility of the Indian government's Home Affairs Department. It had close liaison with the Government's Foreign and Political Department; and after 1944 all telegrams relating to Tibetan matters would be "copied" to the CIB's Shillong office that was headed up by Lambert and whose Tibet unit, as learned earlier, had a small but capable

staff. Its capability would be further enhanced with the soon assignment at Kalimpong of a Deputy C.I.O. that would be responsible for handling Tibetan affairs (see next below). All in all, Lambert's headquarters at Shillong, reports McKay, would exert "an important influence" on British India's "Tibetan policy in the 1940s."³³



It was intimated earlier that the Intelligence Chief would visit Kalimpong on occasion, as he often did in other parts of his far-flung Intelligence and Imperial Police jurisdiction. These infrequent visits to Tharchin's hill town were opportunities to see and converse directly and privately with Indian security personnel there and with the well-known Tibetan publisher as well. Any new developments on the Tibetan intelligence front would naturally be discussed and any problems resolved right on the spot, if possible, or else the unresolved ones would be brought back to Shillong for further study and final action. Usually—but not always—these consultations in Kalimpong on matters of Tibetan intelligence would be conducted discreetly among Lambert, Tharchin and another well-known resident of Kalimpong, Lha Tsering. Around the hill station, however, the latter individual was more popularly known simply as Lhatseren.

It will be recalled that Lhatseren or Lha Tsering was the individual mentioned at the beginning of the present chapter as having been the one who had first introduced British Captain (later Professor) David Snellgrove to Tharchin Babu in late 1943, the Britisher never suspecting then or at any time afterwards that these two longtime friends (who "were *very close!*" noted Lha Tsering's son to the author^{33a}) would shortly be involved together in covert Tibetan intelligence endeavors on behalf of the British Raj. But Lhatseren would also introduce the future British Tibetologist to other prominent persons then residing in Kalimpong: those such as David Macdonald, the ex-Tibetan official Kuchar Kunphela, the Prime Minister of Bhutan, Raja Dorje, and his wife Rani Choni Dorje: all well-known friends of Gergan Tharchin by that time.³⁴

Lha Tsering was born in Darjeeling Town in 1898/9, was educated there, but left school at an early age to enlist in the British Gurkha Army and would eventually be stationed at Quetta in what is today Pakistan. During the Great War of 1914-18 young Tsering was with the Gurkhas in Mesopotamia and elsewhere in the Middle East as an infantryman. After the War he made his way to Kalimpong where he would establish his home and later went back to Quetta. Early on in World War II Lha Tsering was given an Army Lieutenant's commission, and would be stationed at Ft. William in Calcutta. In due course he was made a liaison officer for Burma and Assam. The Lieutenant was soon assigned Intelligence work that was concerned with war refugees in Burma, Assam and Singapore who were seeking asylum in India from these war-torn areas. His assignment involved screening such refugees to determine who should and should not be allowed into India. His work included visiting the security camps located in Assam and Burma.

Just prior to the conclusion of the War the British, with apparent significant assistance from Lhatseren, created a new Department—called the Subsidiary Intelligence Bureau (SIB)—within the central government of India's Ministry of Home Affairs. Lha Tsering was then placed in charge of the SIB's Northeast Frontier region with headquarters at Shillong and given responsibility of gathering intelligence information from captured Japanese and their collaborators.^{34a} By early 1945, however, the Army Lieutenant would be stationed in New Delhi, where both he and David Snellgrove, mentioned earlier, lived in close proximity to each other. But towards the end of World War II the Lieutenant would begin itching to shift from his Army service into something less boring and more worthwhile. At least this was what Captain Snellgrove had intimated at the time in a letter he sent to Tharchin from the Indian capital in mid- March of 1945. It was tinged with a bit of wry humor in the telling:

Lha Tsering is now living very close and frequently comes over to see me. He is very displeased with Delhi, rants against the enormous expense of merely living, and is scheming to leave. If the Army cannot find a job worth doing, he threatens to return home and grow oranges.³⁵

"Presumably," added Snellgrove, "he left soon after this."³⁶ He did indeed leave the Indian capital, yet not to grow oranges in the backyard of his Kalimpong residence but to have himself shifted by the Army back over to Calcutta for the duration of the War that ended officially in early September 1945. This can be inferred from a recently-used mailing address of Lhatseren's which Tharchin had provided Snellgrove in a letter he had written to the latter in early January 1946. The address read: "Lt. Lha Tsering, I.C.(2), Censor Station, Calcutta."³⁷ But upon leaving military service in the early autumn of 1945, he would enter upon a new career in government. For Lhatseren, who spoke fluent Tibetan,³⁸ went on to become a member of an elite group of Sikkimese of Tibetan descent who came to occupy important posts in government and education (*JA* 138), the first of which was his assumption of overall responsibility at Kalimpong for that hill station's security. (*JA* 138)

Indeed, he and his family's background is most impressive, to say the least. For one thing, his father, Rai Bahadur Achuk Tsering, had been the longtime confidant and Personal Assistant to the distinguished British Political Officer Sikkim, Sir Charles Bell. He would serve Bell extremely well for some twenty years, and was an individual about whom the Political Officer could not say enough that was commendable. Speaking of Achuk from the days when he had first assumed the post of P.O.S. in 1908, Bell would later write:

My predecessor's confidential clerk having left, I took in his place Achuk Tsering, who had first worked with me in Kalimpong [on that district subdivision's census] and Sikkim and was now to be associated with me for many years in Tibetan work. Trustworthy and industrious was Achuk Tsering, and to a high level of general intelligence he added a deep political insight into Tibetan affairs. A man of great acumen, [his] opinion on questions of Tibetan, Bhutanese, or Sikkimese politics was invaluable. His death in Lhasa, during the early days of my [year-long diplomatic] visit there twelve years later [1920-21] was a great shock and heavy blow to us all, and especially to me, [for upon arriving at Lhasa] it was to [him] I looked as [one of] my [two] chief confidants and advisers on the troubled sea of Tibetan politics.³⁹

This chief confidant to Bell had unfortunately fallen victim to the dreadful flu epidemic which for one to two years had swept the world beginning in late 1918; although it has been reported by historian Alex McKay, who interviewed Achuk's grandson Achu Namgyal Tsering in 1994, that the Tsering family had "always suspected foul play" as having been the real cause of Achuk's death.

Calling Achuk Tsering one of the British frontier cadre's "most trusted sources of intelligence" *vis-à-vis* Tibet, McKay went on to say that it was "a role his son," Lha Tsering, "was to inherit in the 1940s."⁴⁰ As proof of this the son would himself in a few years' time become Eric Lambert's immediate successor as the one in charge of India's Intelligence headquarters at Shillong shortly after the British official's retirement from India in June 1947. Just two months later, in fact, this Sikkimese-Tibetan friend of Tharchin Babu's would inherit Lambert's Intelligence post.⁴¹ He would remain in this position through 1949, at which time India's Central Intelligence Bureau (CIB) would shift this Intelligence operation from Shillong over to Kalimpong. But with this shift would come a promotion as the Assistant Director of the SIB for the important Indian state of West Bengal within the central government's Home Affairs Ministry.⁴² He would voluntarily retire from Government service in 1964.^{42a}

Meanwhile, by late 1945, which was some two years prior to Indian independence on 15 August 1947, Lhatseren would be assigned to Lambert's Shillong office, beginning in January 1946. This is known from the same letter of the Babu's to Snellgrove cited above and dated 5 January 1946. In it Tharchin wrote: "Mr. L. Tshering [*sic*] is joining at Shillong for a year, but I am not sure whether he has already [officially] joined." It would not be at all surprising to learn some day, incidentally, that the Babu had himself recommended to Lambert the name of his talented friend for this assignment, just as he had done in the case of Nima Isaacs. Obviously, this assignment with Lambert would last much longer than a year. For by early 1947 Lhatseren, having demonstrated his talents and accomplishments to his Chief's satisfaction at both Kalimpong and Shillong, would be chosen personally by Lambert—when granted authorization to do so from Delhi's CIB office—to be his Kalimpong-based Assistant tasked "specifically to deal with Tibetan affairs."⁴³ In other words, within Lambert's Intelligence apparatus Lha Tsering would now become a D.C.I.O. (T)—that is to say, a Deputy Central Intelligence Officer concerned with Tibet.⁴⁴

In this new capacity he would become vitally interested in the same concerns with which both his Chief and his longtime friend Gergan Tharchin were occupied: keeping the Chinese at bay with respect to the Roof of the World. And hence, his presence would be necessary at many of the unheralded meetings Tharchin would have with Lambert. These meetings would occur at various venues in the hill town: at Lhatseren's "Fairview" house (located conveniently down a short, slightly-inclined footpath just opposite the Babu's Tibet Mirror Press along Rishi Road^{44a}), at Tharchin's own residence, and sometimes in the seclusion of a garden nestled among a number of bungalows situated just down the hillside from the hotel belonging to Tharchin's bosom friend David Macdonald (1870-1962): the famed Himalayan Hotel. (*JA* 151 with 153)

This two-story stone-built family establishment, located a short distance from Kalimpong's town center, was surrounded by spacious gardens which had been supplied with a wide

variety of Himalayan flora and fauna. In the earlier years of the twentieth century the Hotel had been the family home of the now retired British Trade Agent in Tibet and for a brief period Political Officer at Gangtok in charge of British India's relations with Tibet, Bhutan and Sikkim. With his large family grown up by now, Macdonald had converted his family home into a delightful lodging place that even today still remains in the hands of the Macdonald family.^{44b} It was here, incidentally, that the former British official had written his two most famous works of non-fiction: *Land of the Lamas* (1929) and *Twenty Years in Tibet* (1932).

Whether this closest friend of the Babu's was ever made aware of the latter's involvement in undercover endeavors for the British Raj may never be known for certain; however, since one of the key venues for the aforesaid clandestine Intelligence gatherings was in very close proximity to the Himalayan Hotel, it would almost guarantee that unless told outright Macdonald and his family would have suspected something of the sort. Furthermore, it could quite well have been that Tharchin was instructed by Lambert to inform this highly respected retired British official of what would sometimes be taking place nearby as a preemptive move to preclude any such speculation or rumor arising in the first place. In fact, given the sterling reputation of David Macdonald, his unquestioned loyalty to British India interests, and the recognized devotion he had to the cause of Tibet and the Tibetans, it could very well be that he had been sounded out by Lambert personally and requested to keep in the strictest confidence what would occur now and then just below his hotel.

There was probably yet one other venue utilized for such clandestine meetings: the P.W.D. Rest House, also known as the Dak Bungalow. It was located not far from the Himalayan Hotel itself, though along a separate but nearby town road that ran southeast of the Macdonald hotel. Rapga Pangdatsang has related how when the British had been tipped off about his Tibet Improvement Party in 1946, security personnel, it will be recalled from the previous chapter, had descended one June night upon the homes of quite a few friends and Party colleagues of his (some of whom happened also to be *Tharchin's* friends!), searched thoroughly for any incriminating evidence, and, according to Rapga further, "were then interrogated at the Dak Bungalow by the most important CID officer in India, E. Lambert.... Changlochen and Kumbela were interrogated, as well as myself. For one whole week, I myself answered Lambert's questions."⁴⁵ Presumably, therefore, the Kalimpong Dak Bungalow was also available to Lambert and company for their secret Intelligence meetings.

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Now it happened that it was in the secluded garden just below the Himalayan Hotel that Eric Lambert had his first meeting with the now ex-spy for Japan, Hisao Kimura. It took place in early December 1945, and the catalyst for the get-together, which would include Lhatseren as well, had been Gergan Tharchin himself, who had only met the Japanese a month or so before. As will shortly be learned, over the next four years the former secret agent for Japan's Imperial Government would now be serving the British Imperial

Government (and later Independent India's) as one of the Babu's most loyal and effective subordinate undercover agents assigned to gather intelligence out in the field. It will soon be seen, however, that theirs was more akin to a father-son relationship than that between superior and inferior or recruiter and recruited. And as a consequence of their frequent, if not constant, interaction during this four-year period, there developed a deep and abiding friendship between the two which would remain long after the still youthful Japanese returned to his homeland in 1950 to chart out a course for his life in a totally new direction.

Indeed, Hisao Kimura, who would ultimately join the faculty of Tokyo's Asia University in its Central Asian Studies Department, was the first of several individuals from the Land of the Rising Sun whose academic study and research in various areas of Tibetological inquiry would be much valued and appreciated by Gergan Tharchin. For all three—Kimura, Tokan Tada and Shoju Inaba, who each one achieved highly-regarded professorships at several of Japan's more prominent universities and whose life's work has to some degree already been touched upon here and there in the present narrative—demonstrated an enduring scholarly interest in the history and culture of Tibet and in the Babu's own interest and involvement in them. As a matter of fact, they all three had even paid visits to the Tharchin home at one time or another during their long and illustrious careers. Furthermore, all three—as well as another renowned Japanese scholar in Tibetology, Bunkyo Aoki—carried on a correspondence with the Tibetan publisher, much of it still extant in the voluminous Tharchin Papers. (Anyone, incidentally, with more than passing interest in these four unusually gifted Japanese academics would find their correspondence with the Babu well worth investigating.)

It now remains to flesh out in greater detail than heretofore the intelligence career of Kimura, for in so doing much will be brought to light concerning Gergan Tharchin's own undercover activities for the Indian government, since Kimura's account stands as the best single source available to date for unveiling this aspect of the Babu's life and work that had hitherto been completely unknown except to a small coterie of its participants.



The first and last image was that of space, of endless windblown plains: snow-covered, parched, or brilliant-green depending on the time of year. Away from the borderlands there were no cities at all and what gathering places existed were located in the monasteries, the only permanent dwellings in the grasslands.

It was in a *khural*, a small monastery of about thirty monks, near the Outer Mongolian border that my training began in earnest one night in March of 1941, as I sat feeling very small, alone, and very frightened in a dimly-lit chapel surrounded by silent, unwashed Mongolian monks. In the background were sculptured figures with great bulging eyes, bared fangs, and lolling red tongues; some of them garlanded with necklaces of skulls or freshly severed heads. The Mongolians might regard these wrathful deities as benevolent protectors, but to me they seemed like gods of evil.

Thus begins Kimura's moving tale of youthful years and high adventure as a secret intelligence agent, first for Japan and then for Great Britain. His spy years had their beginning

in far-off Inner Mongolia and would only come to their farewell conclusion a decade later on Gergan Tharchin's doorstep in Kalimpong. Kimura's unforgettable opening section continued:

I had been given a bowl of noodles for my dinner and I tried to appear nonchalant as I shoveled them down. The eyes of the monks, staring out from their dark faces, differed from those of the deities behind them in the dim circle of light only in that they moved constantly up and down my chopsticks. Like the images they said nothing, but only stared at me, as outside the wind howled across thousands of miles of grassland, barren and dry at this time of year. My six months of intensive Mongolian language studies seemed to have done me no good at all, and every word I uttered was met with bland, uncomprehending stares.

Exhausted and still shaken from three days and 450 miles of bad roads in the back of a truck, I spread my sleeping bag and got ready for bed. No one moved. What could I do? I blew out my candle and lay down. Still no one moved. It was another fifteen minutes before I heard the swish of robes as the monks left, still without ever uttering a word.

Yet sleep would not come with the thought of the eerie figures all around me emitting I knew not what malevolent power. That I, lying alone and afraid in the dark, was somehow an instrument of Japanese policy seemed altogether beyond belief. Why was I here? Did I really have a place among the Mongolian people? Everything was so strange, would I ever get used to it? It was late when I drifted off, but as soon as I awoke I realized that as outlandish as my surroundings were to me, I was even more bizarre to my surroundings; for there were the monks already, in a circle around my sleeping bag, staring ... waiting.... (JA 1-2)

Born in the late summer of 1922, Hisao Kimura would grow into young adolescence during the 1930s amid Imperial Japan's already intensive militaristic buildup for achieving further conquest and expansion deep into the Pacific and farther inland from the East Asian mainland. Eighteen years old when finished with his high school education in the spring of 1940, young Kimura had no interest or desire to enter the military, even though he was very much an idealistic Japanese patriot. As a way to circumvent conscription, he sat, but unsuccessfully, for the Merchant Marine Academy exams. He next volunteered to serve in China under the organization known in Japanese as the *Ko Ah In*, an administrative office which engaged in civilian works in those territories which Japan had either already conquered or yet coveted. And at this time she coveted both Mongolias: Inner and Outer. (For a brief sketch of the recent history of the two Mongolias the reader is referred back to the beginning of the previous chapter.) The *Ko Ah In*, explains Scott Berry, has been variously rendered in English as the "Asian Development Board," the "Uplift Asia Board," the "Greater East Asia Ministry," and the "China Affairs Board." Though the first two of these translations are more or less literal, it was the latter two, explains Berry further, which "capture better" the actual nature and spirit of what this organization did. In practice, he adds, it "was a kind of private Foreign Ministry run by the military to circumvent civilian intervention in its affairs."^{45a} Kimura was accepted in short order and soon found himself in Peking; almost immediately thereafter, however, he was en route by train to his ultimate posting near the town of Kalgan in Japanese puppet-administered Inner Mongolia but not that far from the

border of the Communist-oriented People's Republic of Mongolia—or, as it was still known then, Outer Mongolia. It was September 1940.

For several years Kimura would remain in Inner Mongolia, initially at Kalgan but later on at an experimental livestock farm not far away. The farm was operated by the Development Board and its allied organization called the Good Neighbor Association. Because the latter had firm links with Japanese Intelligence, the farm frequently served as a training ground for potential agents. Despite the pessimism he had expressed in his book's opening section quoted above, the would-be Japanese spy did finally master the Mongolian language, and so perfectly that he had absolutely no foreign accent.

But though Kimura had avoided conscription two years earlier, now at age twenty he was faced with the same problem once more. For he no more desired to be drafted into the Japanese armed forces during the year ahead than he had wanted to before. Once again, though, he was able to circumvent it, but only because of a stroke of luck which came his way at about this same time, late 1942. Just here, however, a little historical background may be helpful.

It was at this juncture in the War that Chinese Nationalist Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek's armies were beginning to be supplied by the Western Allies with war materiel for his struggle against the Japanese. These supplies were being transported to Chiang's wartime capital of Chungking by means of cargo aircraft flights "over the hump" from India—"hump" having been the term coined by the American military that was applied to this air route which made its way over the Himalayas of Northeast India, North Burma, and China's Yunnan Province. But this was proving to be a most precarious supply route that required these cargos to be transported at extremely high altitudes over the largely uncharted Himalayas. As a result the American President Franklin Roosevelt sent on his personal behalf a two-man team of U.S. Army intelligence officers to Tibet to try to persuade the Tibetan government to allow the Allies to transport military supplies through her land into China. But the team was also dispatched for the purpose of evaluating this prospective new land route, that would begin from Darjeeling in India and end at Lanchow in China, which might therefore serve as an alternative to the Burma Road which by this time had been cut off from Allied use by the Japanese. Accordingly, these two officers—Colonel Ilya Tolstoy, grandson of the celebrated Russian novelist Leo Tolstoy, and his Tibetan-speaking companion, Captain Brooke Dolan—journeyed to Lanchow by way of Tibet. Their negotiations with the Tibetan government, however, proved to be totally fruitless. Among other reasons which the Tibetans had put forward to explain their refusal was the fear expressed by the Government that this land route through Tibet could afford opportunities for the Chinese to station officials on Tibetan soil.⁴⁶ Kimura himself put it quite succinctly in explaining that Government's rejection of the American President's proposal: "with no love for the Chinese, no stake in the struggle [against the Japanese], and a desire to prove that they were independent, the Lhasa government insisted on retaining strict neutrality." In fact, Tibetans had coined a new term at this time as a way to give formal expression to Tibet's neutral status: *chodrilpangba* (lit., alliance renunciation) and thus called themselves a *chodrilpangbae-gvalkhap*—a neutral country.^{46a} Furthermore, as a pacifist Buddhist land, the Tibetans "did not want to contribute to the war effort." (JA 23, 178)

With the Tibetan door shut tight and the Darjeeling-to-Lanchow route now out of the question, the hard-pressed Chiang and his Allies began to search out other alternatives. The Japanese were understandably very much interested in knowing what these other options might be. By the end of 1942 a rumor about one such possibility had already spread widely throughout Inner Asia's various Japanese outposts. And the gist of the rumor was that Chiang and the Allies were toying with a new, though incredibly long and roundabout, supply route to Chungking that would begin at a port north of Moscow, continue across what is today the Central Asian state of Kazakhstan, make its way into western Mongolia, and down, finally, through what was left of Free China to Chungking. (JA 23)

Having overheard a conversation about the rumor at his own particular outpost, Kimura saw in it a possible scheme for avoiding the military draft a second time. Because the Japanese Information Department had been charged with determining the validity of the rumor, Kimura decided to propose that he be dispatched to western Mongolia and Tibet to investigate it, map out the lay of the land, and learn what forces were at play in this remote area so deep inside the enemy's territory. He accompanied his proposal with a travel plan and associated maps and forwarded it all immediately to Japan's Embassy at Kalgan. At first it was rejected out of hand at the highest levels in Tokyo for two reasons: they felt, wrote Kimura later, that "I was too young and inexperienced for such important work"; and besides, they came to realize that "I was still liable for military service"! (JA 24) Aghast at this initial bureaucratic dismissal of his strategy, the undaunted Kimura would find opportunity to resubmit his proposal. This he did after luckily encountering a sympathetic recruiting officer whom the Japanese youth later felt had been secretly instrumental in his receiving an unexpected draft deferral, thus clearing the way for approaching the Embassy once more with his plan for what he termed "my western venture."

While waiting for the results, the ever-resourceful Kimura made further plans for implementing the scheme, if accepted: enter the young Mongolian couple mentioned earlier, his friends the Danzans, who would serve as guides and companions on this prospective journey. As previously indicated, the wife would pose as elder sister to Kimura, wife and husband would be traveling as pilgrims on their way to perform spiritual observances at the holy Jo-khang Cathedral in Lhasa, and Kimura himself would pose as a young Mongolian monk intent upon taking up higher monastic studies at the Tibetan capital's prestigious Drepung Monastery. (JA 25-6)

Meanwhile Kimura was finally summoned to Kalgan in September of 1943, more than a year after submitting his original proposal. The answer this time was quite positive. In fact, he was granted a year's leave from the experimental farm, given ten thousand yen to make preparations, and placed on the Embassy's payroll retroactively. "I knew very well that a year would not be enough for the journey I had in mind," mused the newly-appointed agent at the time, "but I was not about to put the whole project in jeopardy by asking for more. The point was to get away." (JA 26) And away they did get one month later, Kimura now putting the final touches to his own disguise: first a shaved head and then, wrote the Japanese long afterwards, "I donned a traveling monk's robe with a small silver talisman box containing a silver image of the Buddha tucked in its folds, and grasped a rosary in my hand. My name was now Dawa Sangpo and my goal the largest monastery in the world just outside of

Lhasa.” (JA 27) Only in his early ’twenties, the still quite youthful Kimura had now adopted the life and lifestyle of a secret agent, with all that that meant of danger, hardship and private inward loneliness along the surreptitious pathway of an enemy spy.



Too long and adventurous a journey to detail here,⁴⁷ it is sufficient to add, though, that Kimura was never able, because of circumstances beyond his control, to fulfill his mission; at least to the extent of following his original travel plans and of communicating his less than full findings back to his superiors: for except for one very early message sent, he was unable thereafter to forward any more by courier or other means because of finding himself too far behind enemy lines to do so. Furthermore, he was eventually overtaken by wartime events elsewhere which left the young Japanese patriot absolutely devastated upon receiving intimations of them in Lhasa nearly two years after departing Kalgan: Imperial Japan had surrendered unconditionally, the war was over everywhere, and he himself was a spy without a country wandering about secretly in an alien land.

Yet not able to bring himself to believe that all this could possibly be true, the dazed and disconsolate Kimura decided, after only three weeks in the Tibetan capital, to go south to Kalimpong. There he hoped to obtain better news sources and a clearer understanding, than could be had in insulated Lhasa, regarding the complicated international situation; and, if all he had heard was nonetheless true, he hoped, if possible, to make his way secretly from there to Burma. That land, he felt, must certainly “still be occupied by Japanese forces.” (JA 124) He would travel to the Indian hill station still disguised as a Mongolian but now, as so many others of his supposed countrymen were frequently bent on doing, he would be bound for this equally sanctified land of religious devotees to make pilgrimage at her holy sites.

If he were to do so, however, a most basic problem would need to be resolved, and resolved quickly; for he and his companions had long since run out of money! After all, Kimura’s spy assignment had originally been funded for only one year, but it was now two years later and he had nothing. Only one source seemed open to him for timely succor in Lhasa, yet behind it there lay a most intriguing tale, the latter episode of which would involve Babu Tharchin.



In the previous chapter mention was made of the Great Thirteenth’s profound lament expressed in his political testament over the fact that the Soviets, in their takeover of Outer Mongolia in the early ’twenties, had banned the ecclesiastical office of the Grand Lama of Urga known as the Jetsun Dampa. This highly important co-religionist of the Dalai Lama’s and incarnate head of Buddhism in the Mongolian regions had died in 1924, and because of

the ban on the Office itself, this automatically meant a prohibition against any search for a new Incarnation. In fact, it was this very ban more than anything else which, in the opinion of Kimura, had led the Thirteenth "to immediately distrust anything to do with a doctrine called Communism." (*JA* 125)

Now the ban placed by the new Soviet Mongol government on such a search effort had been promulgated, Kimura noted, out of fear that such an "all-powerful incarnate Bodhisattva"—the Mongolian equivalent of Tibet's Dalai Lama exercising both political and spiritual power⁴⁸—could quite easily serve as an unwanted "rallying point for dissidents." (*JA* 125) The Japanese military on the ground in nearby Inner Mongolia had been well aware of this Communist fear and thus viewed their own secret plan to finance a search for a new Jetsun Dampa—when the opportune moment presented itself—as a clever way to use religion for their own nefarious purposes. For if successful, Kimura had pointed out, it would have garnered for the Japanese much support within Inner Mongolia and have created no end of problems for the Communist government of the (Outer) Mongolian People's Republic. (*JA* 16, 124)

Indeed, hand in hand with this cunning design to insinuate themselves by means of religion into Outer Mongolian affairs, the Japanese military had secretly begun arming numerous monasteries there in the 1930s with the intention of eventually effecting a revolt which Japan could then exploit. This, of course, when discovered by the Communists, brought about a new Soviet anti-religious campaign late in that same decade which closed down or else eliminated nearly all the remaining monasteries which had been left open or still untouched after the Soviets' original campaign during their takeover in 1921 and ensuing years. (*JA* 6-7, 125) But this more recent campaign had created a stream of refugees southward into Inner Mongolia's grasslands area where several large refugee centers had been eagerly established by the Japanese with the promise held out to these displaced persons that they "would help them return." (*JA* 6-7) Here the devious Japanese began to care for these refugees extremely well, since the military, Kimura revealed, had already drawn up plans to invade their homeland and were even now intending to use the refugees "as collaborators." (*JA* 15-16)

Now it so happened that one of the most important refugee leaders at the main camp, whom Kimura himself met while visiting there on one occasion, turned out to be one of Outer Mongolia's preeminent Buddhist monks, the high incarnate Lama named Dilowa Gegen. It was but the briefest of encounters then that was just as quickly forgotten (*JA* 16), only to be recalled long afterwards when their paths would cross a second time. For ironically, Kimura would meet this Lama years later once again but under far different circumstances: the venue on this occasion being Kalimpong and in none other place there than Gergan Tharchin's home, where Dawa Sangpo's benefactor Tharchin would ask the Japanese spy to serve the Dilowa tea on this first of many visits by this distinguished ecclesiastic in the Indo-Tibetan intelligence agent's living room! (*JA* 153) All this, though, lay in the distant future. Currently, however, in far-off Inner Mongolia, it developed that the Dilowa, along with one of his disciples, were the very ones whom the Japanese military had now chosen

to dispatch to Tibet for the purpose of searching out the supposed reincarnation of the Mongolians' lately deceased Grand Lama. And in support of this search team's efforts, the Japanese authorities had provided a large amount of money that with the passage of time and the traversing of many miles would end up in the Tibetan capital—yet not in the hands of Dilowa Gegen but in those of his trusted Lama disciple named Namgyal Dalama.* (*JA* 125)

* This mission team, it ought to be mentioned, was actually the second which the Japanese had dispatched to Lhasa. The first, under the leadership of another Mongolian Lama, Ngachen Rimpoche (Mongolian name: Anchin Hutuku), had failed of its goal in 1939-40. Scott Berry, *Monks, Spies and a Soldier of Fortune*, 171-4. (It may be recalled from earlier in the present chapter that this was the high official, a most trusted adviser of the Panchen Lama, who was reported by Tharchin to Sir Charles Bell as having shown up in Kalimpong from Lhasa on his way back to China in February 1937. His ranking in importance by the British in their *Who's Who in Tibet* publication of 1938 had shown three stars attached to his name entry, signifying that he was among the most important individuals of Tibet at that time.) This particular agent of the Japanese had probably been an unwise choice in 1939 because of his personal involvement on behalf of the Panchen Lama in the decade-long (1927-37) negotiations connected with the in-the-end unfulfilled desire of His Serenity to return to Tibet with a Chinese military escort. Lhasa had rejected every proposal along this line put forward by the Panchen's adviser, fearing the consequences were Chinese soldiers permitted back into the country.

One or two wartime years later the Japanese would try again, this time dispatching the Dilowa Gegen, "a far more respected lama from Outer Mongolia ..." But as will be learned, this mission would also fail of its purpose, and would be the last attempt by the Japanese "to place an agent in Lhasa." Probably the overriding reason for no further attempts was due to the horrific setback the Japanese Army suffered (55,000 men lost!) when it launched a major attack at the Outer Mongolian border site called Nomonkhan (or Khalkhin-gol, the name of the river there). "Following this rout," explains Berry, "the Japanese decided to concentrate on consolidating their position in Inner Mongolia rather than make any more attempts at expansion." *Ibid.*, 174.

Both Bell and John Snelling have provided some important background information which helps to explain why it was to Tibet, and more specifically to Lhasa, that the Japanese had had to dispatch the Dilowa in quest of the successor Incarnation to the late Jetsun Dampa. Speaking in late 1936 about events which were then occurring in Mongolia, Sir Charles made note of the following: "The Soviet authorities closed the monastery of the Grand Lama of Urga, who stood to Mongolia in almost the same relationship as the Dalai Lama to Tibet. They have not allowed his Reincarnation to be discovered and proclaimed. This Incarnation has always of late been a Tibetan, which constitutes another connection between the Mongols and the Tibetans. The last Incarnation was born in the village [of Shol] outside Lhasa, at the foot of the Dalai Lama's palace. The Tibetans say that they will search for a successor, but they have not done so up to date." Bell, "The Struggle for Mongolia," *JRCAS* (Jan. 1937):60.

And Snelling has supplied further helpful information, noting that the predecessor Jetsun Dampa had also come from near Lhasa, born there in 1850, the son of a layman; and once declared the new Incarnation, he was brought to Urga in 1855, only to die quite prematurely in 1868. "There followed an uncertain interregnum," writes Snelling, "during which the appearance of the next [Jetsun Dampa] was awaited.... Omens and portents bearing upon the nature and place of the new birth were also eagerly examined and interpreted." Yet the Mongolians themselves, Snelling makes clear, were not to be the "ultimate arbiters" in these occult proceedings: "that privilege was retained in Tibet." Thus in 1869 there was dispatched a special search expedition to Lhasa, where was discovered the new Incarnation, born there in 1870 "into the family of one of the Dalai Lama's closest officials." He, along with his family, were finally brought to Urga in 1874, where he lived on till 1924, "having enjoyed for a brief period," adds Snelling, "the distinction of being the first and only ruler of an autonomous Outer Mongolia." These last two Incarnations, the seventh and eighth, would thus end the line of this highest of Mongolian Incarnate Lamas that could be traced all the way back to Öndör Gegen (1635-1723). See Snelling, *Buddhism in Russia*, 18-20, 308.

These two Lamas had indeed attempted to reach Tibet together in search of the new incarnate head but had done so by traveling via Hong Kong and Calcutta rather than by the far more dangerous overland route. As it turned out, however, the *disciple* had been able to reach Lhasa whereas his master had not. Dramatic events had intervened, the recounting of which would now be told Dawa Sangpo in the course of his quest for ready cash he so desperately needed. His informant was Baarin Jimba, an Inner Mongolian monk acquaintance of his who had unexpectedly turned up in the Tibetan capital by the time Dawa himself had. Running into each other by chance along the *Barkhor* one day, the Japanese agent had soon apprised his "fellow" monk of his current financial plight. Hearing this, Jimba suggested to him that the way out of his problem was to go see Namgyal Dalama (*JA* 124), explaining as he did so how it was that Dalama was there but not the Dilowa:

Your army put up a great deal of money for the search mission, and Dilowa took the attitude that if he could accomplish religion's work it did not matter where the money came from. The Japanese would come and go, but the light of the Dharma was forever. They were to go by sea to Calcutta then up through Darjeeling to Lhasa, but Dilowa never got past Hong Kong. A Kuomintang agent in Inner Mongolia tipped off Chungking, and the news was relayed to the British. When the ship docked in Hong Kong the British detained Dilowa and handed him over to their Chinese allies. They've kept him confined in Chungking, but since he is free to receive followers he has built up a network all over Mongolia and Tibet. They say that even though he is under confinement he knows as much as anyone about what is going on everywhere from Kalgan to Lhasa. (*JA* 125)

Indeed, in response to Dawa's query as to why Dalama was in the Tibetan capital and not at his master's side, Jimba could only laugh and explain further:

Who do you think Dilowa's man in Lhasa is? Somehow Dalama was forgotten in Hong Kong—as was most of the money. There was no reason not to continue his pilgrimage so he simply went on, and when he got here used the Japanese money as capital to set himself up in the money-lending business. You'll find him as shrewd as they come, but likable and very ethical. Everything he does is for the Dilowa, and he lives simply in spite of the wealth he was entrusted with. He's not too worried about increasing it, but it is a point of honor with him that it does not slip through his fingers. (*JA* 125-6)

And with that the helpful Jimba conducted the penniless "Mongolian monk" to the fashionable area of Lhasa where the Dilowa's trusted disciple was presently living, which happened to be right next door to the mansion where the corrupt Regent Taktra himself dwelt! By contrast, "I was taken to a neat and clean room on the second floor," Kimura recalled later, "with ornate pillars, an elaborate altar, and an empty throne. Jimba told me that these quarters, and the throne, were kept in readiness should Dilowa suddenly arrive." (*JA* 126)

Surprisingly to Dawa Sangpo, the Dilowa's disciple was most accommodating; for in the course of a very brief conversation, Dalama extended a loan of fifty dotse (or about a thousand Indian rupees) to the impoverished Japanese—"enough for me and my two

companions to get to India and have a little left over," he had told the easygoing money-lender when asked how much he would need. (*JA* 126) Later, when these two would meet again in Gergan Tharchin's warehouse hostel for Mongolian pilgrims that was located just opposite the Babu's Press, Kimura would learn privately from Dalama why he had so readily given up the loan money to one whose disguise he had immediately seen through and whose identity as a Japanese he had also recognized. "You said you would try to repay me if you ever returned to Inner Mongolia," the Lama began explaining. "But I knew you would never return there. Yet I thought to myself: 'Where did all this money come from?' Of course the answer was that it came from the Japanese who wanted us to find the Jetsun Dampa. Now there was a Japanese in trouble standing before me. How could I refuse?" (*JA* 153)



Having thus replenished their empty purses, Dawa and his two companions, after quick and appropriate preparations, departed the Sacred City of the Gods and headed south as pilgrims towards the Sacred Land of Buddha's Birth. Three weeks later they found themselves atop the Jelep La that looked out upon the massive Kanchenjunga Peaks and the well-traveled trail down the mountains which would bring them to Sikkim and on down farther to their immediate goal in India: Kalimpong. (*JA* 126-7) What now awaited the Japanese spy was anything other than what he had anticipated: a remarkable chapter in his life, to say the least, and one that would see the surprising convergence of his own much shorter intelligence-gathering career with the much longer one of Gergan Tharchin's. In Glenn Mullin's apt words: "Spies do seem to have spy karma." For within a very short time following his arrival in the fabled hill station, he would come face to face with the notable Tibetan from Poo. It all came about in the following manner.

Initially settling into a Tibetan settlement inn in Kalimpong's Eleventh Mile, the Japanese spy decided he would attend the local cinema on his first night in the hill town. He was conducted there at the urging of a new-found friend, a Buriat Mongolian monk named Guru Dharma, who told Kimura that all his questions about the war just concluded and Japan's fate would be answered by viewing the current newsreel that was always shown before the main feature film. Kimura described the terribly painful experience he now had to endure:

... I was thankful for the darkness that hid my apprehension as the newsreel came on. What I saw next was devastating. Though I could understand little of the English commentary, the pictures told the story all too clearly. There was first an aerial view of Tokyo, almost completely leveled, the Imperial Palace being the only recognizable feature. Then came the figure of the once proud and haughty General Tojo, the architect of the disastrous Japanese policies in Asia and the Pacific, looking very small and rather shabby beside an American MP guard, after a failed suicide attempt. This was followed by a scene of Japanese troops [in Burma] doing the unthinkable: surrendering their weapons to the enemy. The cinema broke into cheers. "Gurkha soldiers just back from Burma," Guru Dharma explained in my ear. "They did most of the fighting there."

Worst by far were the scenes of poverty in the burnt-out cities as a ragged population struggled for survival among the ruins. Where now was the glory of our new industrial civilization? Where was that extra bowl of rice for every Japanese, the promised result of our colonial expansion, in which I too had believed when I first went to Mongolia?

My eyes swam with bitter tears ... This was the end. There could be no more believing it all to be rumor or propaganda.... [Yet] in spite of the rumors that had prepared me, the certainty of defeat was just too much to take in. I ... wandered around the quiet streets of Kalimpong, not really noticing where I was, able only to feel the pain, the shame of defeat, the helpless anger at I knew not what, and a great hollow emptiness inside....

I slept poorly and was up again early the next morning, when I climbed the hill behind the town and found a large rock where I sat for most of the day, unable to think, only to allow the pain and the disgrace to wash over me in waves. I was to come here every day for the next week.... Behind and below me was the pleasant-looking little town filled with Buddhist and Hindu temples, as well as Christian churches and stone cottages that could have been out of picture books I had seen of Europe. It all made no sense. Why should such a town be here in India, peaceful and serene, and why should I be in it, when my country lay destroyed and suffering? (*JA* 130-1)

No doubts now remained in Kimura's mind about the Allied victory, Japan's total surrender, and the current situation in Burma. Gone was the thought of going *there*! In fact, he realized that for the time being he could not even think of going home nor of turning himself in to the British nor of allowing himself, under any circumstance, to be arrested. Though full to overflowing at this moment with homesickness beyond the telling, he now reasoned thus within himself:

Going home ... I knew ... was impossible. I had no money, and even if I had I could hardly just go to Calcutta and get on a ship to Yokohama or Kobe. I would be arrested on the spot. Turning myself in would be as bad. How were defeated spies, even inefficient ones, treated by the British? And what would happen to my friends, the Danzans, if I were arrested? They were accomplices. I could not let them suffer. That would be but poor payment for all they had done for me.... No, Japan, I decided, was for the moment in the past. It would be best if I forgot who I really was, gave up any idea of returning home, and looked to my future like any destitute Mongolian pilgrim. (*JA* 132, 134)

Accordingly, after fulfilling his promise to his two Buddhist companions of taking them to the sacred site of Buddha Gaya down on the Indian plains, the ex-Japanese spy—now resigned to his new but unwanted circumstances—returned with them to Kalimpong and “set right out to look for a job.” (*JA* 134)

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On the advice of Guru Dharma, Dawa Sangpo went to see David Macdonald in search of an opening for employment at his Himalayan Hotel. He described the finely built two-

story stone structure, “with its wide verandahs and manicured garden,” as akin to “a small piece of England in the Himalayan foothills, and I felt more than a little intimidated on first approaching it. But though Mr. Macdonald had no openings, his manner soon put me at ease and I was to get to know him well in later years.” (JA 135)

On the other hand, the other Dharma in Kalimpong whom Dawa had initially come to know, the talented Outer Mongolian artist and thanka painter, now recommended that he see either one of two people in town for help: Ang Pemba, Dharma said at first, or else Tharchin Babu. After thinking it over for a moment, the thanka painter himself opted for the latter person as the one his new friend should see initially. When asked by Dawa who the Babu was, the artist replied: “A very strange man,” but, he quickly added, “a very good one. He owns the newspaper here. It’s the only Tibetan newspaper there is, and it goes from here to Lhasa and Sikkim—in fact everywhere where there are Tibetans to read it.” (JA 135)

In response to Dawa’s inquiry about the artist’s allusion to Tharchin’s strangeness, Dharma had nothing but the highest praise to heap upon him despite his non-conformity with nearly all Tibetans in not being a Buddhist, explaining that the strangeness he had had in mind stemmed from the Babu’s particular religious persuasion:

He is Tibetan—well no, Kinauri, but that’s almost the same. They call him Kunu Tharchin because he’s from somewhere called Kunu on the other side of Nepal. But he has the same religion as the English. Can you imagine that? A Tibetan but not a Buddhist!

It *was* hard to imagine, mused Dawa to himself, as Dharma continued his laudatory words about the Babu:

Though not a Buddhist, he’s open-minded, not like the missionaries. He often uses his printing press to print maps and guides of the holy places of India for pilgrims. Everyone who comes through meets him, and some learned scholars and high Lamas stay with him every year.... As soon as I open the eyes on this painting I’ll take you there. The office is only just up the hill. (JA 136)

*

Slipping into a pleasant existence in the delightful hill station, the Mongolian couple and Dawa Sangpo were well cared for by the Babu: the Danzans would climb the town’s east ridge to the Tharchin garden (not far from the very rock, noted Kimura, “to which my depression had led me every day after I had seen our defeat reported in the cinema”), where they would spin wool; and the disguised Mongolian monk would help with the Press work down below. In the course of his work routine, Dawa exerted himself to pick up the Tibetan language as much as he could, since this was what all the other workers spoke. And soon, he said, “I was able to hold my own in basic conversation.” (JA 138)

There came a day, however, when because of a new flare-up in the Chinese Civil War the ex-spy quite innocently happened to draw a cartoon and a map about the conflict. Tharchin's pleasure with this talent was so great that from that day forward Dawa would work at the Press office in Mackenzie Cottage located farther up the hill. There he was assigned the task of dispatching the newspapers and keeping in order the subscribers' list, which, since he was now conversant with Tibetan, he was able to compile in Romanized script. (JA 138-9)

But there was another, and far more significant, consequence to his cartoon and mapmaking performance: for just a few weeks after his employment at the Press had begun, the Tibetan publisher requested the disguised ex-spy to draw a map of his recently-concluded Central Asian journey that had brought him to Kalimpong all the way from Kalgan. (It was now mid-November 1945, slightly less than two months following his first arrival in the Babu's home town.^{48a}) It was to be accompanied by "brief explanations of which side was holding what territory and their troop strengths at the time." (JA 139) Though he should have suspected something, explained Kimura later, he just wanted to please his benefactor. Little did he know then that this latest drawing of his would catapult him into the "secret world of British Intelligence." (JA 136) As a matter of fact, it led immediately to Dawa's first of several meetings with Eric Lambert and the first of many more with Lhatseren. This initial encounter between the ex-Japanese spy and his British Indian counterparts in covert activities occurred, as noted earlier in the chapter, down the hillside from the Macdonalds' hotel. It was now early December. Here is how Kimura long afterwards described his first face-to-face meeting with the Intelligence Chief from "Oaklands," interspersing as he did his own private thoughts which came to mind during what was for him a somewhat tense interview:

A few weeks [after drawing the map of my journey] Tharchin came into the office and told me to make myself as presentable as possible. I had given up my old monk's robe and was letting my hair grow, so I ran home to comb it and change into the less ragged of my two Tibetan *chubas*, then followed him to the bungalows below the Himalayan Hotel. There, seated at a table in a garden we found Lhatseren and an Englishman. I was immediately tense, wondering if I was going to be arrested.

The Englishman was introduced as Eric Lambert, a policeman who was head of Intelligence for the northeast frontier region, ... and whose headquarters was ... in Shillong. He held up the map I had made and asked me, through Tharchin, if I had drawn it. I answered that I had, looking from Tharchin to Lhatseren, then to Lambert, and realizing suddenly that everything I had done unwittingly had been reported through intelligence channels.

"I've heard that you are hoping to go back to your home in Inner Mongolia," Lambert continued.

"Yes," I answered, relieved. It seemed I was still believed to be Mongolian.

"We might be able to help you," he went on. I could see what he was driving at. With the present turmoil in China, a well-placed agent could help sort out fact from fiction. The first thing that occurred to me was not that I would be employed by the intelligence service of our recent enemy, but that this could be my ticket, if not all the way back to Japan, at least to far closer than I was at the moment.⁴⁹

"Do you understand any English," he asked, suddenly addressing me directly. I did not recognize the word "any" but got the gist.

“A little,” I answered, grateful for the Mongolian pronunciation training that had taught me how to make an “L” sound. If I had answered “a rituru” it would have been a dead giveaway.

“What would you think of learning more?” This was too much for me and it had to be repeated in Tibetan. I responded enthusiastically. “Perhaps we could help you with that also,” he answered, dismissing me and then speaking rapidly in English to Mr. Tharchin.

“You made a good impression,” said the latter to me on the way back. “He wants you to start at Dr. Graham’s Homes in the spring.” ... “In the meantime,” he added, “try to keep progressing in Tibetan.” (*JA* 139-40)

This very thing Dawa would continue to do most diligently while waiting for the time to be enrolled for English at the Graham’s School, which came the following March.



In the meantime the nomadic Danzans, itching to be on the caravan trail again, had decided to return to Mongolia at the first opportunity; for since they had been to Buddha Gaya, the country of India, they felt, had nothing more to offer them. In January of 1946, therefore, they set off on a journey that would nonetheless mean not Mongolia but Shigatse and finally Nepal, where they would settle down near the famous shrine of Namu Buddha just east of the Kathmandu Valley. (There Danzan’s wife would die of an old affliction a few years later, after which Danzan, heartbroken, went off with a wealthy Ladakhi trader who had wanted a monk to care for his family altar.) With his close friends and traveling companions of more than three years now gone from his life forever, young Dawa could never remember having ever been so totally alone. (*JA* 146)

Not for long, however, since the Babu, “with his usual quick perception,” Kimura recalled much later, “sensed my loneliness” and offered his kindly help once more. Yet it not only meant timely emotional and psychological succor for the Japanese; it also proved to be an unexpected boon to his Tibetan-language training. Wrote Kimura:

Tharchin invited me to move into the office and to have my meals with his family. Every morning I would climb the east ridge to the Tharchin house, have breakfast, and return to the office about ten. At noon a servant would bring us lunch, then at five a horse would be brought for my employer while I followed him home on foot for supper. I enjoyed these family evenings, and they were good for my Tibetan. Of all the people I met in my travels, the Tharchins were some of the best. (*JA* 146)

Sonam T. Kazi, who was in his final year at Kalimpong College when Dawa Sangpo first came to the hill station, can testify to the frequent presence of the young Japanese with Tharchin. Very much like a son himself to the Babu at this time, the Kazi remarked to the present writer about having “often seen Kimura” (but as Dawa Sangpo, of course) “at the Tibet Mirror Press office and also at the Tharchin home.”⁵⁰

A further aid in assuaging Dawa's acute loneliness came in the form of "roommates" who would now and then show up at Mackenzie Cottage as guests of the Tharchins. Since the Cottage had a number of other rooms besides the space set aside for the Press office, several guests could be accommodated there at any one time. One such person who provided company for Kimura was a Kalmuck Mongolian Lama named Geshe Thupten Wangyal. By this time Geshe La, as he was affectionately known by many in Kalimpong, was an extremely close friend of the Babu's* who would also become, in the words of Dawa Sangpo, "one of my staunchest friends and supporters." (JA 147) Normally a resident of Lhasa, on his various visits to Kalimpong⁵¹ the Geshe would invariably bring with him for the Babu's use the latest confidential political, religious and social news, since he was on friendly terms with numerous influential individuals at the Tibetan capital.

Indeed, for all practical purposes Geshe Wangyal had established his residency at Lhasa on a continuing basis ever since his arrival there in mid-summer 1924 to continue his study for the *lharampa geshe* (or doctor of Buddhist philosophy) degree at Drepung. Interestingly, this initial arrival date at the Tibetan capital had succeeded by just six months the conclusion of Gergan Tharchin's first of many visits to Lhasa. And thus, it may well have been that their acquaintance and subsequent close friendship through the years which followed may have had their beginning in Lhasa rather than at Kalimpong, perhaps during the Babu's second visit in 1927. Certainly by Tharchin's own testimony he had met many monks and Lamas and other clergy among Drepung's population from 1927 onwards, and Geshe Wangyal may have been one of them. In any case, the future Geshe had ample time and opportunity to cultivate friendships with various powerful and influential individuals in both Government and Buddhist Church.

Now it so happened that Thupten Wangyal's family was part of the Kalmuck (or Calmuck) Mongolian people who inhabited what today is called Kalmukia, a region of European Russia situated northwest of the Caspian Sea in the lower Volga River valley that in the 1930s had a population of about 150,000. As was learned in the Notes for Chapter 2, these Kalmucks of European Russia were a legacy of the breakup of the vast Mongol Empire of the Middle Ages which had at one time ruled over the entire stretch of Asia east and west. Having been part of the western Mongolian clans, the Kalmuck people, beginning in about 1632, had emigrated to the lower Volga valley all the way from the Central Asian region of Dzungaria (today's western Mongolia and Sinkiang), bringing with them their ardent devotion to Tibetan Buddhism and remaining faithful to that religion even though nearly all others of the western Mongolian clans would eventually become Moslems.

* The very close friendship that developed between these two can be appreciated through an amusing story which Tharchin's son Sherab Gyamtsho once related to the present writer in 1994. The younger Tharchin recalls that when he was in his late teens, and whenever the Geshe would be a guest of the Babu's, the three of them would sometimes relax together in the evenings by playing several games around the carrom board, a table game requiring a considerable degree of skill to win. On his part, however, the Mongolian Buddhist Lama would take the board game so seriously that whenever he lost he would immediately retire to the nearest washbasin, wash his hands, and quickly return to the carrom table while clasping his hands together in repeated circular motions, hoping this and the ritual he had just concluded performing would bring himself better luck for the next game!! Interview with S. G. Tharchin, Dec. 1994.

Born in 1901, the future Geshe would mark out for himself what proved to be a most fascinating career. Accepted into his local monastery at age six after pleading with his family since age four to be admitted as a novice monk, the future Lama would be transferred three years later to a Kalmuck temple-monastery complex called a *chö-ra*. This religious institution had only recently been established for metaphysical studies by none other than the famous (or infamous, depending on one's perspective) Buriat Mongolian Lama, Ngawang Lobsang Dorjief, the *bête noire* of Lord Curzon and Colonel Youngshusband. Though a Mongolian from the far distant southern Siberian region of Russia situated around Lake Baikal and inhabited mostly by Buriat Mongols, this highly influential Lama had nonetheless taken great interest in the spiritual welfare of his fellow Mongolians, the Kalmucks, who had settled in European Russia. Throughout his life, in fact, this Buriat Lama would frequently visit the Kalmuck area for the purpose of teaching and promoting the Buddhist religion. And on one of these visits, Lama Dorjief, upon hearing of Thupten Wangyal's precocious abilities for a monk so young, conscripted the boy monk into the *chö-ra* he had founded (he having proven to be a star student and an unsurpassed debater among his fellow-monk inmates). Moreover, immediately thereafter, Lama Dorjief became young Wangyal's "root-lama"—that is to say, his most important personal spiritual guide and mentor—he giving him all the principal vows and initiations; and, further, as the boy's "main sponsor" he would ultimately send the young monk to Lhasa to study for the *geshe* degree.

Before that, however, but after he had taken his full monastic vows, this young Kalmuck monk would be privileged to travel with his root-lama Dorjief from the Volga River city of Volgograd north to Moscow, and, by prearrangement, would later meet the intrepid Buriat Lama in distant Ulan Ude (the capital of the USSR's Buriat Republic) not far from the shores of Lake Baikal; from whence he and a few other Kalmuck lamas selected by Dorjief were dispatched south by caravan to distant Tibet to further their higher studies in Mahayana Buddhism. It will be recalled from the previous chapter, in fact, that Dorjief had been tasked by the Bolshevik government in Moscow to organize several clandestine "Tibetan expeditions" to Lhasa for diplomatic and intelligence-gathering purposes. Dorjief had therefore carefully chosen Thupten and the other Kalmuck monks to serve as part of a Mongolian Buddhist pilgrim cover or disguise to aid the leaders of this new and second Tibetan expedition to get by the highly sensitive checkpoint of Nagchuka situated just north of Lhasa a five-days' trek away. And having succeeded in passing through the checkpoint without difficulty, this party of supposed Buddhist pilgrims—who by design had been intermingled with a huge trading caravan as a way of avoiding detection—headed southward towards the Tibetan capital. There, on 1 August 1924, young Wangyal, writes James Nashold in his portrait of the future Geshe, "arrived safely in Lhasa after a year of traveling by foot. train [the Trans-Siberian Railway], caravan and horses across Asia and encounters with near starvation and bandits."

Through the good offices of his famous sponsor Dorjief, Thupten and the other Kalmuck monks were enrolled in the Gomong College of Drepung Monastery. Here young Wangyal would spend the next decade memorizing and meditating on the five major Buddhist texts: the *Tripitaka's* three "baskets" and the Buddhist canons and commentaries contained in the *Kangyur* and *Tengyur*, respectively. "Unfortunately," notes Nashold, "before he finished

his studies, Geshe-la ran out of money. Simultaneously he realized that the degree and title of geshe were not important. Internal realization was the real goal. But a close friend, discouraged by Geshe-la's example, also refused to complete his degree unless they both finished." It needs to be understood that these Kalmuck students in Tibet normally received financial and material support from family and friends back in Kalmukia. But at a certain point in young Wangyal's experience at Drepung, no further support had been forthcoming from Kalmuck-land due to another severe outbreak of Bolshevik repression against this religious minority there. The money which this future Geshe did have with him had "supplied his needs well until it became time to return home to obtain the money needed to make the required offerings for his degree." So explains another biographer of Geshe Wangyal's life, Joshua Cutler, who was apprenticed under the Geshe in America during the last thirteen years of the Lama's life.

Deciding in 1931 to return home in order to acquire the necessary funds for completing the geshe studies program, the Kalmuck Lama traveled by way of Peking. But Cutler has noted that the future Geshe ended up traveling no farther home than the Chinese capital. This was because he had been warned by a few Buriat monks at the particular Peking monastery where he was residing, the large Tibetan Buddhist gumpa called Yung-ho-kung, that great persecution was being meted out upon all monks living in Communist Russia at that time. Accordingly, writes Cutler, "Geshe-la became a citizen of the world" and stayed on in Peking and northern China for several years. Here he would learn English, but here also the enterprising Kalmuck Lama set about earning money for his postponed Drepung studies by working on a translation project sponsored by Western donors which a number of Russian scholars had then organized. His responsibility in the project was to supervise the comparison of various editions of the Tibetan Buddhist canon. For performing this task, reports Cutler, the future Geshe "made a respectable monthly salary of 30 Chinese dollars." But the Mongolian Lama garnered some additional funds by teaching for an entire year among a settlement of western Mongolians in Inner Mongolia known as the Ijlin Tourgüt. In addition, he served as a tutor in Tibetan and Mongolian to the French Consul at Peking for nearly a year.

Having now collected sufficient funds "to make offerings for the geshe degree," the Kalmuck Lama long afterwards related to Cutler, he "set out to return to Tibet via India." This would most likely have been in late 1934.⁵² But Geshe La's return journey to Lhasa would unexpectedly yet happily be interrupted for many months more. For upon reaching Calcutta, he was introduced to none other than Sir Charles Bell. Because Geshe La, writes Cutler, "had acquired a working knowledge of the English language while in Peking," he "was thus qualified to become Bell's translator" on a proposed journey the well-known Englishman was bent on inaugurating very soon. He had already paid a long overdue return visit to Tibet's interior during June to October 1934. But now Sir Charles would invite this accomplished Mongolian Lama to accompany him and his family as his interpreter during his intended travels to China, Japan, Manchuria and Inner Mongolia (in that order).

Before returning to Tibet, therefore, the future Geshe allowed himself to be further delayed in obtaining his higher studies degree in Buddhist philosophy by accepting the gracious invitation this "great Englishman, scholar and explorer" had extended to him.

Needless to say, it was a chance of a lifetime, a most rewarding experience not to be missed, since Geshe La would accompany Sir Charles on the entire journey, during which the Kalmuck Lama's linguistic abilities in many languages and dialects would serve the Englishman immensely. Indeed, in a lecture on his East Asian travels which Bell delivered in London before the Royal Central Asian Society just a year after his return to Britain, Sir Charles included some highly interesting remarks about his traveling monk companion:

When I left India for Eastern Asia [in February 1935] I took with me from the Tibetan frontier a Mongol who had spent nine years in the large Drepung Monastery, four miles outside Lhasa. There are several hundred Mongol monks in this monastic university.... This Mongol, named Wang-gyal, and I talked Tibetan to each other, a very convenient arrangement, because hardly any of the Mongols that I met, none of the Chinese, and none of the Japanese understood it. Some Mongols, indeed, had picked up Tibetan words from books, but they did not know the pronunciation and could not in the least follow a conversation. Away there in the heart of Tibet, Wang-gyal not only learnt Tibetan, but learnt also several Mongol dialects, including those of the districts that I visited, because Mongols come to Drepung from all parts of Mongolia....

... I owe a great deal to my Mongol companion, Wang-gyal, and to the Mongols that he brought to see me. That name Wang-gyal means "Conquering Power"; actually he was the meekest of men. It is a Tibetan name. Mongol people and places, especially on the religious side, often have Tibetan names, a custom which, with many others, shows the strong link between the Mongols and the Tibetans.

Now it was Sir Charles who happened to mention to the future Geshe the name of Tharchin's very close friend, the English Tibetologist and author on Buddhism, Marco Pallis (see again the concluding pages of Chapter 23). And upon departing from China (Sir Charles having left for Europe and London via the Trans-Siberian Railway in late September 1935 following the unfortunate death in Peking from meningitis of his wife Cashie), the future Geshe came to Kalimpong in late 1935 where he met Pallis (perhaps through an introduction provided by Tharchin himself?) and agreed to serve as the Englishman's *sutra* instructor and private guru. But before doing this the Mongolian monk returned to Drepung at Lhasa where he finally completed all required debates, oral examinations and other requirements for receiving the lharampa geshe degree, including the obligatory and costly offerings and gifts.

Then returning to Kalimpong, Geshe La would now travel to England in the late spring of 1937 at the invitation of Pallis and most likely with the help and assistance of Gergan Tharchin in the matter of travel arrangements, passports, etc. There, according to Cutler, he stayed for nearly four months as a guest of Pallis in his home. But he also established "a Tibetan Room" at the home of the Englishman's brother.⁵³ "One of the first and youngest Lamas to visit the West," Nashold points out, "Geshe-la was deeply impressed by his visits to the great English Gothic cathedrals where he heard organ music, choirs, passages from the Bible and services that convinced him that Christ was as great a Bodhisattva in the West as Buddha was in the East." From England the Geshe chose to return to Lhasa via China and northern Vietnam rather than by way of India and Kalimpong. How right Kimura

was to say that Geshe Wangyal was "one of the most widely traveled of Mongolian Lamas." (JA 146). It should be pointed out here, however, that according to Cutler, "because of his longtime association with the British" over the years, stemming, as it did, "from his job as translator for Sir Charles," the Geshe came "under the suspicions of the Tibetan government." In fact, adds Cutler, "he was always worried that he would be falsely accused and arrested as a British spy." Nevertheless, though not a British spy *per se*, Geshe La, because of his assistance rendered to the Babu as one of the latter's many informants across Central Asia, one would be hard put not to observe here that he was, *indirectly*, serving British-intelligence interests *vis-à-vis* the Roof of the World—whether he realized it or not!

Now as with Geshe Chodak—another, but in his case disreputable, Mongolian Lama—there was an entrepreneurial side to Geshe Wangyal which made it possible for the latter to come to Dawa's financial rescue in Lhasa later when the ex-Japanese intelligence agent would be serving as a spy for the British. Kimura reported, and some personal letters of the Geshe to Tharchin confirm, that this Kalmuck Mongolian Lama possessed a keen business acumen. In fact, according to Kimura the Geshe "had amassed a fortune in trade between Lhasa and Peking." (JA 146) This was doubtless a result of his several visits to Peking described earlier and where he had had the advantage of being able to establish commercial relationships right on the spot. But besides the financial gains which flowed from the Peking connection, much else of his wealth, it seems, was acquired in association with the first or second richest man in Tibet, Tsarong Shape. For upon his return to the Tibetan capital in the summer of 1946 from this current stay with Tharchin, the Geshe would write to his Kalimpong host from Tsarong House thanking the Babu for help in "gaining 20 loads of cloth" in India for his business and then stating: "I will talk with Tsarong about your getting your commission according to the business.... Please wire through Tsarong and I can send the draft through Tsarong's in Kalimpong." (The Geshe would add, incidentally, a closing sentiment to his letter for Dawa, whom he had by now come to know and care for very much from their having lived together in Mackenzie Cottage: "Please remember me to your family and to Dawa Sangpo.")

Twenty loads, however, was not what this high-stakes enterprising monk-entrepreneur had originally wanted and expected to make available to his many customer friends in Lhasa, to whom he had promised three times that amount. For in an earlier letter to Tharchin from Gyantse, Geshe La, after noting that the shipment would only be twenty loads, ruefully remarked: "I have written to my friends that I am sending 60 loads; so it will be shameful to me when I see them in Lhasa."⁵⁴

Nevertheless, though having grown into an extremely wealthy man from his continually expanding trading ventures, Geshe La, writes Kimura, was most generous in putting his money to what was considered in Tibet was the finest possible use: underwriting the huge cost involved in "giving 'tongo'" for the entire vast monastic inmate population of Drepung or of any other Lhasa monastery on behalf of a prospective but penurious graduate about to receive the geshe degree who would normally have been responsible himself for the expense of throwing the feast. Kimura would comment long afterwards that "Geshe Wangyal used his fortune to finance his poor but studious countrymen, so that no deserving Kalmuck Mongol ever went without a degree for want of funds." (JA 146) Could the primary motivation

for such extreme generosity have stemmed from his experience of having had to delay the achieving of his own geshe degree due to his own financial straits? More than likely this was so. For Cutler has remarked that Geshe La had “used his capital and many contacts to make money with which he assisted many poor scholars to obtain their geshe degrees, especially the Mongolians, who, like him, were cut off from support back home.” More will be said about the Geshe later in the present chapter.⁵⁵

Another person who provided timely company for Kimura was a Chinese-Tibetan roommate who was nonetheless fluent in English. His name was Twan Yang (nicknamed Twanyan)⁵⁶ and he could not have arrived at a better moment. It was March now, and Tharchin had just taken Dawa Sangpo to the Graham’s School to be enrolled for English study. To satisfy the School’s requirement that a member of the local British community must recommend a prospective enrollee, Eric Lambert had arranged that the former British Resident at Lhasa, Major George Sherriff, would do so. Dawa would receive private lessons two hours daily from an Englishwoman on the staff there and he would also be given free use of the school’s library. (*JA* 148) Given his confessed aptness for language study, the intensity of the course program now embarked upon at Graham’s, and especially the presence of his new roommate, Kimura was bound to make good and steady progress. Twan Yang, only 26 years old by the time he had arrived on the scene, had already had a full and fascinating life for such a young man. Indeed, the present writer had the privilege just a year before his death in 1993 to hear firsthand in Gangtok the personal odyssey he had experienced during those earlier years.

Born in 1919 in Kalimpong of mixed parentage (a Tibetan mother from Kham; a Chinese father from Szechuan), Twanyan was totally orphaned at the age of seven with the death of his father (his mother having died when he was but three). Because the family had lived just opposite Polhill Hall where the Tharchins were then residing, the latter were fully acquainted with the situation and had befriended Twanyan many times over during his tender years of childhood and early youth, the Babu himself serving, as it were, as a “godfather” to him. What followed, however, were five miserable years for the growing boy, who was bandied about from “adoptive” family to “adoptive” family in Kalimpong till one day he was sent off by his surviving relatives to serve as houseboy for a Sikh family who were bound for the Punjab in India.

Yet the next five years proved to be almost as bad for Twanyan as the previous five had been, an ill-fated period of difficulty and suffering at the hands of others which would only come to an end down in Calcutta with the happy circumstance of acquiring “another godfather” (his term), the Dutch scholar/linguist, Johan van Manen, whom Tharchin himself had come to know several decades earlier at Ghoom. “Like a latter-day Kim,” writes Kimura, young Twanyan “had wandered all over India until the Dutch scholar had taken a liking to him and had educated him”; which explains his later fluency in English: both spoken and written. That his written English was quite fluent is attested by a finely-crafted, sensitively composed two-volume autobiographical work Twanyan had written in the late 1930s and early ’40s while still with this Dutch benefactor before the latter’s death in March 1943.⁵⁷ “Unfortunately,” continued Kimura, “Twanyan had contracted tuberculosis soon after the

Dutch professor's death. He had now just come out of a sanatorium in Patna, and so was badly in need of the kind of friendship and assistance the Tharchins offered him" again. (*JA* 148) Twanyan's return meant that Tharchin, ever mindful of why Dawa Sangpo was engaged in improving his language skills, would be able to put some of the future British spy's duties at the Press on the latter's Tibetan roommate, since he felt that Dawa's studies were as important as his work at the office. Twanyan's presence, added Kimura, also provided the Japanese student with an excuse to explain the fast progress he was making through his English study's early stages; "for of course," concluded Kimura, "it would never do to let Miss Bumfield know that I had once studied English at a mission school in Kyushu Japan"! (*JA* 148-9) Obviously, therefore, Twanyan had proved to be valuable in a number of ways.⁵⁸



Not long after Dawa had begun his English studies there arrived at Tharchin's premises a large number of Mongolian monks and Lamas on pilgrimage. It was the spring of 1946, and among them was Namgyal Dalama, the money-lending disciple of Dilowa Gegen who had befriended Dawa Sangpo in so timely a fashion just six months earlier back in Lhasa. Kimura's heart would "skip a beat" when in private conversation in Tharchin's "pilgrim warehouse" across from the Press Dalama disclosed that at the Tibetan capital he "knew right away" that Dawa was Japanese. Noticing the latter's discomfiture at this disclosure, the Dilowa's disciple quickly offered some reassuring words: "Don't worry.... It would certainly do me no good to reveal your identity, and you seem to be doing no one any harm." (*JA* 152-3)

Yet if the Dilowa's disciple would remain discreet, so would his master when he too arrived in Kalimpong—though not down from Lhasa but up from Calcutta. "I was not surprised that Lama Dilowa Gegen himself turned up," Kimura confided to his memoirs of the period. For at one of his subsequent meetings with Eric Lambert, the latter, he recounted, "had mentioned to me in passing at Lhatseren's house that the British [now that the World War was over] were attempting to secure his release from Chungking." (*JA* 153) Dilowa was indeed released, in November of 1945,* after which, wrote Kimura, "he flew straight to Calcutta, and then came up to Kalimpong to prepare to continue on to Lhasa." (*JA* 153)

The High Lama would be lodged at the Himalayan Hotel for a few days while Tharchin took extra care to make his warehouse especially suitable for the honored guest. The Dilowa would make his first call on the Babu at the latter's home shortly after his arrival in the town. "I was asked to serve him tea," the still disguised Mongolian monk wrote later. The High Lama, he explained,

* Deduced from information that is included on his British Indian Residential Permit, a copy of which is among the ThPaK. See the following footnote for the details.

sat in the Tharchins' guest room, tall, dignified and commanding even after the years of house arrest, and I knew as soon as I looked into the searching, intelligent eyes behind the large round glasses that he had recognized me; even though we had met only once years ago. I was relieved that he said nothing. (*JA* 153)

Later, though, when the two could speak privately, the Dilowa told the ex-Japanese agent he agreed with his disciple that there was no reason anyone should know his identity. "He even gave me some information from that vast spy network of his about some of my less fortunate countrymen," related Kimura in his memoirs. (*JA* 153-4)

But if the High Mongolian Lama offered inside information from his spy network to Dawa Sangpo, there is no doubt he offered similar kinds of information—and more—to Gergan Tharchin. For the Dilowa had great respect for the Tibetan publisher, whose various good works on behalf of Tibet through his newspaper and in other more hidden ways had long before this come to his attention. Moreover, it had been Tharchin who had assisted behind the scenes in securing for the illustrious Lama a visitor's visa that would allow him to remain in British India for a full four-month period.* And even now he was being comfortably entertained and all his personal needs met by the kindly and generous Babu. Hence, as these two would converse together over many days, there would be no hesitation on the Dilowa's part in sharing out of his rich store of covert information that which could be helpful to both Tharchin and the British in their joint intelligence-gathering operation against the Chinese (although it is extremely doubtful that the Tibetan host would have taken the Lama completely into his confidence about his connections with British Intelligence). Furthermore, how conveniently situated the Dilowa now was for making himself available to both Tharchin and Lhatseren during his lengthy stay: a guest in the Babu's pilgrim warehouse right next door to Lhatseren's own house and both located just opposite the Tibet Mirror Press! (*JA*, cf. 151 with 152) Without question the two of them skillfully exploited this circumstance as much as they could on behalf of Lambert and the Tibetan Intelligence unit in far-off Shillong.

*

But though Tharchin and Lhatseren were continually working in tandem in support of their clandestine Intelligence program against the growing Chinese threat towards Tibet, they were not always effective at their work. They, like the younger Dawa, were not

* Issued in Calcutta, the Dilowa's Residential Permit reveals that his Passport had been issued for "Mr. Tilowa [*sic*], a foreigner, of Chinese-Mongolian nationality ... dated 26 Nov. 1945," which no doubt had been obtained at Chungking and later "bearing visa No. 81 dated 6 Feb. 1946 for India, and is permitted to remain in British India until 1st June 1946." ThPaK. He would thus be on his way to Lhasa from Kalimpong by the end of May 1946, a date which is confirmed by what Kimura would himself write concerning his re-arrival back in the Tibetan capital on the 1st of January 1947: "The Dilowa Gegen ... had come to Lhasa six months before me ..." (*JA* 162)

perfect spies either. A case in point was the curious, almost serio-comic, incident in 1946 involving a young Chinese man who went by the Tibetan alias of Jampal Wosul or Wosal (not to be confused with a well-known *Tibetan* with a similar name of Jampa Wosel—aka: Champa Yeshe and called Chang Fangkun—who had been personal physician to the Great Thirteenth, was exiled from Lhasa in 1934, later opened a photographic shop in Kalimpong, and who, like Jampal Wosul, would be accused of spying for the Chinese and be deported in the same year in which Jampal Wosul would suffer the same fate!). Young Wosul had apparently been recruited by the Nationalists only after his arrival in Kalimpong. The writer is in debt to both Kimura and Sonam T. Kazi for the details—to the latter especially, who provided, among other personal data, the alias used by the young man. The way the ex-Japanese spy tells it, Lhatseren had had quite a laugh over having finally to arrest and deport this “seemingly innocuous lame Chinese youth who taught at the local Chinese Primary School”⁵⁹ because of “what had lent humor to the situation”: the young man had been operating as an intelligence agent “right under the noses of both Tharchin and Lhatseren,” he having lived directly opposite the Babu’s Press building and immediately adjacent to Lhatseren’s house! (*JA* 151)

According to the Kazi, Jampal Wosul had previously taught at the Chinese School in Lhasa before coming to Kalimpong. Then at the hill station he began studying English, perhaps at the Graham’s School where Dawa Sangpo was now himself an English student. So that the Chinese youth’s language study, together with his lameness and his Primary School teaching post, had apparently served him so well that for the longest time the British had been unable to penetrate his cover, during which, reported Kimura, he had been receiving “large remittances every month through the Kalimpong branch of the Bank of China”! (*JA* 151) Yet not only Lhatseren and the British Intelligence network had been deceived; even Tharchin had been drawn into the young Kuomintang’s clever little game. For at one point, reports the Kazi, Jampal Wosul had professed to having converted to the Christian faith, had eventually been baptized at the Graham’s Homes Chapel sometime around 1945, and had even invited the Babu to speak at his baptismal service, which the Indo-Tibetan dutifully fulfilled on the occasion, as witnessed by the Kazi himself.

In recounting this bizarre tale to the present writer, the Kazi concluded by commenting that when afterwards the British finally discovered that Jampal Wosul had been involved in spy activity at Kalimpong, * the young Kuomintang agent “was ordered to leave the hill town within twenty-four hours!” Which for Lhatseren and Tharchin must not have been short enough at all to satisfy their embarrassed souls. Needless to say, both their faces must have remained red for quite a long time.⁶⁰

* Confirmation of which most likely was derived from the results of the raids that on 19 June 1946 the British authorities made on the home of this young man and on the homes of six others that same day. The latter included Tharchin’s friends Rapga Pangdatsang and Changlo Chen Gung, who—like Jampal Wosul—were in the pay of the Chinese Nationalist government; and even the house of F. M. Shen: another close Tharchin friend. All seven individuals, it may be recalled from the previous chapter, had been suspected of spying, revolutionary activities, and/or counterfeiting Indian paper currency. See Melvyn Goldstein, *A History of Modern Tibet*, 458, 458n.

The presence of a Jampal Wosul, however, was not by any means an isolated phenomenon in Kalimpong. In describing the large Chinese element that was then living in the hill town, most of whom were from Yunnan Province, Kimura went on to point out that they were a constant source of anxiety to Lhatseren's security staff since the Chinese government of that day, which was still Kuomintang, "often sent agents to Kalimpong disguised as Tibetans." (*JA* 138) Moreover, in step with the quickening pace of change in the international political arena, Tharchin's home town—as was intimated briefly in Chapter 24 and as will be made far more clear in Chapter 27—would develop into a hotbed of espionage and intrigue that would witness its greatest intensity in the 1950s and '60s but which even now at the time of Kimura's residence during the latter 1940s could inspire the former Japanese spy to record long afterwards his recollections of what the town's undercover society had been like back then:

Like the tree-clad slopes of a dormant volcano, the calm everyday surface of Kalimpong's life disguised feverish underground activity. This was mostly Chinese-inspired, with agents sent via Tibet to ferret out what they could about events in India; but there were also anti-government Tibetan exiles and reformers, anti-Chinese Tibetans, White and Red Russians, and a whole medley of other agents working for a variety of causes in this cozy little town.⁶¹

To complicate the situation there was a vicious rivalry between three separate Chinese intelligence services under the Defense Department, the Transport Department, and the Tibetan-Mongolian Affairs Commission. These three went at each other with a determination and a savagery that made the well-known jealousies between the British MI5 and MI6 [names, respectively, for the National Security Division and the Espionage Department of Military Intelligence] look like a decorous tea party by comparison, and occasional mysterious murders in Lhasa or Kalimpong were sometimes found to be the result of this inter-service feuding. Dharma [Dawa's Mongolian painter-friend in Kalimpong] could tell me something about this since his eldest daughter had made the mistake of marrying a Tibetan merchant named Lobsang, who in reality turned out to be a Sikang Tibetan, a graduate of the Central Military Academy in Nanking working as an undercover agent for the Defense Department. After the couple moved to Lhasa he was assassinated by a Yunnanese operative from the rival Transport Department.⁶²

There were also a number of Russians, Kazakhs and Uzbeks in Kalimpong, whose activities echoed the days of the Great Game. I remember in particular a tall and handsome young Russian who was married to a White Russian beauty. He disappeared quite suddenly in 1948, and I probably would have forgotten all about him had I not made his acquaintance again in 1950: in the Presidency Penitentiary in Calcutta [where Dawa was awaiting his return to Japan]. He had been arrested for espionage, but the Soviet government would not even acknowledge him as one of their citizens. His situation aroused my sympathy, for like me he was a spy without a country, cast adrift on the shoals of international espionage. (*JA* 150-1)

Not until the early to mid-1960s would Tharchin's hill station begin to experience the end to the singular fascination which drew to her precincts so many people in various guises representing so many competing nationalities and interests.

Meanwhile Dawa Sangpo expressed concern over the increasing number of people in Kalimpong who knew his real identity. Though he was certain he could rely upon Namgyal Dalama and Lama Dilowa Gegen to keep it to themselves, he now wondered if some of their followers "would prove as discreet." As for the Babu himself, writes Kimura, "I did not learn until much later that Tharchin was in fact tipped off by some of the Dilowa's own followers about me in the autumn of 1946, but that he felt it made no difference and continued to treat me as always." (*JA* 154) Another person who eventually came to know the true identity of both Dawa and his future accomplice in intelligence, Kazumi Nishikawa, occupied an extremely sensitive post in Kalimpong. But fortunately for Dawa and his Japanese companion, this individual turned out to be a very close friend to Tharchin. This was N. N. Namchu, at the time the border hill station's Frontier Inspector. While briefly discussing Hisao Kimura in an interview with the present author, Sonam T. Kazi offered the following information: "A Christian, Namchu by name, had been a Central SIB (Subsidiary Intelligence Bureau) Officer at Kalimpong. . . . He knew that Kimura and Nishikawa were *not* Mongolian lamas but were Japanese."⁶³



If any proof were needed of the Babu's continued goodwill—but more importantly his continued trust—towards Dawa Sangpo, such was more than amply shown in what happened next. It may be recalled from Chapter 20 that at about this time the American Tibetologist Theos Bernard showed up again in Kalimpong with the desire to visit Lhasa once more, and if not permitted to go there, to travel to Indo-Tibet as far north as Ladakh for further research and Tibetan antiquities-collection. Having become acquainted with Dawa while waiting to hear from Lhasa about his application for entrance into Tibet, Tharchin's American friend asked the disguised Mongolian monk to go with him as guide and interpreter, now that his English "was up to it." Though the ex-spy had very much wanted to go, his employer Tharchin demurred, saying he "had other things in mind" for Dawa and dispatching instead one of his own servants as a companion for Bernard. (*JA* 154)

Dawa Sangpo would soon learn just what Tharchin Babu had in mind, the substance of which would immediately dispel any doubts the former Japanese agent might have had at this time about his employer's willingness to continue reposing trust in him. One day late in November of 1946, Tharchin called Dawa into his office where they could talk most privately. "I'm sure you realize that Tibet considers itself an independent country," he began by way of introduction. What then followed, which was more of a monologue than a dialogue between the two, was a brief history lesson on Tibet and her relations with outside powers—in particular, China and British India. Yet it was not with the latter Government with which the staunch defender of Tibetan interests was concerned. Far from it, the history teacher quickly made plain, informing his momentary student of Britain's wise policy of keeping the Roof of the World "an independent buffer state," with India, under its forthcoming self-government, "continuing that policy."⁶⁴ No, what concerned him today was not the British or even a

soon-to-be Independent India; it was Nationalist China he was most anxious about. Using the plural number for the first time in his discourse on recent Tibetan history, the Babu explained what he meant: “We are worried that the Chinese might take advantage of British preoccupation with the handing over of power to India, swoop into Tibet, and take over before anyone knows what is happening.” With that the publisher-turned-history professor now paused for what must have been a very tense moment for both speaker and hearer.

Quite mystified over what his employer was leading up to that could possibly involve *him*, Kimura later confided to his memoirs what was going through his mind at this moment: “I had no idea either of the reason for this history lesson, or who he meant by ‘we’.” He would not, however, have to wait long to find out. For his mentor suddenly looked up at him and, in the most succinct fashion possible, quite matter-of-factly announced: “I want you to go and discover whether or not it is true that China is making preparation for an armed invasion of Tibet.”

Rapidly overcoming his stunned surprise at what he had just heard, Dawa exhibited immediate excitement over the prospect of a new adventure, he having grown a bit restless since his arrival in Kalimpong more than a year before. Sensing his enthusiasm, the British intelligence operative now changed his approach towards Dawa, wanting to make certain the future British spy “understood the realities of such a journey”: a journey which would entail wandering around remote and lawless border areas of eastern Tibet that “at the best of times,” he warned, “can be most dangerous.”

As though the Babu were attempting to underscore even further the hazards involved in such a mission, Dawa would next learn in this private talk with Tharchin that during the past months of language-training his employer had been in a desperate search for someone to recruit who would be able to survive even the beginnings of the dangerous mission he had proposed to him. “You may as well know that you won’t be the first person I’ve sent,” the Babu continued nervously. “In fact, you will be the third. The first seems to have died of illness. The second,” he added ominously, “just disappeared.” That Tharchin by now knew of this disguised Mongolian monk’s true identity but would nonetheless proceed to recruit him anyway for this risky mission, especially after the two previous failures, reveals as perhaps nothing else could just how much trust and confidence in Dawa Sangpo he did indeed repose. Moreover, the fact that the former Japanese spy survived what would prove to be an incredible ordeal and was able at its conclusion to submit his written report personally to Shillong confirms Gergan Tharchin’s judgment of Dawa’s character and his ability to succeed.

All that, however, lay in the future. Confident himself of his own abilities after what he had been through during what he termed his “hard traveling experience” as a *Japanese* agent, what Dawa Sangpo now wanted to know from Tharchin was for whom he would be working. To this somewhat foolish question he got a quick and direct reply, that nonetheless—though for very good reasons—was not an altogether candid one:

“Me,” Tharchin answered sensibly. “Not only do I want the news for my paper,” he continued, “but I’d like to warn the Tibetan government if there is any danger.” Of

course I knew that behind "me" were the figures of Eric Lambert and Lhatseren, but that hardly mattered. Here was a chance to put my newly-acquired skill in Tibetan to use, and perhaps to help a country to retain its independence. I think that subconsciously it might have been a way of atoning for having been part of an oppressive colonial establishment. I agreed right then and there without any more questions. (JA 154-6)

It would not be until many years afterwards that Kimura would learn what might have been the official origin of his spy mission to the Sino-Tibetan border. Somehow he became privy to the contents of "a highly classified document" entitled *Aid to Tibet* that still exists today in London's India Office Library. Dated 27 April 1946, the paper had originated in the Office of the Colonial Secretary of His Majesty's Imperial Government. Of interest here is the fact that its conclusion had clearly asserted that any foreign domination of Tibet would "constitute a direct threat to the security of India," had identified China and Russia as potential enemies, and that Nagchuka north of Lhasa and Chamdo the provincial town of Kham far east of Lhasa were the most strategically significant areas to be investigated. (JA 156n)

It may be of some significance here to note that much of this document's conclusion is strikingly similar to the warnings and concerns which had been expressed personally just two or three years before by Phuntsog Wangyal and Ngawang Kalsang to both Gergan Tharchin and Sir Basil Gould, and indirectly through Tharchin even to Eric Lambert as well. The time had been mid-1944. Perhaps the British had not turned a totally deaf ear to their warnings, after all. (See Chapter 23 again for the details.)

Interestingly enough, though, just three months later the British General Staff in London, in a memorandum issued in July 1946, declared that "from a short term point of view there is no practicable means of aiding Tibet against a major enemy, and there is no real threat to India from that direction, and the Government of India do not propose further to consider at present the possibility of offering military assistance to Tibet. They will, however, continue to meet as far as possible reasonable requests for the supply of arms and ammunition."⁶⁵ Nevertheless, by November of that same year, Eric Lambert was now requesting Tharchin to find someone to recruit for undertaking a spy mission to East Tibet to determine for certain that no action inimical to India was being contemplated by any "major enemy" against Tibet.

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Events would now move forward rapidly. That Tharchin—and only Tharchin—was immediately in charge of this recruitment and the subsequent issuance of instructions is made clear by the following details:

(1) the Babu had ordered Dawa to depart as quickly as possible after the proper preparations;

(2) he himself personally issued the new British spy the necessary funds immediately—”rather more,” thought Dawa, “than he would have been able to afford to invest in a news story—particularly if this was the third attempt”; and

(3) he promised his recruit he would be “well paid” if he returned successfully, which promise a year later the Babu himself fulfilled, personally dishing out a final payment that he, Tharchin, had received a second time from the British government; a payment to Dawa which, recalled the secret agent long afterwards, “came to so much more than I had expected ...” (*JA* 156, 187)

Obviously Lhatseren and, to a far greater degree, Eric Lambert were definitely keeping a low profile; just as they no doubt had done when Tharchin had personally recruited and then commissioned the earlier two operatives chosen for the same covert mission. Now that Lambert had approved Tharchin’s choice of Dawa Sangpo, he and Lhatseren were leaving most of the affair up to their trusted colleague, still further evidence of the Babu’s significant involvement in British Intelligence related to Tibet.

Maintaining a low profile did not mean, however, that Lambert and Lhatseren were not interested in the progress of the secret mission. On the contrary, whenever it was feasible and information was available, Lambert would be kept informed by Tharchin of his operative’s movements. For instance, found among the Tharchin Papers was a half-sheet of the Press’s printed letterhead stationery on which the Babu in his own hurried handwriting had drafted a brief unsigned letter that in its final form was apparently sent off to Lambert at Shillong (since though the salutation merely reads “Dear Sir” for security reasons, internal evidence would strongly suggest the Intelligence Chief was the intended recipient). The draft in its entirety reads as follows:

The Tibet Mirror Press
(etc.)

Kalimpong P.O.

(etc.)

Date _____ 194 .

Ref. No. _____

Dear Sir,

I am [in] touch with Mr. L. T. here. [L. T. was one of Lha Tsering’s-Lhatseren’s identity codes or abbreviations.] Our friend [most likely a euphemism for Dawa Sangpo] left from Lhasa end of Feb.

The name of the sister who is gone to China with the young man is Dekid Alice.
[Here ends the draft letter at the bottom of the top half of the sheet of printed stationery.]

A few remarks about this missive in relation to Dawa and his mission need to be made here: (1) most probably Tharchin had learned of Dawa’s departure from Lhatseren and his Security-Intelligence people, information which doubtless Lhatseren had himself already passed on to Lambert; (2) the date of this draft letter is more than likely in the 1940s and not some other decade, as is circumstantially evident from the printed “4” in “194 .” on the stationery used; (3) from Kimura’s account of his spy journey for the British that appears in

Japanese Agent, it is known that the spy left Lhasa for Kham on or about the 16th of February, and hence Tharchin was a bit off in his comment on the departure date, but perhaps he may have had in mind the date when Lhatseren's staff had received from Dawa either a verbal message carried down to Kalimpong by a trusted courier or a second letter (using coded language, of course), which, in either case, would most likely have arrived by the end of February; (4) the remaining contents of Tharchin's letter, which concerned new information for Lambert, had nothing to do with Dawa since (a) his destination was East Tibet and not China, (b) no female accompanied Dawa on this spy mission at any point along the way, (c) the Babu would never want to disclose on paper the destination of "our friend," and (d) this remaining part of the letter was probably in response to an inquiry by Lambert for the identity of the female who had accompanied a certain China-bound "young man" (another euphemistic code, no doubt) who was perhaps under suspicion by British Intelligence; and (5) assuming all the preceding to be true, then the date when Tharchin had drafted this note containing a passing reference to Dawa's movements would most likely have been sometime in early to mid-March 1947.

*

Dawa would now be off on his second spy mission, having remained in Kalimpong for well over a year. Because of this the young Japanese now felt himself to be the heir to a great tradition which had been created by all those early Japanese individuals who at one time or another had traveled to and lived in Tibet, since all five of them had been quite familiar with the now-famous Indian hill station. The several books which told of their Central Asian travels, the spy would acknowledge long afterwards, "had often been my companions on those long winter nights" he had endured at the experimental farm in Inner Mongolia. Four of these travelers were Enga Teramoto (1872-1940), adviser to His Holiness the Thirteenth Dalai Lama; Bunkyo Aoki (1886-1956), another monk-adviser to the Great Thirteenth, who in a sense became a successor to Teramoto and was reputed to have had a part, along with the *Shape* Tsarong II, in the design of the new Tibetan flag;^{65a} Tokan Tada (1890-1967), likewise a monk but also a gifted and devoted scholar who served as another and even closer friend to His Holiness;⁶⁶ and the soldier of fortune, Yasujiro Yajima (1882-1963), who ended up a military instructor of the fledgling Tibetan Army whose training at his hands had been so effective that its contingents were able to defeat the Chinese frontier forces in East Tibet in 1917.^{66a} But even the fifth of these individuals—the Zen monk Ekai Kawaguchi (1865-1945), the celebrated explorer and traveler to Tibet's Sacred Lakes and on then to Lhasa at the turn of the twentieth century—had been to Kalimpong, for it was to here that he had first escaped for his life from Tibet in 1902.* "I felt humbled to be traveling

* Indeed, exactly a decade later, four of these five would find their way to Tharchin's hill town at one time or another, three of them—Yajima, Aoki and Tada—even briefly lodging together there at the same time in the same house in early 1912; and not long afterwards, who should pass through Kalimpong shortly following Yajima's departure on his second journey to Lhasa and Aoki and Tada's relocation into a cottage together over

in the footsteps of such men,” Dawa had mused when on his first spy mission, “and I ... wondered if I would in fact prove myself worthy.”† (*JA* 104-5, 137)

Now, though, poised to commence this current spy mission, the ex-Japanese agent humbly wondered if he might not be following in the steps of those who belonged to another and perhaps even more illustrious tradition: what Kimura termed the “great tradition of ‘native’ agents in Central Asia.” Pondering over what they had done in times past, Kimura singled out the three most prominent contributors to the Tradition: the Russians, Chinese and British.

at Ghoom for the study of Tibetan and Buddhism but the famed Zen monk himself as he was making his way to Sikkim for a visit. Furthermore, adds Scott Berry echoing Kimura’s moment of pride, there would come an historic moment three years hence when these same four Japanese travelers would be physically gathered together in the Tibetan capital on the same day: New Year 1915 (Western calendar). A unique event, to be sure; it being even more remarkable when one learns that for a brief period of five months during the year 1914/15 all four had been residing in Lhasa but at different places and pursuing different agendas! Of these four, Kawaguchi would depart the Tibetan capital for his homeland first, on 15 January 1915. Next would be Aoki in late January 1916, followed by Yajima two years later. The last of this quartet, Tokan Tada, would bid the Tibetan capital farewell in late 1923. None of them would ever return to Tibet again. Teramoto, of course, had taken his own leave from Tibet long before this series of departures. See Berry, *Monks, Spies and a Soldier of Fortune*, 101-3, 121, 141-7, 148, 158, 263.

It should be noted, incidentally, that later following their return to their homeland, three of these five travelers to Tibet would enter upon scholarly/professorial careers in Tibetology. Berry has summed up their subsequent lives as follows:

Like Kawaguchi, Aoki taught Tibetan and Tibetan studies, in his case at Tokyo Imperial University, and their academic rivalry may have been one cause of their conflict over certain manuscripts ... They were never on good terms after their return to Japan. Aoki ... certainly ... [had an] imperialist outlook, for when he was asked to set up a Tibetan Operation during the Second World War, he replied enthusiastically....

... [Tada] taught at Tohoku, Tokyo and Keio Universities, and like Aoki he served the militarists, though he seems to have done so rather less willingly ... [, he having to be] more or less coerced into cooperating with the military [on one occasion having to do with Japanese efforts to take over Inner Mongolia from the Chinese]....

... In spite of later learning excellent English and even teaching for a time in the U.S. during the 1950s, Tada remains one of the more obscure Japanese visitors to Lhasa. This is probably because he was first and foremost a scholar rather than a traveler or an adventurer, and he had very little to say about his travels or his life in Lhasa.... For example, when asked [by his students] how he had entered Tibet, his standard reply was: “I walked on the earth.” *Ibid.*, 162, 162-3, 171, 163.

† It is Scott Berry’s considered judgment that Kimura and his companion on the upcoming spy mission for the British, Kazumi Nishikawa, “were undoubtedly to become Japan’s greatest overland travelers. Only Kawaguchi compares with them, and even he spent only about half the amount of time on his remarkable travels as they did.” In fact, each of them would spend “eight years in disguise in a number of foreign countries, and each crossed the Himalayas something like seven times.” *Ibid.*, 177. Berry went on in his admiration of especially Nishikawa as a traveler/explorer from Inner Mongolia to and within the Snowy Land: he “was probably the most natural traveler of all the Japanese to visit Tibet. He had that compulsion to see what was over the next hill that is fatal to the born traveler in the way cards or dice are to the gambler, or gin to the alcoholic Indeed, the only travelers with whom he can really be compared are the Pundits and Kawaguchi, and perhaps Alexandra David-Neel. Even Kimura’s trip [from Kalgan to Lhasa with the Danzans] ... had been easy compared to his [over similar terrain and territory].... He traveled not only in the physical sense but, much like Kawaguchi he became deeply involved with the people, their ways of life, and their thoughts, wherever he went.” *Ibid.*, 292, 269.

The Russians had traditionally used Buriat Mongolians, and the most famous—a scholar monk named Dorjiev—had become so influential with the Thirteenth Dalai Lama that he was one of the main excuses for the Younghusband Mission. The Chinese found ethnic Tibetans born in Szechwan, Sikang and Yunnan to be useful spies to sneak through Tibet into India where they could lose themselves in the Chinatowns of the major cities. But it was undoubtedly the British, with their pundits recruited from among Sikkimese and hillmen from Tharchin's [Indo-Tibet] area who had established the most romantic tradition of undercover work. (JA 161)

Romance had unquestionably surrounded their achievements. The appointment in the 1860s and '70s of the Pundits, a remarkable brotherhood of Indian explorer-spies known collectively by that name, had derived its origins from the fact that by this period of the nineteenth century it had become quite apparent that there were huge gaps in the accurate geographical knowledge of the territories beyond British India's borders. And it was because of the "Great Game" geopolitical and military rivalry between Russia and Britain in Central Asia—with Tsarist power having reached as far south as the Pamirs, the Hindu Kush and the western borders of Chinese Turkestan—that made it imperative by the 1860s that British India become thoroughly conversant with the topography of western Tibet, and even Turkestan farther to the north, both conceivable gateways for Russian penetration south to the Subcontinent. Especially was it vital that the terrain of the Roof of the World be mapped out and studied for such strategic purposes. For nowhere, observes Charles Allen, "was this deficiency most obvious than in the vast unexplored regions of Tibet, where the famous Chinese imperial edict—that no Mogul, Hindustani, Pathan or *feringhi* should be admitted—was now being enforced with ever-increasing strictness." *Feringhi*, derived from the name Frank, referred to all Europeans. Yet, if foreigners such as these were not allowed entrance into the Forbidden Land, there were certain groups of people of mixed Tibetan origin who were allowed to cross the border. One such people were called the Bhotias or *Shokpas* who had settled along the Tibetan border areas of Garhwal and Kumaon in northwestern India not far from Tharchin's birthplace of Poo. Other such peoples were to be found in Sikkim and Lower Bengal in northeastern India near the Tibetan frontier. It was from the Northeast, in fact, where the illustrious Babu Sarat Chandra Das and his traveling Lama companion, Ugyen Gyatsho, had hailed.⁶⁷

Thanks to Rudyard Kipling, of course, the Pundits have forever been romantically linked with the Great Game political struggle between British India and Tsarist Russia. Yet these Pundits had never been "players" of the Game in any political sense, despite what Kipling in his famous novel *Kim* or British public opinion in India may have wished to believe. For although "secrecy, disguise and political subterfuge were certainly vital ingredients in their work," adds John MacGregor, even so, "... their masters were always the Survey of India."

The latter had for long made great use of Indian assistants, but it had never occurred to its officials, notes MacGregor, "to train them beyond a certain level or use them in anything but a subordinate capacity." But in 1863 it was proposed by Captain T. G. Montgomerie of the Survey of India at Dehra Dun, and upon the recommendations of Edmund Smyth—Kumaon's first Education Officer and one who knew the Bhotias very well there—to select most carefully a number of men from among these ethnic Tibetans "to be trained in all the

necessary skills, given an appropriate cover and disguise and then sent off on various missions across the border.” The very first to be appointed by Smyth was the renowned Nain Singh Rawat from the Garhwal-Kumaon districts; the very last to be selected, though not by Smyth, was the even more renowned Chandra Das from Chittagong in Lower Bengal (now Bangladesh). MacGregor was led to say of Das that “not since [Samuel] Turner had the Government of India so benefited from an observer who was articulate, perceptive, and truly scholarly in his approach.”

“Partly because of the clandestine nature of their work,” writes Allen, and “partly because that work has been regarded, since Indian independence, as being in some way unpatriotic, the achievements of the Pundits have never been widely acknowledged.” Yet “it was through them that the outside world ... gained detailed information about the Tibetan interior.”⁶⁸ In fact, one of the highest encomiums ever paid to the Pundits was that which one prominent English traveler in Tibet felt led to express in his volume recounting his experiences he had in 1922 in the Great Closed Land. Geologist Sir Henry Hayden, having just then retired as Director of the Geological Survey of India, had gone to Tibet in response to the Tibetan government’s request for the services of a geologist to advise regarding the development of Tibet’s mineral resources. Before he and his companion left Lhasa for the Tibetan highlands on a lengthy scientific and naturalist expedition, they had an audience with the Thirteenth Dalai Lama. Wrote Sir Henry some years afterwards:

No praise can be too high for the magnificent work done in Tibet by the Pundits; although their names are household words to those interested in the geography of Tibet, they are probably unknown outside that very small circle, yet the value of their work, both for quality and volume, places them in the highest rank of scientific explorers.... They were sent out ... to wander through Tibet,... traveling in such guise as the exigencies of their journeys might dictate. The consequences of detection were such that they carried their lives in their hands, and they were rarely able to take with them more than the most elementary equipment, such as a pocket compass and a sextant and other insignificant articles that could be hidden in their clothing or in a wallet. In spite of these handicaps they traveled thousands of miles, crossing Tibet from top to bottom and from end to end, and produced maps of their routes, for which those of us who have had the good fortune to revise their work under more favorable auspices have nothing but unstinted praise.⁶⁹

Following in the footsteps of such distinguished predecessors as these, Dawa Sangpo realized, would not be an easy exercise, given their talent, training, wisdom and courage; nevertheless, he would try his best to measure up to the high standards which they had set so long ago. “Musing on just who was behind my recruitment for this mission,” he afterwards recalled, “I could only wonder, particularly with Indian independence just around the corner, if when all was said and done, the last real Pundit might just be Japanese. Just like them I even had a number—AT55—although I was not to learn of this until later.” (*JA* 161) Whether or not, however, Hisao Kimura actually did constitute the last of the Pundits, of one thing this Japanese undercover agent was sure: he would leave Kalimpong no longer in the pay of His Majesty’s Imperial Government of Japan but in that of His Majesty’s Imperial Government of India.

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Joining a caravan of some 100 mules and 10 drivers bound for Lhasa, Dawa left Tharchin's hill town on 10 December 1946. (JA 157) He would traverse what was by now familiar terrain, and twenty days later he arrived at the Tibetan capital just as preparations for the three-week-long Monlam New Year's Festival were getting underway. (JA 161, 163) Upon his arrival Dawa went straight to one of the buildings in the fashionable Ko Kansar neighborhood where previously he had received the timely "loan" of money from Dilowa Gegen's disciple Namgyal Dalama that had enabled him and his two companions to come down to Kalimpong. Today, however, he would not need to borrow any funds, but he did deliver a letter from Tharchin to the Dilowa, who had preceded Dawa's arrival here by six months. The Dilowa, together with a large retinue, had now occupied the entire second floor, the space which his faithful disciple had for so long kept in readiness for him. And even though, as earlier noted, the search for the new Jetsun Dampa eventually came to naught, the Dilowa would remain a primary source of information for the Babu for as long as this High Lama remained in Lhasa.*

* Dilowa Gegen would in fact remain here only until 1948 or 1949 when through the assistance of Owen Lattimore, an eminent East Asian scholar and professor at Johns Hopkins University in America, he was taken to the United States to serve as the head of all Mongol Buddhists in that country. Settling in Farmingdale NJ he became the spiritual leader in particular of some one hundred Russian Kalmucks who had found their way to America as displaced persons from among the thousands of their ancestral countrymen who like them had been caught up in the vagaries of the European War of 1939-45. The Dilowa would also serve as research adviser on Mongolian affairs at Johns Hopkins University's School of International Relations, of which Professor Lattimore was Director for a number of years. The Buddhist leader would eventually die of cancer in New York on 7 April 1965, but during the intervening years he had maintained contact with Tharchin by correspondence. Sometimes the Dilowa would write letters himself; e.g., there is one to the Babu among the Tharchin Papers which he had sent from the University which was postmarked 30 March 1951. But his correspondence with Tharchin was primarily handled through the letter-writing assistance of Professor Lattimore. Among others who took an active interest in the Dilowa and the Farmingdale Kalmucks were the novelist Pearl S. Buck; the American scholar on Tibet, Yale University Library Adviser on Tibetan Literature Wesley E. Needham; and Eleanor Olson, curator of Oriental collections at the nearby Newark (NJ) Museum. During the 1940s and '50s, in fact, Needham carried on a correspondence with Tharchin as well.

As for Dalama, he too went to America, after hearing of the Dilowa's deteriorating state, stayed with him for sometime before the Dilowa died, and then remained in the United States until his own death later. Prior to Dalama's passing the Dilowa's disciple had worked at the University of California. See *Japanese Agent*, 219-20; Don Ross, "N. J. Buddhists Open Temple in Former Garage; 14th-Century Tibet Customs Blend with New U.S. Ones for Kalmuck's Ceremony," *New York Herald Tribune*, 24 Nov. 1952, p. 17, where is shown an excellent photograph of the Dilowa at the dedication ceremony, along with one of Miss Buck who was in attendance; and for exact death date of the Dilowa, Dalama's staying with him, and Dalama's University job, see letter, Dawa Sangpo [signed in Tibetan script] to Tharchin, Chiba City Japan, 18 March 1966, ThPaK.

During the entire Festival period Dawa would enjoy the sights, sounds and celebrations connected with it. He also visited Mrs. Tharchin's mother where he met Rigzin Wangpo, the Babu's nephew by marriage. Only with the conclusion of Monlam did the playing out of certain circumstances which had overtaken him some three weeks earlier permit his departure for Chamdo and the Sino-Tibetan border. These circumstances revolved around another Japanese then present in Lhasa, who like Kimura, had been a spy for Japan posing as a Mongolian monk, and was now, by his own desire and choice, engaged in religious studies at the vast Drepung Monastery nearby. This, of course, was Kazumi Nishikawa (b. 1918), who in the end would become—though indifferently, if not reluctantly, agreed to by Dawa—the latter's traveling companion on this latest spy mission of his. Scholar/writer Scott Berry, who utilized Nishikawa's account published in Japanese in 1968 and both of Kimura's narratives of his Central Asian travels (the first published in Japanese in 1958; the second, and much fuller account "as told to" Berry himself, published in English in 1990), reports on how it had all come about. He did this in his highly insightful volume, *Monks, Spies and a Soldier of Fortune: the Japanese in Tibet*, published in 1995.

Having arrived in the Tibetan capital on 1 January 1947 and learning that Nishikawa (as Lobsang Sangpo) was doing well in his Drepung studies, Kimura requested a monk connected with Dilowa Gegen's retinue to alert Lobsang that he, Dawa Sangpo, was in town. These two had only briefly met back in Inner Mongolia and just as briefly for only a few times down in Kalimpong; and hence, they hardly knew each other at this point. The next day Nishikawa came by to see Kimura, who revealed to Lobsang the spy assignment to Kham he was soon to commence undertaking for the British. According to Kimura's account, Nishikawa said that he would like to see Kham and was told by Dawa that he could accompany him if he wished, though Kimura let it be known in his published narrative that he privately felt that were he to have a fellow Japanese with him, it might expose them both to more danger. He would be happy enough, Kimura inwardly mused, to join by himself alone a caravan going east, he having thoroughly enjoyed his just-concluded caravan trip up to Lhasa from Kalimpong. As it turned out that day, Nishikawa would decline the offer, pleading a desire not to betray his Drepung instructors, in particular, his personal *guru* there, Yeshe Lama.

On the following day, 3 January, however, Lobsang Sangpo returned to Kimura to say that he had decided to team up with him, after all, if Dawa could wait till he had fulfilled his 21-day Monlam-related religious duties which were to begin the very next day, 4 January. Kimura, apparently not wishing to lose face by going back on his offer made the day before nor wanting to disappoint his fellow Japanese, agreed.

Nishikawa's published account, as reported by Berry, tells quite a different story. He portrays Kimura as one who was perplexed and fearful about even going on the intelligence mission he had agreed down in Kalimpong to undertake. Summarizing Nishikawa, Berry records him as reporting that Kimura broke out moaning that "if he did not complete his journey [to East Tibet] he could not return to India" and yet, that "he was afraid if he did go to Kham he would not return alive. He was even considering trying to sneak back to Inner Mongolia."

Needless to say, the above portrayal of Hisao Kimura flies in the face of all that is known about the character and personality of Kimura and smacks of a brazen attempt by Nishikawa to make himself appear to his Japanese audience to be, by comparison with his countryman Kimura, superior and certainly more courageous. Nishikawa's next words, as translated and provided by Berry, ring even more hollow:

Hearing his anguished words, the only thing I could think of to cheer him up was to ask if he wanted me to help him. It was natural that here under a foreign sky I should make this offer to my only countryman. Perhaps by taking this chance to explore the unknown road to Kham never taken by Japanese or foreigners before, we might some day help our country. My patriotism and sense of adventure made my blood boil with desire to go.

Though Berry, as noted earlier, is full of admiration and praise of Nishikawa as a traveler of the first rank, he himself felt compelled to question the truthfulness and sincerity of this passage, especially the concluding two sentences. "It was quite a mental feat," writes Berry, "to work patriotism into this rationalization. Had he not [already earlier reported in his travel account that he had] initially disapproved of Kimura's accepting the [spy] job on the grounds that it was not 'for the sake of Japan'?"

Berry went on in his critical commentary of Nishikawa and his travel narrative: "It is noteworthy that except for a few comic incidents early in his travels, Nishikawa never shows himself in a bad light. Kimura is honest enough to admit to an 'irritability and harshness towards my neighbors' brought on by years of enforced deception. He tells of losing his temper and doing things he was later ashamed of." On the other hand, Nishikawa, in his travel memoirs, "portrays himself as a paragon—a belief born, perhaps, of his extraordinary physical prowess coupled with his old-style Japanese patriotism."

Be all that as it may, in early February, Lobsang Sangpo got the permission from Yeshe Lama to withdraw temporarily from Drepung, on the excuse, reports Berry in summarizing Nishikawa, that he wished to go on pilgrimage for two or three weeks to Tibet's oldest monastery, Samye. Explained Nishikawa disingenuously (as translated by Berry):

I felt terrible about deceiving this teacher [Yeshe Lama] who had trusted me and who had taken care of me. It was also a shame to leave a place where I was trusted, fed and clothed, and to break off my studies in the middle. The only thing worse would have been to betray Kimura. I would not have been able to betray him even if I tried. Japanese blood flowed through our veins, and we had come here with the same motive.

According to Berry, however, Kimura in his travel record insists that "he was quite indifferent" whether Nishikawa would accompany him or not. Nevertheless, once the Festival was over, these two Japanese would definitely be traveling together—for good or ill—bound for the Sino-Tibetan border. In the meantime, now having to wait till Monlam had concluded, Dawa Sangpo immediately rented a small room above a noodle shop located behind the Jokhang Cathedral, bought supplies for the anticipated journey eastward and, in the shops and restaurants around town, quietly learned all he could from those knowledgeable

about the road ahead.^{69a}

So taken up with Lhasa and its New Year festivities would Dawa now be, however, that it did not dawn upon him till much later that his funds received from Tharchin were fast being swallowed up by his lengthening pleasurable stay at the Tibetan capital. "At this time," he continued, which was four days *further* beyond the Festival's end, "I was thinking to start for Kham because the Lhasa life needs much money; already more than 1/3 of my money has gone, so I thought it will be better to start earlier ..." Earlier, indeed!



Just here the reader should be made aware that all the information and quoted material in the preceding paragraph, as well as the fact of his delivering Tharchin's letter to the Dilowa, are not to be found in the *published* account of this covert mission for the British, which appeared as part of the contents of Kimura's later English-language volume dealing with his spy adventures in Central Asia and entitled *Japanese Agent in Tibet*. On the contrary, this published account, though quite substantial, illuminating and articulate, is not complete. Yet neither, for that matter, is Dawa's "Journal" account complete, though it is the source for the information just mentioned (and found in its opening pages).

This document the present author was fortunate to discover among the Tharchin Papers. It is written in longhand in both ink and pencil on 42 unnumbered pages of ruled paper that appear within a 46-page school exercise booklet. On the booklet's cover is written in red ink by the Babu the following semblance of a title: "Dawa Zangpo's Journal from K'pong to Kyi Kodo, Sent by G. Tharchin 1947." (Kyi Kodo was the Babu's Romanized spelling for the spelling used by Dawa in his Journal for Kikudo, that was in turn a form of Romanized spelling he had adopted for the more familiar form of spelling for the town name of Jyekundo, the Tibetan-populated former Amdo-provincial settlement that after 1928 was located just inside China's Chinghai Province; it represented the farthest point of travel eastward from Lhasa for Dawa before he and his fellow-Japanese companion on the journey turned back towards Lhasa and Kalimpong, having accomplished their mission.) Inside the booklet at the top of the first page of text there is but the one word, Journal, written by Dawa to serve as *his* title to the work. This discovered document thus constitutes another valuable source for details concerning Kimura's undercover mission to Kham and Tharchin's direct involvement in the spy mission.

When taken together, therefore, Dawa's unpublished Journal and Kimura's published account of 1990 can give a much more thorough picture of the mission than each could provide in isolation. For example, in the opening pages of the Journal Dawa had only supplied the most meager information regarding the journey between Kalimpong and Lhasa, his account mainly consisting of entries which were shorn of any details other than dates, place-to-place travel destinations for each day, and either the distance covered or number of hours spent on the trail. But the published account (*JA* 157-61) gives considerable space to such matters as the spy's relationship with the Khampa caravan drovers, quarreling

which erupted between caravans when they met each other from opposite directions on the trail, habits of the drovers while encamped, the secret agent's own participation in caring for the mules, descriptions of the halting places, etc.

On the other hand, whereas the published account is completely silent about Lhalu Shape, the Journal mentions on its 5th page Dawa's visit to his house in Lhasa and certain of the operative's personal observations:

I went to Sawang Lhalu's house with a letter of introduction from Mr. Tharchin [identifying Dawa as a Mongolian monk pilgrim on his way home and—in the manner of a passport—asking that he be permitted to pass through unhindered]. Lhalu was soon going to Chamdo in Kham [as that province's new Governor],⁷⁰ so I thought I may get some help from him later on. But this day I could not see him. I offered the letter through a servant and the reply to me was: "Come at Chamdo if you want anything." He was regarded as a pro-British man, but we cannot say. However, he is not [on] good [terms] with any of the Chinese.

And on the Journal's 19th page, Dawa records what later happened upon his arrival at Chamdo:

At evening we got to Chamdo at last. Miles: 517 from Lhasa to Chamdo (written on the milestone). We needed 46 days. I went to Sawang Yuthok's simshog [or sim-shag, the honorific Tibetan term for "residence"] with a letter of introduction from Mr. Tharchin. Here also, I could not see Yuthok [who was being replaced as Governor by Lhalu who had not yet arrived], but he sent me the reply through his assistant: Anything do you want? So I asked for the passport. Then Yuthok said (through his assistant), There will be no need of passport, no one will stop you in Tibetan territory. So I had to leave without a passport [and] this caused great trouble after a few days.*

In contrast to the Journal's full disclosure of the interaction between Dawa and Yuthok, in the published account (*JA* 169), and though it does mention the visit to the Governor (but without identifying him by name), all that is said is the following: "Although I approved of little that I heard of the Governor and his policies, I knew it would be wise to stay on the right side of him, so I presented the letter along with a *khata* at his headquarters in the rebuilt monastery above the town." These are but two of many instances wherein a more thorough view of the mission can be had by placing the two accounts side by side for review.

Yet the question needs to be raised as to just how, when and where Dawa was able to

* This statement of Dawa's, incidentally, is direct evidence that at least this entry had to have been set down *many* (and not even just a few) days after the event which it tells, for the "great trouble" of their later being arrested and incarcerated did not begin till 18 days afterwards. Another similar and even more significant clue as to when Dawa might have created his Journal is found on the document's 15th page, just one month into the journey from Lhasa that would last *four and a half months*. There Dawa has an entry which reads: "... Any kind of food is very very cheap. I think Showando was the cheapest place for food *throughout my journey*." (emphasis added) It would appear from these entries, therefore, that Dawa had composed much if not all of the Journal after the conclusion of the mission. This particular issue is raised and discussed in the next paragraph of the Text above.

create the Journal. As will be learned subsequently, the former Japanese agent was asked to make a report to the Tibetan Intelligence unit at Shillong, in advance of which he would spend time writing it up in English. It is the belief of the present author that Tharchin had most likely suggested to Dawa that he set down in diary form the substance of where he had gone, what he had encountered, whom he had met, and what he had observed all along the way. This could then serve as a basis for writing up the said report. The Babu may have even told Dawa before the latter had departed Kalimpong for Lhasa that he would be expected, immediately upon his return from the mission, to create such a diary of his undercover assignment while events would still be fresh in his mind. This he apparently did; yet Dawa Sangpo did far more than just record places, events, people and observations; he even set down his innermost thoughts and reactions to particularly unusual circumstances. The most remarkable example of this was an entry he made for an episode which occurred a little over a month into the journey out from Lhasa. It can be found on the 17th page of his Journal and is, to say the least, quite vivid, highly personal and very poignant in character:

Early morning we began to climb. Earth is frozen like iron. Beyond the first pass there spread out the endless snowfield and passes. Nothing could be seen but white. Second pass. Third pass. Fourth pass. Fifth pass. Oh! it was terrible (we had to cross six passes altogether). Carelessly, we did not prepare the colored glass [against the possibility of snow blindness], our eyes were completely harted [hurting]. I [became] exhausted on the top of the fifth pass. I threw my body onto the snow, lay there & covered the face with hands; the sun was just upon our heads. Giddy! Cannot open the eyes, tears coming out continuously. And I thought: Why do I have to suffer like this, Why came I for this journey, What wrong have I done against God's will, etc., with bitter [acts of] repentation [repentance].

Now because Dawa's Journal is so highly detailed and specific in providing dates, timings, distances traveled, place descriptions, and personal observations, one can only assume that he and his disguised companion must have devised some sort of surreptitious technique for recalling later such incredible specificity since, like the Indian explorer-Pundits of old, no incriminating notes could be carried on their persons or in their packs lest on being searched at any point along their journey such damaging evidence be discovered. At least twice, in fact, thorough searches *were* made of Dawa's and Lobsang's persons and belongings. At one place, for instance, the local chief of the Khampa border guard "searched us thoroughly and took apart our pack frames. This did not worry us since we were careful from the beginning to carry nothing suspicious ..." (*JA* 170; see the parallel entry for this event on the 24th page of Dawa's Journal)

But besides whatever unobtrusive method they had devised between themselves it ought to be pointed out as well that Dawa also had the luxury, once back in Kalimpong, of picking the brain of his companion Nishikawa. For the latter, instead of going back to his monastic studies at Drepung out of fear of having to face his guru Lama after so long an absence, had decided after arriving at Lhasa from Jyekundo to travel on southward to Kalimpong with his companion and compatriot. (*JA* 184) And hence, this meant that these two could sit down together, compare their own personal recollections of the adventure so recently concluded,

and thus provide Dawa with a more accurate and fuller body of information for creating the Journal than he could otherwise have recollected by himself.

There are, to be sure, a few discrepancies between the two accounts of Dawa's journey to East Tibet, but they are minor in character. Two instances of this come to mind: (1) On the 37th page of the Journal Dawa has it that the grievous loss through thievery of their one cooking pot for making hot tea had occurred *before* reaching the town of Seratse Karnatong; in the published account, however, Kimura intimates (*JA* 182) that the theft had happened *after departing* the town. And (2), the Journal record, showing specific date entries, makes it clear on its 26th page that the two spies were detained under house arrest at a place beyond Chamdo for *fourteen* days; the published record, on the other hand, states (*JA* 176) that it was only *ten* days. Nevertheless, such discrepancies do not in the least diminish the overall trustworthiness and value of either document.

It should be noted, finally, that Dawa, realizing how much Tharchin (and presumably British Intelligence) would be interested above all in every single thing Chinese, was always careful—almost to a fault—to indicate in his Journal every place visited in Tibet where either Chinese were currently present or had at one time been settlers or traders or soldiers there: even recording that they had been at a given place as long ago as during the late Manchu Imperial period that ended in 1912. A striking illustration of this appears on the 9th page where Dawa, in referring to the important crossroads town of Giamda, records the following: "During Chinese Ching Dynasty about 80 soldiers were here; at present here lives a Dzongpon ... from Central Tibetan government. The few Chinese traders who settled down are here."

All in all, the Pundits of old would have been proud of Dawa Sangpo; for his Journal, more so than the published account, evinces the fact that, like them, he had been an extremely keen observer and a master of detail, he even having, like them, employed personally-drawn pictorial illustrations in the margins to support some of his observations or to clarify recorded data. Nothing had escaped his notice, it seems, whether that have been concerned with topographical and geographical features; the local weather; horticultural and agricultural data; village and town layouts; measured distances covered; important landmarks; local history; domestic and community industry; trade and trading centers; people and their dress; ethnic and racial identities with particular habits and customs; etc. But, of course, uppermost in his mind was the detailing of any and every sign of what he had been sent to East Tibet to ferret out: whether or not the Chinese were indeed planning to launch an invasion of the country.

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This now well-seasoned British operative's answer to that key inquiry, so far as 1947 was concerned, was thoroughly and unequivocally negative. Though generally not stated directly, Dawa's answer can nonetheless be found in certain key passages which appear in

the published account, nearly all of which have their parallel message in the Journal. A sampling of several from the published account will suffice to indicate that the British spy had accomplished his mission admirably despite the untold hardships, dangers, and numerous close calls to life and limb.

1. At Chamdo, an excellent source of information for Dawa proved to be the caravan inns where “the caravan men were normally straightforward and honest”; here is how and what he found out there:

... a few cups of *chang* were usually sufficient to get whatever they knew out of them. I was able to conclude after a week in Chamdo that there was no unusual military activity in the area [along the “tea road” between here and the Chinese town of Tatsienlu well to the southeast where the “road” began]—and that the road to Tatsienlu was so infested with bandits that it would amount to suicide to try to go there at this time of year without a strong caravan. But since at this season the caravans were all going the other way, it was now time to continue on north to Jyekundo, another important caravan town where the Chinese were supposed to have an airfield and barracks.

2. Just outside Jyekundo in Chinese territory, at the dilapidated and hardly now used Panchen Lama Gomba, was an airfield that had been located, surveyed and marked out by the Americans Tolstoy and Dolan in 1942 but which had never been used during the War. Having traveled in the dark one evening, Dawa and Lobsang-Nishikawa had finally pitched camp for the night. Later the British agent would write of what they had stumbled upon:

In the morning we awoke in the middle of the very airfield I had been searching for. In fact little construction, save a few drainage ditches, marked this field [which was] a good natural clearing on a gentle slope ... There was only one building, a mud hut that looked abandoned, but the airfield seemed serviceable enough and probably could have been called into use at any time [but which so far had not].

3. At Jyekundo itself, Dawa and his companion again frequented the caravan inns and collected more information:

As in Chamdo, the caravan inns provided a ready source of intelligence, and I gathered that the Moslem Army [of Chinese warlord Mapufang] had little interest in Tibet. In fact while we were there the Moslem cavalry was mobilized and went in the other direction to fight the Outer Mongolians. The motorable road that had been constructed between here and Sining was no longer even passable, and local residents told me they had only ever seen two motor vehicles. Three days in Jyekundo were enough to find out everything we needed.

4. The two travelers were now more than ready to leave Jyekundo and head for home:

When we left town it meant we were on our way back to Lhasa, starting on what was supposed to be a motorable road to Nagchuka: but since there was no way for vehicles to get even as far as Jyekundo [from China’s Sining far to the northeast], this road was useless and just petered out after three days anyway.⁷¹



Although "proud of having survived," Dawa, together with his confrere in espionage, had found the final two or three weeks of their journey back to Lhasa physically touch-and-go: always tired, always hungry, and always "with no choice but to go blindly on." Yet arrive they did at the Tibetan capital, but totally broke, all their funds having been exhausted many weeks before. So it seemed quite reasonable to the British undercover agent that he could simply knock at the British Mission's door in Lhasa and request some money for the final leg of his journey down to Kalimpong. Full of confidence, Dawa was not, however, prepared for what awaited him there. "My reception," he wrote, "was somewhat less enthusiastic than I had anticipated." (JA 183)

Hugh Richardson, whom Dawa had already met at Kalimpong more than a year before, was still at Dekyi Lingka all right but now serving in a different capacity. "There are two reasons why I cannot help you," came the rather cold reply of the Britisher to the spy's request for funds. "One is that I am no longer the British Representative [he now serving Independent India]. The other is that even if I were, you have no right to divulge your mission, if true, to anyone, even to me"!! (JA 183) Interestingly, although Richardson had all along been aware of Tharchin's Intelligence connections with Eric Lambert,⁷² he more than likely had also been aware before this moment of Dawa's true identity and his connection with Gergan Tharchin. Nevertheless, the Mission Chief at Lhasa was perfectly correct, in the interests of security and confidentiality, to have chided Dawa for what he had just done.

Feeling rather dejected by this response, especially after his strenuous efforts of the previous months, Dawa left Richardson empty-handed, noting as he did so that the Mission compound now had flying above it the flag of newly-independent India. Years later in Tokyo Richardson and Kimura would meet and enjoy "a good laugh over the identity of the gaunt figure who had walked in, confidently expecting a loan." Three decades after the Tokyo encounter, having outlived the much younger ex-spy, Richardson would find himself reviewing the manuscript of *Japanese Agent* prior to its going to press. He would "remember with affection" its protagonist. (JA 184, 184n., and Publisher's Preface)

Right now, however, it was *déjà vu* time for Dawa, who once again found himself financially strapped in the Tibetan capital, unable on his own to get down to India. Fortunately for him and his compatriot, Dawa's former roommate at Mackenzie Cottage, Geshe Wangyal, who had continued to garner profits from his various business enterprises, was in town and was more than willing to loan them the needed funds.*⁷³ (JA 184) Exactly one week in the

* Dawa would see Tharchin's close friend a few times more in Lhasa over the next two years before the Japanese was expelled in 1949. The Geshe would himself leave Tibet, escaping via Gyantse to Kalimpong just before the Chinese Communists arrived in the Tibetan capital. (JA 220) The date of the latter event, as was learned at the end of the previous chapter, was mid-August 1951. The rest of the Geshe's extraordinary career (including his involvement with the American CIA) is laid out at some length for the reader in the end-note just now indicated in the Text above.

Tibetan capital would now be enough to get their health back, and off they went to Kalimpong. Wrote Kimura later: "With full bellies and no fear of robbers, our [strained] personal relations improved, and the three-week walk through southern Tibet in the summer was a real pleasure."^{73a}



The independence of India now meant that most government posts formerly occupied by the British were to be filled by Indians. One of these—Eric Lambert's Intelligence post at Shillong—would now be occupied, noted the ex-British spy, by none other than Lhatseren,⁷⁴ "whom I knew well." (*JA* 184) But it also meant that the prospect earlier held out by Lambert to Dawa for the British to plant him as an agent in Inner Mongolia was for all practical purposes completely out of the question: since, among other reasons, the British official had himself retired from India altogether in June well before Independence had been implemented in mid-August 1947.

Having been asked, most likely at the instruction of Lhatseren, to go to Shillong to make his report on the clandestine mission just concluded, Dawa, it is now believed, wrote out while yet in Kalimpong the *Journal* that was found among the Tharchin Papers. The fact that it *was* among the Babu's Papers and marked up with a title which *he* had given it would logically lead one to theorize with some degree of certainty that he had requested his undercover agent to prepare it for *his* (that is, the Babu's) information and guidance. But it was perhaps also meant to serve as an aid to Dawa in preparing the report for Shillong. Tharchin would naturally have been most interested to learn immediately what the Chinese might have been up to along the Sino-Tibetan border. And if, as a result of the intelligence gathered, warnings had needed to be sounded through the proper channels to the Tibetan authorities, he at least, if not his Intelligence colleagues in the Indian government, would most likely have done so. At this time, however, which was the autumn of 1947, nothing of the kind needed to be done. The situation would radically change, though, in just another two years with the triumph of the Communist Chinese over the Nationalists who had been too preoccupied defending themselves against the Red onslaught to have been at all concerned at this time with attempting any military effort to bring "back into the fold of the Great Motherland" what they as well as the Communists had always felt was China's wayward Tibetan minority nationality.⁷⁵

Now once the *Journal* had been completed (doubtless with the help of Lobsang-Nishikawa whom Dawa had meanwhile "set up with a job as typesetter at the Tibet Mirror Press") (*JA* 184), it is probable that the unemployed British agent had then used the *Journal* as the basis for writing up the report he would soon be filing with the Tibetan Intelligence unit at Shillong. Interestingly, Lobsang had not only assisted Dawa in creating his *Journal* but he had also drawn a map as his contribution to the report which was to be submitted at Shillong. This he

claims having done, as is mentioned in his published account of 1968 and cited by Scott Berry. In fact, writes Berry, Nishikawa claims further in his account that Tharchin had been so impressed with the map that "he could see," asserted the Japanese with not a little egotistical pride, that "I was not an ordinary person, but someone who could be useful."

So impressed was the Babu, adds Lobsang-Nishikawa, that when Dawa departed for Shillong, Tharchin asked the latter's accomplice to stay behind and create another and larger intelligence map of their spy travels. "It was a huge affair," explains Berry, "about six feet square, which took him about six weeks to complete"; and because Tharchin, being the secret agent that he was, did not wish anyone to learn what the disguised Japanese was up to, instructed him to work "in a closed and windowless room"! *75a

Whether Dawa composed the report at Kalimpong or Shillong is not known for certain; but the stronger likelihood is that he did so at Shillong where instructions on just exactly what the Oaklands officials were looking for and wanted to be included in the report would have been given to Dawa personally while there. In any case, "I continued on to Assam," Kimura would later explain, "where the turmoil I found in the Intelligence headquarters at 'Oaklands' made me wonder if anyone would ever read the report that it took me three weeks to write in English." (JA 184)

He would be very much mistaken, however. For early the following year Dawa would have in hand the best evidence possible for knowing that his report had indeed been read and that his mission had been deemed a success: he was *paid*, and paid *handsomely*. Here is how he described the transaction which did not take place till after his return from Shillong back to the hill station:

New Year 1948 found me still in Kalimpong, and in January Tharchin paid me for the mission to eastern Tibet. Someone must have been happy with my information, for the payment came to so much more than I had expected that even after giving a third of it to Nishikawa I was still better off than I could have imagined. It occurred to me, in fact, that I now had more money than at any time since one of those *annual* paydays in Kalgan when I would happily squander it all in the pleasure quarters ... (JA 187-8, emphasis added)

That "someone" would most certainly have been Lhatseren, for only he could have authorized payment and provided Tharchin with the funds to pay the former spy for his services. It

* According to Berry, Nishikawa had at first insisted in his published travel narrative that Tharchin had never penetrated his disguise as the Mongolian monk Lobsang Sangpo. "It was very important to Nishikawa to believe that no one ever" did penetrate it, notes Berry. It was apparently important for his ego. Later, however, he would admit that the Babu must have suspected as much. For had he not come to know about *Kimura's* disguise, Berry rhetorically asks? "Now suddenly," adds Berry, "an abnormally tall man who could draw maps, an ability never found in any Tibetan or Mongolian, turned up." Moreover, Kimura had asserted that his countryman's Mongolian speech had not really been that good. It is therefore inconceivable that the considerably astute Tharchin would not have been able to see through Nishikawa's disguise. *Monks, Spies and a Soldier of Fortune*, 307, 308. Nishikawa, incidentally, gave no credit to Kimura for setting him up with the Press job, in keeping, typically, with his desire to downplay Kimura's commendable qualities. *Ibid.*, 307.

should come as no surprise, incidentally, that throughout his published narrative of their travels together, Nishikawa never made mention receiving any money from Dawa, insisting instead, reports Berry, that he had always been on the edge of poverty. Lobsang had even accused his compatriot of having wastefully consumed, prior to his arrival at Lhasa to commence his spy mission, more than half the funds initially issued to him by the British through Tharchin down in Kalimpong. This and other outlandish accusations made by Nishikawa against Kimura the latter would later dismiss as “entirely fictional.”^{75b}



Meanwhile Dawa, a secret agent without an employer, resumed his duties in Tharchin’s Press office where he soon found himself “slipping back into the old routine as though nothing had happened.” (*JA* 186) “The Tharchins,” he noted, had even “invited me to stay at their house”; perhaps, though not mentioned, because Mackenzie Cottage was now fully occupied with other guests. (*JA* 199) Although for some time past he had not felt any pangs of homesickness for his country and people (no doubt in part due to Nishikawa’s presence), the Japanese expatriate nonetheless had the feeling in the back of his mind that he “could not be an exile playing a role forever” as Dawa Sangpo. Even so, for the time being he needed to save up some extra money for the expensive trip back to Japan which he now sensed was inevitable even if it was “still somewhere in the indefinite future.” (*JA* 188)

Accordingly, the unemployed spy turned to investing some of his newly-acquired undercover pay in kerosene for transport by mule to the Tibetan capital where, he explained in his memoirs of the period, it “held out the prospects of a good return.” (*JA* 188) But on the return journey from Lhasa, as it turned out, Dawa could now bring down for the markets of Calcutta the gold and silver belonging to the “Bad Mongolian Lama” Chodak (see again Chapter 21 for details) and exchange the cash garnered for dyes, gold paint and Italian coral which from Kalimpong he could then, along with his regular kerosene shipments, transport back up to Lhasa for sale. (*JA* 198-9, 201) Not bad in the least for this fledgling young businessman who saw in all this an opportunity to make his money grow sufficiently enough to underwrite all costs involved for the eventual return to his homeland and enough left over to begin the process of establishing there a new life for himself.

Yet Dawa’s new trading career also made it possible for him to serve as a useful and reliable courier for Tharchin who was always writing letters to his numerous friends at the Tibetan capital: those like Phuntsog Wangyal, Gedun Chopel, Dilowa Gegen and Geshe Wangyal. Tharchin knew he could depend on Dawa to deliver them safely to these friends. But he could also carry clandestine messages destined for the Babu’s several contacts within his informal intelligence network who were located in towns and settlements along the caravan trail up to Lhasa and in the capital itself. Though for all intents and purposes his spying career might be over, Dawa could still nonetheless be useful to Tharchin both in the Press office and on the field in Tibet.



In the meantime both Tharchin and Dawa would continue to serve the interests of the Indian government's Tibetan Intelligence unit in Shillong and its new Chief, Lhatseren. This is known from an examination of two related documents found among the Tharchin Papers whose dates have been verified as being early 1948. (These documents likewise reveal the fact, incidentally, that since Dawa's visit to "Oaklands" during the autumn of 1947, the Central Intelligence Office had by New Year 1948 moved to a new Shillong city district called Kench's Trace; moreover, its headquarters would no longer be known as "Oaklands" but "Dhrubendra Bhawan.") Now the first of these documents, a one-page sheet of text meant for Tharchin, is marked URGENT at the top and its text is in Lha Tsering's inked handwriting; and though it is undated, by comparing its contents with that of the other document and using other evidence available, it is definitely known that it was composed in early January 1948. It is also known by a comparison of the two that this urgent missive had been delivered to Tharchin by Dawa himself on behalf of Lhatseren who was in Kalimpong at the time but was heading back to Shillong, having missed seeing the Babu due to his unavailability for some reason and therefore leaving the message with Dawa to deliver safely into Tharchin's hands. Having requested in the communication certain intelligence from the Babu, Lhatseren had instructed him to send the information to him c/o Dhrubendra Bhawan in Shillong.

The second document—a typewritten letter to Tharchin sent by Lhatseren and signed "LTsering" [*sic*]—mentions having left the first document of instructions with Dawa. This second communication is dated "'Dhrubendra Bhawan', Kench's Trace, Shillong, the 15th Feb." and is addressed "Dear Mr. T." From both internal and external evidence, once again the year for the date has to be 1948, especially since the chronology of Dawa's movements in the Kimura volume confirms that the only year during his on-and-off stay in Kalimpong when he could have been there in a *January* was 1948. In both communications Lhatseren had been seeking urgent intelligence on a number of matters, but on two in particular, one of which was common to both requests for information: it concerned the whereabouts of Topgyay, the youngest of the three lay Pangdatsang brothers and the acknowledged military leader of the Khampa warriors in East Tibet. In the earlier of the two requests, the Intelligence Chief inquires:

A servant of Thangmey stated that he saw Tobgay, brother of [Yangpel] Pangdatsang, at Phari in December last [1947] when he was coming down to India with his master. Tobgay was reported to be going up to Lhasa with his family. I don't think it is true; however, please find out.

And in the second of the two requests for intelligence, Lha Tsering writes:

I have not heard from you for a very long time and I hope you are not ill.
I left several instructions with Dawa for which I am waiting reply from you.

Please let me know the following immediately after careful inquiries.

(1) All about Abdul Wahid,⁷⁶ where he was born and educated. What he was doing previously before he left for China. Why he went to China etc., etc.

(2) [Here there is a repeat inquiry relative to the Pangdatsang brother, and then he adds:] I think I wrote you once already in this connection. Please send me all the news which you have collected so far as I have not heard from you now in more than a month.

It is obvious from all the above that India's Tibetan Intelligence unit in Shillong, now headquartered at Dhruvendra Bhawan, was still very much dependent upon Tharchin's informal intelligence apparatus—and urgently so. In addition, though no longer employing Dawa as a secret agent on the field, its staff could still find ways in which to use Dawa on behalf of its ongoing operations.

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So far as Dawa was concerned, however, this would all soon come to an end. Having returned to Lhasa by July of 1948 on another of his numerous business trips, the ex-British spy would now linger in the Tibetan capital for nearly a whole year and was therefore present when the Government in early July of 1949 issued its stunning expulsion order calling for the departure of all Chinese residents from the country within a week. (*JA* 201, 205) Yet, as was learned earlier in Chapter 23, the deportation edict held profound meaning for Dawa himself. This was because he and others the authorities deemed undesirable, such as his Tibetan Communist intellectual friend Phuntsog Wangyal, were also ordered to leave Tibet. As Kimura would explain long afterwards:

The Government used this as an occasion to get rid of anyone they considered politically undesirable, as well as ethnic Tibetans from western China, and this inevitably involved true patriots and innocent bystanders. Phuntsog Wangyal was one of the former, and I was one of the latter. Phuntsog was a man who had perhaps been a little too fearless and open in making his views known to the Government, I had been a little too open in my association with him. My shares in the ill-fated [Chinese-owned and -operated Lhasa] restaurant were another point against me. (*JA* 205-6)

Though the deportation order was meant to be implemented within just one week, it would not be till well into July and perhaps not even till early August before Dawa, in company with Phuntsog Wangyal and his newly-wedded Moslem bride, would even leave Lhasa, let alone Tibet (the latter itself not finally occurring at the Jelep La till many weeks after that!). Meanwhile, unaware of what was about to break in on their lives not many days hence, Dawa and his Khampa friend were continuing to enjoy life in Lhasa together. This is known from a letter sent to Tharchin by his indefatigable Lhasa-informant Sonam

Kazi. It is clear from the Kazi's letter of 19 June that Dawa and Phuntsog were still very much at the Tibetan capital. So also still there was Phuntsog's younger brother Thuwang (aka Kesang Tsering) who, too, was to be marked for deportation. But the letter indicates as well that Hugh Richardson would now make an unusual request of Dawa for the latter to undertake in New Delhi on his next trip back to India, whenever that would be. The nature of the request tends to confirm the notion that Dawa's command of the Tibetan language had considerably improved since his early days at Kalimpong. Here is what the Kazi could report of these matters to the Babu:

Dawa Sangpo is in Lhasa and so is Phuntsog Wangyal. They are great friends and are quite happy.... [Kesang Tsering] is also with them.... There is talk heard from Dawa Sangpo of [a] Tibetan Broadcast from All I. R. [All India Radio]; ... Dawa was asked by Mr. Richardson to do it. He refuses to go [to New Delhi?]. I told him [i.e., Dawa] to suggest Cho La Tsewang La and me for this job. I would translate it and Cho La [a relative of Tharchin's Lhasa-born wife Karma Dechhen] can make it a better Tibetan and broadcast [it] in a Tibetan tone. I don't know what will turn up....⁷⁷

The background to this request by Richardson is probably to be found in the latter's publication for the British Government of India prepared by him in 1944 for his Government and published in 1945. Entitled *Tibetan Precis*, it constituted a summary overview of Anglo-Tibetan relations conducted over many decades. In the section on "British Propaganda in Tibet," the British diplomat made the following comments within his discussion of the larger context of Britain's two major policy aims in Tibet (helping her to remain independent, and preserving and improving the existing good relations between the two countries):

The Chinese [Nationalists] have recently increased their broadcasts in Tibetan in which they seek to make the Tibetans feel that they belong to China. We have not yet succeeded in arranging broadcasts in Tibetan from India in answer to this, and if we were to do so our object would be not so much to controvert Chinese claims by direct argument, as to divert attention from their programmes by providing a superior counter-attraction, and to show that the Chinese have not a monopoly of the air.

The fact that there are only a few radio receiving sets in Lhasa should not be allowed to obscure the importance of this activity. News travels fast in Lhasa, and the possessors of sets are persons likely to influence opinion.

Furthermore, just a year earlier, Political Officer Hopkinson had indicated that during World War II the Tibetan government, finally having awakened to the need for establishing a Tibetan broadcasting service, had itself requested of the British that efforts be made to accomplish this; but back then, he added, it "never got beyond the experimental stage." Such efforts, he later wrote, "are not worth pursuing unless at least, which has [hitherto] not been the case, the Tibetan government are willing actively to co-operate by deputing suitable personnel." What Richardson was now proposing to Dawa Sangpo in 1949 was apparently a consequence of this kind of thinking and proposed action Richardson had much earlier enunciated in his publication.⁷⁸

With respect to the Kazi's observation concerning Phuntsog's apparent *joie de vivre*, this is confirmed by Kimura's description of what happened once the deportees finally made their exodus out of the capital and began the long march down to the Chumbi Valley under the wary eye of a Tibetan Army escort:

Of the fifty or sixty people on that trek, including some Tibetan wives who had chosen to accompany their Chinese husbands, only the young couple looked happy. Escorted by Tibetan troops our unwieldy caravan, which included city-bred women and children, took more than twice the normal time to get to the Chumbi Valley. Once we arrived in Chumbi we were held up for another three weeks, for this exodus had taken the Indians by surprise, and they needed some time to prepare for the arrival of such a large number of people being expelled as potential Communist agents. (*JA* 206)

In the Chumbi Valley the Babu had another faithful informant, Migma Dorje,⁷⁹ who apprised Tharchin of the situation there. In the first of two informative letters sent in August 1949, Migma, a Christian civil servant on the staff at the Indian Trade Agency at Yatung, could report the following, including a naïve reference to Dawa himself. He began as follows:

On the 26th July, five Chinese arrived from Shigatse, on 30th 11 from Lhasa, on 1st Aug 18 from Lhasa, on 7th 40 Chinese with the Head of the [Chinese] Mission including children have arrived and all of them are staying at [the nearby town of] Chumbi.

It was no doubt with this latter batch that Dawa and his Communist friends had left Lhasa. As though to underscore the seriousness with which the Tibetan government had viewed its decisive action, Migma wrote: "There is no question of their expulsion, and if anybody [were to] raise such question, he would be shot"! He then continued with his report:

Chinese traders are in _____ [undecipherable word; jail?], those [Chinese] who are jobless, and in monasteries like half-Chinese, or Koko [i.e., from the Kokonor area of China's Chinghai Province], or Mongolian [which would therefore include the disguised Hisao Kimura], are in this party. Many people of this place say there is one young Mongolian who studied English and Tibetan with you about two years; he is short and white complexion [obviously a reference to Dawa, though Migma was not aware of his having been a secret agent for the Indian government]. I think these parties have to wait a few days for their passports etc.

As Kimura himself had stated, it would in fact be a long wait for these deportees before they would be able to resume their journey to the Indian border. In his second letter Tharchin's meticulous informant could write on the 22nd of August that a total of 124 Chinese men, women and children (including the non-Chinese expelled from Lhasa) had left the Chumbi area for the Jelep La in three batches: the first consisting of 50 leaving on 16th August; the second, including the Chinese Mission Head Mr. Chen, two days later; and the third, with 30 deportees, two days after that. With respect to the first two, Migma wrote:

I was with them up to Kupup. Escorts were about twenty Tibetan soldiers with two buglers and two bagpipes [along with many Tibetan officials]. They came to just below the Pass at Kupup side where there is a level ground. There were three tents, and tiffin and tea etc., managed by the Tibetans for Mr. Chen's party, having a Chinese eating party ... On the top of the Pass there were only four Sikkim police to take over charge.

Unfortunately for the first and third batches, Migma added, "there was no tiffin etc." for them!⁸⁰

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Arriving in Kalimpong on or about the first of September 1949, Dawa sought out his various friends to say a final goodbye. There is no record in either the Kimura volume or the Tharchin Papers about his final time with his "surrogate father" and Intelligence superior, Babu Tharchin. But there is one curious document among the Papers which might be related to an attempt by the former British spy to bid farewell to his former Intelligence Chief Lhatseren. It is not too much to assume that he was in the Kalimpong area at this time in connection with very important security arrangements for so many "undesirables" and "potential Communist agents" from Ü-Tsang in Tibet who had so abruptly and unceremoniously inundated the Darjeeling District on their way down to Calcutta.

From other sources of information it is known that Lhatseren was the kind of person who could easily be curt and quite dismissive of people, especially if interrupted, irritated or angered by them for some reason.⁸¹ And the present document—a note by Dawa—is illustrative of precisely this kind of reaction on the part of whoever was the subject of the note. It is a brief inked handwritten message to the Babu, obviously composed in Kalimpong; but unfortunately it is undated. The note in its entirety reads as follows:

Dear Babu La

Just to inform you I went just now but I could not see him, [he] saying too tired to talk with me; I was turned out. Of course, I could guess that he was a bit angry about me, [rest of sentence crossed out which reads: but if this is the way to treat me].

So if you kindly send this note [obviously another note attached to this one] to him tomorrow or this evening, I should be grateful.

Yours sincerely

Dawa

If the person in question visited by Dawa was indeed Lhatseren, then the anger towards Dawa alluded to in the message was probably due to the former spy: (a) having associated himself too closely with known Communists; (b) having thus been numbered among those whom the Tibetan government now deemed *persona non grata* within its territory; and (c)

having forever forfeited the possibility of his once again serving as an undercover agent on behalf of Tibetan Intelligence.

What had therefore most likely happened was that upon Dawa paying his respects to Tharchin and his family the Babu had then apprised him of Lhatseren's anger and disappointment over the former agent's indiscreet conduct in Lhasa and the disastrous consequence from Lhatseren's perspective which had ultimately flowed from that. Upon hearing this, Dawa—either at the suggestion of Tharchin or on his own initiative—immediately decided to visit the Intelligence Chief personally to try to salvage the situation before leaving that very day Calcutta-bound. He may have had in mind to give an explanation of his close friendship with those whose aspirations were bent entirely towards effecting a needful Tibetan reformation before it was too late, and to try to be reconciled with his former top boss.

From the opening sentence of the note it is clear that the Babu knew without any identification necessary who the “him” was since it is obvious that the two of them had talked about “him” just prior to Dawa going to see Lhatseren (if that is who “him” was). But having failed in his attempt to see his former friend of earlier spying days, Dawa, already delayed and in a hurry to be off south to meet Phuntsog Wangyal in Calcutta and not finding Tharchin in at either his office or residence, now writes for the Babu a hurried note of explanation of what had just happened at Lhatseren's home and encloses a second note asking that it be delivered either that evening or the following day to Lha Tsering in one final attempt to be reconciled with him.*

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Concluding his time in Kalimpong as rapidly as possible, Dawa would leave for Calcutta but stop off briefly near Siliguri to bid farewell to Nishikawa. By this time the latter had already left the Mirror Press, even though the newspaper editor had offered him a three-year contract to stay and work on the *Tibet Mirror* and had even offered to find a wife for him. In his published travel account Nishikawa makes it clear that he had accepted Tharchin's initial job on the staff primarily because of the reference books and dictionaries which would be available in the Babu's library and office for studying Hindi, Urdu, Nepali and Tibetan. “Wherever you travel,” he would later recall saying at this period in his life, “language

* If the present author's assumption is correct that Lhatseren was the “him” in Dawa's note, it is not known whether these two were ever reconciled. Interestingly, the Intelligence Chief is mentioned in one of Kimura's letters to Tharchin he sent from Japan in 1956. In it he kindly offers some assistance to Lhatseren with respect to a certain security matter involving Japanese visitors to Kalimpong; but again, he employs Tharchin as an intermediary rather than dealing directly with his former Chief. He writes: “Please tell Mr. Lhatsering [*sic*] that I can supply the information (if he needs) about most of the Japanese who will visit Kalimpong area in future. I do not mean any offense; I came to know the fact recently that a Japanese went to the Indian Embassy in Tokyo and protested against certain treatment he received in Kalimpong. (I can well imagine why he was treated in that way.) It might be nothing at all, but still it will be better to carry out the thing unnoticed.” Dasang [= Dawa Sangpo] to Babula, [Japan], 25 Oct. 1956, ThPaK.

is more important than money." Nevertheless, anxious for future travel and exploration, even to such distant places beyond India like the Middle East and Burma, he had quit the Press job and departed Kalimpong for a better-paying one as a railroad laborer down near Siliguri, intending later to go first to Burma.^{81a} (Too long a story to detail here, it is sufficient to say that like Dawa, Lobsang Sangpo would eventually end up back in Japan to begin his life anew and intent on publishing his own narrative of his travel exploits that, unfortunately, would include a raft of less-than-charitable comments about Kimura.)*^{81b}

Hastening on, then, to Calcutta, Dawa was hoping to have a rendezvous there with Phuntsog Wangyal, for he had been thinking to accompany him and his bride to the Tibetan Communist's new location in Yunnan Province of western China at a place near the Tibetan border,⁸² and from there, perhaps, eventually making his way back to Japan. And if, by the time he did meet up with Phuntsog in Calcutta and definitely wished to go to China, he would travel with him and his wife along with the rest of the "Chinese" deportees. As it turned out, however, Dawa's time in Tharchin's hill station had apparently delayed him too long; for upon his arrival in Calcutta he learned that his friends had already left for Yunnan (see *JA* 208-9), more than likely because of pressure from the Indian authorities who no more wished to see these "undesirables" on their soil any longer than necessary than had the Tibetan government on theirs. The next best thing was to try to obtain a visa at the Chinese Embassy, "though by this time," Kimura noted, "there was little enough of Nationalist China left." (*JA* 208) But while waiting for this to come through, the Japanese expatriate was suddenly overwhelmed with deep pangs of homesickness for his country once again. "The next day," Kimura wrote in his memoirs, "I turned myself in to the Police Security Control," now throwing himself on the mercy of the Indian government. (*JA* 210) Only after an inordinately long repatriation procedure was Hisao Kimura, alias Dawa Sangpo, finally placed aboard a ship bound for Japan. The date was 10 May 1950. (*JA* 211)

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By this time, of course, the predominantly American occupation of the Japanese home islands was in full swing. Because of his background and talents the former undercover agent was soon introduced to the Foreign Broadcast Information Service (FBIS), a service arm of America's Central Intelligence Agency. "Once more," wrote Kimura in the Epilogue to his memoirs of the period,

I would be involved in intelligence, for yet a third country, but this would be by far the least risky and highest paying job I had ever done. All I had to do was monitor daily programs in Mongolian from Radio Moscow, Radio Ulan Bator, and Radio Peking, write out summaries in English of the contents of any items ordered by Washington, and write an annual report on the characteristics of the broadcasts. It was a very comfortable position, and I worked happily for twenty-seven years. (*JA* 213)

* "Less-than-charitable comments" is an understatement, deserving that an explanation be given. This the reader can find in the end-note indicated above.

At one point during the latter period of his service with the FBIS, Kimura had begun teaching Mongolian part-time at Tokyo's Asia University and continued to do so till 1977, which was the year following his departure from the FBIS. For in that year he achieved tenure as a full professor in the University's Central Asian Studies Department.

In the meantime, by 1952 Kimura felt secure enough financially to finally marry and begin raising a family. (*JA* 214) But his ties with his dear friend Babula would never cease, despite the many miles which now separated them. Indeed, as was noted earlier, his first encounter with Tharchin back in the autumn of 1945 had inaugurated a most unusual and close friendship between these two that by means of a frequent correspondence and one return visit to Kalimpong and the Babu's family that occurred in the latter 1960s would last till Tharchin's death in 1976.⁸³ In fact, from the very beginning of their separation Kimura would evince in his letters the special place he had in his heart for Tharchin and his family. This is evident in the earliest extant letter of his from Japan that was found among the Tharchin Papers. Dated 6 December 1950, barely seven months since he had departed Calcutta, he wrote from Tokyo as follows: "On receiving your kind letter and a few copies of your newspaper some time ago, I was deeply impressed and indescribably glad to learn that you and your family are keeping so well. Since I came back to Japan I am having a pretty busy time for the preparation of a new life to start ..." But then, because the first Christmas this non-Christian would experience back in his home country in over ten years was coming soon, Kimura's thoughts naturally reverted to those times in the Tharchin home which had meant so much to him during his first lonely days five years before in far-off Kalimpong. For in a postscript to his letter—after signing it "Dawa Sangpo or Kimura, Hisao"—the former secret agent of Tharchin's was moved to reminisce: "As the Xmas approaches I often recall the warm gathering on the occasion of Xmas at your home. Please pass on my best wishes to the people who might gather round you on the holy night this year."

There would be other times in the years ahead, however, when the ex-Japanese spy, now pressed beyond measure with so much responsibility, would indulge in wistful reminiscence of those long-ago years of freedom when as a vagabond of sorts he had wandered along the vast open stretches of grasslands and barren wastes of Central Asia. For in a postscript to one of his many letters sent to the Babu and marked for the latter's son Sherab, this bosom friend of the Tharchin family, writing in 1962 and still signing it out of habit as Dawa Sangpo, had this to say of days gone by:

... thank you for your letter. I am glad to hear that you are helping your father well. I must write you a long letter one day. However, I regret to say that I have almost [had] no free time [for] around a year. Sometimes, I recall my life in the old days—I was free like a bird; but now, heavy responsibility ties me up, day and night, at the office and at home. Man's responsibility grows bigger and bigger as he gets older. Please be a good assistant to your father.... I will send you some Japanese coins. This much today.

On his part Tharchin, throughout the many years which were to follow, would have his own way of reciprocating his Japanese friend's sentiments of warmth and friendship. That he had continually retained a very warm place in his heart for Kimura is reflected, for

example, in a sentiment he had expressed about him in a letter he wrote to a pharmaceutical firm in Tokyo in 1967. The Japanese had introduced the Babu to a "heart medicine" for his enlarged and weak heart from which he had been suffering considerable pain and discomfort for quite some time. It had proved to be remarkably helpful and so he wrote a letter of thanks to the firm's Director in which, among other things, he indicated that it was "through my best and kind friend Mr. Hisao Kimura" that he had come to know about the firm and its effective medicine. At the same time he also wrote a letter to Kimura to let him know he had finally sent a "thank you" to the pharmaceutical company, a letter in which the Babu had opened with the heartwarming salutation, "My dear Mr. Dawa la"—a further indication of his continuing warm feeling he felt towards his former secret operative.* And in a subsequent letter which Tharchin sent Kimura three months later, the salutation was worded even more warmly: "My dear kind friend Dawa la."⁸⁴

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It should be noted as well that Kimura maintained an ongoing interest in things Tibetan. A review of the correspondence he carried on with the Babu, covering a period of some twenty-five years, makes it clear that the Japanese never lost interest in Tibet nor in Tharchin's involvement on behalf of her best interests. Whether it be renewing his subscription to the *Tibet Mirror*; or asking about Phuntsog Wangyal's whereabouts,† discussing the latest

* Just the year before, Kimura, who as earlier noted still often signed his letters to Tharchin as Dawa Sangpo (even sometimes doing so in Tibetan script), told the Babu a charming story in one of his letters which is illustrative of the enduring relationship which existed between the older Tharchin and the younger Dawa, and also reveals the latter's wonderful sense of humor:

There is an interesting story which might amuse you. A famous Japanese playwright asked me to tell him some twenty Tibetan names which he needed in his play. From the list he selected Tharchin as the name for a crown prince and Dawa for the younger-brother prince. As the story of the play goes, the Crown Prince—who is married to a French lady—came back to his kingdom in the Himalayas, but the lady was not happy with the Crown Prince who was so strict with himself and faithful to a spiritual life. His brother, the younger Prince, sympathized and fell in love with her, and they tried to run away from the kingdom; but they both die together in a snow avalanche. It is obvious that the playwright had gotten the idea from the marriage of Sikkim's Gyase Rimpoche. It was a beautiful musical drama and was quite popular in Tokyo. Just imagine, Japanese actors shouting on the theater's stage: "Oh, Crown Prince Tharchin ..." and "Dear brother Dawa ..." I hope this imaginary scene will make you smile.

Letter, [signed as Dawa Sangpo in Tibetan script] to Tharchin, Chiba City Japan, 18 March 1966. ThPaK.

† The reader will be interested to learn that Kimura would once again be able to meet his Communist friend—not just once, but several times—whenever the spy-turned-scholar/professor would need to travel through Beijing on his various research/lecture journeys into East and Central Asia. These encounters, of course, did not occur till after Phuntsog Wangyal had been released from prison in 1978 following the end of Mao's disastrous Cultural Revolution. Meanwhile, Phuntsog's Moslem wife from Lhasa had died during his nearly twenty years' imprisonment in Beijing's notorious Qincheng Prison. Writes Scott Berry, who shared the fact of the re-encounters between these two friends of yesteryear: "The fate of Phuntsog Wangyal shows clearly how little China's takeover of Tibet had to do with socialist principles." *Monks, Spies and a Soldier of Fortune*. 328.

developments surrounding the Tibet Autonomous Region Preparatory Committee, and inquiring about the “Mimang” resistance movement inside Tibet; or enclosing copies of the Chinese laws governing trade and customs affairs in the Tibet region; or arranging for bright Tibetan boys and girls to be brought to Japan for education and training (which proved most successful); or reporting on Mao Tse-tung’s latest interview—this one with American journalist Edgar Snow—for the benefit of the Babu’s newspaper; or commenting at length about China’s failing diplomatic efforts worldwide but simultaneously strengthening her internal administration over her border regions like Tibet, and China’s push forward on an intermarriage policy with Tibet, Inner Mongolia, Sinkiang and other minority regions leading to the “chinarization” of all the different bloods: all these issues and concerns the former Japanese spy would continually write about in his many letters to his dear Tibetan friend.⁸⁵ Nothing, it seemed, escaped his attention when it came to Tibet and Tibetan affairs relative to China’s takeover and administration of the Roof of the World since 1950.

Though Kimura would never be as virulently anti-Communist as his Indo-Tibetan correspondent, both had been adamantly opposed to Communist China’s imposition of herself forcibly upon Tibet. In the concluding pages to his volume detailing his Central Asian spy missions, Kimura made it clear which side he came down upon in the seemingly endless Sino-Tibetan struggle of the last half-century. “Tibet,” he emphatically declared, “can only be looked at today as one of Socialism’s sorriest failures: an unwanted revolution imposed from the outside on a people with no desire for an understanding of twentieth-century revolutionary change.” Though Chinese Socialism of the Communist variety, he admitted, may have done much good in China herself during the early stages of the Communist revolution there, when that same Socialism “is imposed from outside on peoples who are not so desperate [as were the Chinese under the Kuomintang government] and have not called for it themselves, it is doomed to failure.” There was no doubt in the least, he concluded, that “Tibet was in need of change, but it needed its own kind of change, in its own time and under its own leaders.” (*JA* 221, 222)

To much of this the Babu could give his wholehearted assent. As was noted earlier, he himself had repeatedly warned the Lhasan aristocrats that unless changes were effected in the Tibetan polity, China would impose her own kind of change and in her own violent way. As a matter of fact, Tibetans in Kalimpong and elsewhere, it was said, had looked upon Tharchin as something of a prophet in the 1940s and early ’50s in respect of Tibet’s future. For frequently during this period, in sermons he would deliver in the Tibetan congregational service or in the combined Tibetan-Nepali service, both held at the Macfarlane Memorial Church, the Christian Babu would issue warnings of impending disaster he foresaw was coming upon the Tibetan nation at the hands of the Chinese.⁸⁶ Indeed, it came to be the view of one prominent Kalimpong Buddhist leader and close friend of the Babu that because of the accuracy of the predictions, “Tharchin must have received insight and blessings from his Jesus.”⁸⁷ Sadly, however, few Tibetans had paid any heed.



One can be fairly certain that Gergan Tharchin never ceased his services in the Intelligence program as long as the Indian government sought his assistance. Indeed, given the fact that, as one scholar on Indo-Tibetan affairs has observed, there appears to have been a high degree of institutional continuity in India's governmental bureaucracy, at least during the initial period of her independence, it is reasonable to assume that Babu Tharchin maintained his connections with Indian Intelligence for some little while after Hisao Kimura's involvement had been terminated.^{87a} It must be added, however, that no evidence from the Tharchin Papers or from other relevant sources has thus far surfaced in support of this assumption.

On the other hand, one can be absolutely certain that the Babu gradually came to see that the greatest weapon in his arsenal with which to carry on the struggle against the Chinese threat was his Tibetan newspaper. Like numerous other defenders of the truth before him, he felt an editor's pen could be mightier than a soldier's weapon of war—an echo, of course, of the well-known Western aphorism that "the pen is mightier than the sword." Apropos of this, in fact, is the story which was told to the present writer by Tharchin's daughter-in-law Nini. Following China's invasion of Tibet in 1950, many Tibetan friends of the Babu began frequenting the newspaper publisher's home, engaging in animated conversations from morning till night about the political and military situation that was then engulfing Tibet. During these talks, which she could not help overhearing, Nini often heard the editor of the *Tibet Mirror* declare to them a now-famous line of his: "The Khampas in Tibet are fighting the Chinese with swords and guns; but I am fighting them with pens!" Others in Kalimpong interviewed by the present writer—those such as Tharchin's son Sherab Gyamtsho and the then President of the influential Tibetan organization Pache, Jorga by name—have likewise recalled having themselves heard this same observation fall from the Babu's lips on numerous occasions.⁸⁸

Among other things, therefore, this strategically-placed newspaper editor realized that there was a rich potential for airing various ideas and opinions on the Tibetan situation as a means of engaging in public debate on the issues involved. As was learned two chapters earlier, Tharchin provided space in the *Mirror* for the scholarly and politically-oriented writings of Gedun Chopel who though very much a Tibetan nationalist had also "flirted" with Socialist/Communist ideology. It not only published articles by pro-republican writers but also even by advocates of a pro-Chinese policy for Tibet.

In all this one can discern the fact that Gergan Tharchin was conducting himself as a good editor who was more than willing to provide a forum for writers with different points of view to express themselves freely. Indeed, according to the prominent and close Buddhist friend of the Babu's in Kalimpong alluded to earlier, the Venerable Kusho Wangchuk, Tharchin "was always thinking about Tibet and her future and would continually publish his own opinions on the matter in the *Tibet Mirror*, at the same time also soliciting the public's various opinions so that he might publish them as well in his newspaper."⁸⁹

One such opinion was sent to the Babu by his very close and dear friend Atuk Tshering, whose thoughts on the issues of the day he always greatly valued. A former Kalimpong Inspector of Police, later Deputy Superintendent of Police with the I.A.R.F. at Barrackpore India, and still later a Deputy Central Intelligence Officer with the Subsidiary Intelligence Bureau for West Bengal in the Central Government's Ministry of Home Affairs, Atuk, just a few months prior to China's invasion of Kham in 1950, wrote a remarkable letter which must have left a deep impression on the newspaper editor; for it echoed some of the sentiments which had been expressed some twenty years earlier by the Great Thirteenth in his political testament. In the letter Atuk is found making reference to those in Tibet who in days gone by had put their faith and trust in the Russian Tsar and his nobles: those such as the Kushoks (Lamas believed by the Buddhist Church to be the reincarnations of their monasteries' original founders); but where, Atuk intimates, were the Tsar and his aristocratic coterie now? All slaughtered in 1917-18 by the Russian Bolshevik Communists! As though to say, let the present Tibetan leadership be forewarned. His letter, sent from Barrackpore, reads in part as follows:

My dear Guruji,

... The news according to the papers is not good. The Chinese have claimed Tibet. But there appears more to object [about], [for] even Tibet herself keeps quiet. Why? She must protest and proclaim to the world that she is free and [that] she will remain free. If Reds attack, she (Tibet) must fight her. Everybody knows, and I think Tibetans themselves know, that if the Reds come into [Tibetan territory], everything the Tibetans have [had] from ages past will be lost for good. So it comes to the same thing whether they live or die. Rather is it 100 percent better if one dies with glory. It is very very [*sic*] high time that the Tibetans realize their real situation. Let the Kushoks know that there is not a single sign of the Tsar or his nobles in the whole of Russia. They were all slaughtered. Well, this is my opinion about our forefathers' country. Well, what do you say?

Yours sincerely,
ATshering

The Babu could not have agreed more.⁹⁰

In line with this and similar editorial practices at his disposal, the publisher perceived that the news organ could serve at least five purposes in the struggle for Tibet's survival as an independent country (a personal struggle which, as was learned in the previous chapter, came to be known affectionately as his "one man war with Mao"). These purposes, all interrelated, were: (1st) inform the Tibetan and other interested publics about all relevant events pertaining to Tibet in her affairs with her neighbors; (2nd) correct whatever misinformation and disinformation would be disseminated in other newspapers, whether Indian or Western; (3rd) counter Red Chinese propaganda that was by now being broadcast in Tibetan over the airwaves; (4th) educate the Tibetan and supportive publics on the right perspective to take *vis-à-vis* China; and (5th) but by no means least, warn, admonish and instruct the Tibetan government itself on what could and should be done internally to increase Tibet's chances to survive the external threat.

No better nor fuller expression of these aims can be found among the Tharchin Papers than the letter Tharchin had written to the first *Indian Political Officer for Sikkim, Bhutan and Tibet*. This was Harish Dayal, formerly the Deputy Secretary in New Delhi's External Affairs Ministry handling Tibet matters. He it was who at the end of August 1948 had replaced Arthur Hopkinson as Political Officer (and about whom Hopkinson had subsequently declared that it had been for him "a real pleasure to [have been] able to hand over [the post] to an officer so sympathetic to Tibet and the Tibetans"⁹¹). Currently, Dayal and his wife had just returned from their first visit to the Tibetan capital and therefore the Babu had taken the occasion to apprise the new Political Officer of the state of affairs in respect of his *Tibet Mirror*. Dated 5 December 1949, the letter was sent on the eve of momentous events which were about to occur the following year. Written primarily as an appeal for a resumption of a previously-lapsed Indian government subsidy in support of the newspaper, the letter in reality ended up being a *raison d'être* for continuing the news organ in the face of the rising threat from the East. The pertinent passages read as follows:

Lately there have been many news items in the other papers about Tibet; I am not sure whether I should put them in my paper or not. I shall be grateful if your honour advise me whether I should translate [and print in the Tibetan paper] these news items about Tibet....

Most of [such] news may not be true, but the Chinese Reds from Peking are said to be broadcasting in Tibetan now and then. I think this is the time that the Tibetan government ought to take interest in the Tibetan newspaper and tell and give advice to the public through the paper so that in case any propaganda of the Reds comes to Tibet, the public should not open their ears. There are many rumours and talk going on among the Tibetans who are coming to India, and also they take back many rumours which they hear here. The Tibetan government ought [therefore] to contradict the news which are published in [other] papers.

I am not sure whether I would be wise to do so, but I have sometimes been thinking to request the Tibetan government that they ought to send [for publication in the *Tibet Mirror*] articles and advices to the Tibetan public and to distribute the paper in every Dzong in Tibet and in the monasteries as well. If the public is warned in time, it may be benefited. I meet Tibetan people high and low, but almost all of them are speaking against their own Government. I think it is high time for the Tibetan government to uplift the people and give good guidance. Perhaps your honour might advise them [i.e., the Tibetan government].

I am thinking to contradict in my paper the news items which are published in other papers, and also to show and try to prove that Tibet was not a part of China; but without the support of the Tibetan government [which obviously was itself divided on this issue—present author], I think it may not carry any weight, as well as [be a] risk to myself; and also, people may not understand in Tibetan [?because of the complexities of the historical issue?].

Kindly favour me with instructions and guidance so that I may publish the right [i.e., the appropriate] news for the benefit and protection of Tibet so that the public may not be misled, inasmuch as Tibet is most important to our country India.

In response to his request for instructions and guidance, Dayal was quick to give reply by letter from Gangtok. Dated just two days later, it too can be found among Tharchin's personal papers. The relevant parts of it are as follows:

... 3. As regards news on Tibet: much of what is published in Indian papers is inaccurate and if you propose to translate any such material for publication in your own newspaper, it would be best for you to consult me beforehand about its accuracy.

4. A statement given by the Tibetan government to Mr. Lowell Thomas [the noted American radio broadcaster, it will be recalled, who only recently concluded a lengthy summer visit to Tibet and Lhasa at that Government's invitation] has already been published in the Indian papers. You might publish a translation of that in your newspaper. You might similarly publish any other public statement that the Tibetan government issues.

5. I hope you will be able to find another agent in Lhasa to sell your paper. You might also try to get an agent in Ladakh. Ladakhi delegations sometimes visit India, and if you are able to interest them they might agree to help.

Tharchin was grateful for the advice proffered by Dayal and sought to implement what was suggested. Moreover, grasping hold of anything at this critical time which could assist in keeping Tibet from falling into the hands of the anti-religious Chinese and thus not only preserve the World's Roof as India's defensive buffer but also keep alive the long-held dream of one day witnessing the entrance of the Christian gospel more fully into that Closed Land, the Tibetan newspaper publisher had even printed a quotation from a former British Political Officer for Tibet, including it in an "advertisement" of his which had appeared in the *Tibet Mirror* during the late spring of 1950. The quoted material had most likely served as the centerpiece of a socio-religious essay (or "Gospel Advertisement") which the Christian editor had himself composed for this particular issue of the paper and which doubtless had then been placed on the one page devoted to Christian themes that with few exceptions appeared in every issue of the *Tibet Mirror*. Writing to Sir Basil Gould back in Britain about what he had only recently done in regard to this, Tharchin had opined as follows:

... The [Tibetan] delegates for China are in Delhi and it is said that they very soon are going to Hong Kong and contract with the Peking government. There are lots of rumours going about regarding Tibet. I remember that once in Lhasa you had said that all the powers ought to keep Tibet as a museum for the world. I have used it in my advertisement in my paper which you might have seen....⁹²

Such, then, were the Babu's perspective and ongoing endeavors on behalf of both India and his ethnic homeland less than a year prior to Communist China's invasion and partial occupation of Tibet in Kham on the east and in the Gartok-Rudok area on the west. Just a little over two years later, with the entire Tibetan nation now under the control of the Chinese Communists, the Babu's perspective on the role of the *Tibet Mirror* had substantially altered. Though the paper would continue to be staunchly anti-Communist, the primary aim would now be to rally the Tibetan public and those leaders still independence-minded to maintain and strengthen their resolve to resist the foreigner, with the hope held out that some good turn of fortune might come their way by which the foreign yoke could be cast off. Here he seems to have had in mind the galvanizing of support among the Tibetans living outside the borders of the Land of Snows who were scattered far and wide along the Himalayan arc. This altered sentiment on the aims of his paper was voiced by the Tibetan publisher in

another and final letter of appeal to Political Officer Dayal who would soon be taking up a new Government post in the United States. Under date of 23 January 1952, this follow-up appeal for resumption of a Government subsidy reads in part as follows:

I am not sure how long time I can continue to send the paper to Tibet; perhaps the Chinese may stop it going in, unless I change my policy. So far I am writing for Tibet and anti-Chinese. I think even if it is stopped from going to Tibet, if I am able [with subsidized help] to continue it, it may be useful to the Tibetans and Bhutias in India, Kashmir, Leh Ladakh, Himachal Pradesh, Almora and Garhwal, Sikkim, Bhutan and Assam. So, there are many Tibetans [in these places besides] the traders coming and going who may get some help [from the paper]. Also, the time may come again to help the Tibetan people. I am getting letters from the Tibetan public at Lhasa, Shigatse and Gyantse: they are not pleased with the Chinese Communists. Some even wrote me that my paper is doing good help to the public and asked me to continue it and send in time [i.e., in timely fashion]. But they do not pay. First of all, there is no proper [method of] communication [by which] to send their subscriptions [in to Kalimpong]; secondly, I have tried my best to arrange [distribution] agents but so far failed.*^{92a} Since the return of the Dalai Lama from Yatung I have been sending 50 copies to the Tibet Foreign Office [in Lhasa] through T.T.A. Yatung; and for Shigatse, Gyantse, Phari and Yatung I send by post about 100 copies, for half of which I am being paid. I heard that the Chinese in Kalimpong are not pleased with my paper, as they are talking that I am not writing in favor of the Chinese. Even some of them requested me to change my policy and if I do so [, say they], there may be good business [for me].⁹³

Now I humbly pray your honor to request the Government to grant me some subsidy as I used to get till 1946 ... [Let me] be favored, so that until my end, I may serve our Government as well as Tibet.

The Political Officer responded the following day with sincere regrets about the lapsed subsidy, adding that he would try again but that "as I have told you before, it is unlikely that the Government of India will be able in the present circumstances to renew your subsidy."⁹⁴

* The matter of securing a distributing agent at Lhasa and at other places in Tibet like Phari, Shigatse, Gyantse and Yatung posed a continuing problem for the newspaper publisher. However, during the latter 1940s and early '50s, Babu Tharchin was successful in arranging to have agents perform this service, and do so on a free basis or else the Babu was willing to pay the agent a commission as well as cover the agent's expenses involved in delivering the sizable "bundle(s)" of individually addressed copies of the newspaper to each intended recipient within the particular locale where the agent or his business representative was located.

There would come a day in the early 1950s, however, when Babu Tharchin could no longer secure such agents, but would have to rely on the willingness of the Indian Mission at Lhasa to perform such service. Eventually, the Babu could not even depend any longer on the Mission, under increasing pressure as it was from Tibet's Chinese Communist occupiers to cease serving the paper's publisher in this way. Nevertheless, at some of the Tibetan communities like Gyantse and Yatung, he *did* have various members of his newspaper's informal intelligence network to act as his distributors; e.g., there was Migma Dorje at Yatung, to whom he would send 15 or 20 copies for distribution.

See the end-note indicated at this point in the Text above for the identity of Tharchin's several official agents, and for additional details of interest.



The Government never did, in fact; yet this disappointment did not deter the indefatigable newspaper editor from continuing the publication of the *Tibet Mirror* anyway, though not as frequently and regularly as he and his ever-widening Tibetan-speaking readership within the Himalayan arc of nations would have liked. He must have been encouraged, nonetheless, by the communication he received one day later that same year from his faithful Lhasa-informant, Sonam T. Kazi. For in a letter dated 8 August 1952 the Kazi could report: “Your paper is much liked by all those expecting the IIIrd Great War! [presumably between America and Russia/China] They are those who like *freedom*.”⁹⁵ And towards the end of the year Tharchin could himself report by letter to a transplanted Tibetan in far-off America that the battle for the minds of the Tibetan people had not been lost, even if the land of the Tibetans itself, which he viewed as his land too, had come under the control of the Chinese. This had therefore given him hope that some day freedom would again return to the nation. “We are very sorry for our country,” he wrote in November,

as it is gone under the Red Chinese. We have tried our best but failed to defend as there were no helps [from outside powers]. Anyhow, still we are hoping that very soon again we may be able to get free from the bondage of the anti-religious, the ungodly Communists. It is wonderful that so far they have failed to win over the hearts of the mass of the Tibetan public, who are quite against the Red Chinese.*

Yet, ever mindful of the contest which still remained to be fought, he added this concerning the role his beloved *Tibet Mirror* should continue to play:

I am also trying my best to guide the Tibetan public through my small newspaper. But now I am hearing that the Red Chinese are trying to stop it. But still the public are taking more interest than before. I can send [the paper in] through private traders who are anti-Red, and also [through] monks. I wish that I could print several thousands of copies and send up [into Tibet] but I have no funds to do so. Still I am trying my best.

Finally, he wished to reassure his Tibetan correspondent in America about the editorial stance of his newspaper and about the *assumed* fact that China had not yet begun to issue a rival Tibetan newspaper of her own, matters which had deeply concerned this transplanted Tibetan:

Yes, so far the Chinese have not yet been able to start a Tibetan paper in Tibet [not accurate; see again near the end of Chapter 23 above for clarification—present author]. And yes, the paper is still anti-Communist . . . and so far it is not heard that the Chinese have directly stopped [the paper’s circulation in Tibet], but they are just watching.⁹⁶

* Even a decade later, the newspaper publisher, still actively engaged journalistically on behalf of his ethnic brethren in Tibet, could with pride assert the following: “All the Tibetans in Tibet are suffering very much but it is wonderful that still the Tibetans’ minds are so strong and not yielding to the Chinese Communists.” Letter to Hisao Kimura, Kalimpong, 22 June 1962, Th-to-K Ltrs File. More than likely he felt that the *Tibet Mirror* had been partly responsible for this continuing unyielding attitude exhibited by the persecuted Tibetans inside the Snowy Land.



Watch, the Chinese Communists carefully would throughout the entire decade of the 1950s. They would pay particular attention to the way Mao's opposition pen-warrior in Kalimpong would devote coverage in his newspaper to what Tibetans most everywhere would come to perceive to be extremely alarming events that would commence to unfold in East Tibet in 1956.

Already, during the first five years of the decade, Tharchin had kept his readers abreast of all significant information on what was then happening inside Tibet from east to west as best he could determine from various sources available to him, including Indian newspapers and radio newscasts. And because of such thorough coverage, his news journal had begun to be in great demand from Government agencies and officials, Intelligence officers, University Departments keenly interested in Central and East Asia, public affairs and other cultural organizations, news agencies, and even bookstores! A cursory review of the Tharchin Papers-elicited, for example, the following evidence of this dramatic upsurge in interest in Sino-Tibetan, Indo-Tibetan, and Sino-Indian developments:

On 25 April 1950 the Assistant Central Intelligence Officer, Sadiya, Assam, requested by letter that a subscription to the *Tibet Mirror* begin for his Office "at a very early date."

On 21 June 1950 the Indian Trade Agent, Gartok, West Tibet, wrote ordering four copies of the newspaper be sent him "till further instructions."

On 14 January 1951 the Secretary of the Inner Asia Project Department of the University of Washington's Far Eastern and Russian Institute, Seattle USA, requested that a subscription to the *Mirror* begin "immediately."

On 17 February 1951 the Assistant Director of the Subsidiary Intelligence Bureau at Shillong, Assam, requested that a copy of every issue of the Tibetan newspaper be sent him on a regular basis from that day forward.

On 16 April 1951 the Current Book House in Bombay requested a subscription, to begin with the first issue for 1951, with two copies of every *Mirror* published to be sent; and further requested, but was denied it by the Babu, that the entire back run of the newspaper, 1925-50, be sent.

On 28 June 1951 the Central News Agency at New Delhi ordered a subscription to Tharchin's newspaper.

On 1 February 1952 the Political Officer, Abor Hills, Pasighat, Assam, requested a subscription be inaugurated for his Office from that moment onward.

On 20 November 1952 the U.S. State Department's International Broadcasting Service in New York requested, through the American Vice Consul, Calcutta, that a *Mirror* subscription begin with the year 1953 and that its issues be sent regularly to the Broadcasting Service's Research and Library Unit's Chief, c/o the latter's New York office address that was provided.

On 13 December 1952 the Assistant Information Officer, Documents Section, of the Indian Council of World Affairs, New Delhi, requested that future issues of the *Tibet Mirror* be sent him, beginning from January 1953. He also requested a copy of all back numbers of the journal if available.

On 15 April 1955 the American Embassy, New Delhi, entered a subscription to the *Mirror* to begin immediately.

On 19 October 1955 the Political Officer Sikkim, on behalf of the Under Secretary of the North East Frontier Branch, Ministry of External Affairs, New Delhi, requested Tharchin to supply the Under Secretary with a copy of his newspaper on a regular basis henceforth.

On 20 December 1955 the Tibetan Interpreter assigned to the Siang Frontier Division Office of the North East Frontier Agency ordered a copy of the *Mirror* be sent regularly to him on a subscription fee basis paid by him in advance.

Every office, agency, and private organization involved in one way or another in things Tibetan, it seemed, greatly desired to be kept informed of all developments by means of Gergan Tharchin's indisputably unique publication that in every issue was brimming with any and every conceivable news item having anything directly or remotely to do with Tibet.

Moreover, Tharchin's frequent penetrating print discussions on the Tibetan situation, in the words of anthropologist/historian Carole McGranahan, were "always in reference to global political events of the day." He reported to his reading audience, for example, and in lamentable tones, it should be added, that the Government of India had told the Lhasa government that no military aid would be given it, only advice; and also, that India had herself decided not to raise the Tibet issue at the United Nations. In addition, notes McGranahan, during these same early years of the decade, Tharchin had "insisted on discussing the issue of Tibet as one of state sovereignty, not as a dispute between China and Tibet." Indeed, his printed views, McGranahan observes, were a reflection of those held at the time by many Tibetans, and were in fact the very views which were disseminated widely among the Khampas of East Tibet "by virtue of the longstanding trade connections between Kham and Kalimpong."

Furthermore, these early years of Tharchin's newspaper coverage of events inside Chinese-occupied Tibet would witness for the first time, writes McGranahan, his acceptance and use in the *Tibet Mirror* of eyewitness testimony and even of "qualified second-hand stories." Such testimony, of course, the Babu had been able to glean from an increasingly steady stream of refugees who commenced to arrive in Kalimpong from the World's Roof, but especially from East Tibet, where, by the mid-1950s, the situation would become exceedingly ugly for the Tibetans at the hands of the Red Chinese.

Having already sounded several general alarms to Tibet as a whole during the late 1940s and the first two years of the 1950s, it would be in Babu Tharchin's 1 October 1952 issue of the *Tibet Mirror* that he would directly address the people of Kham for the first time, urging them to set aside their differences with Lhasa for the time being and appealing to them as *Tibetans* to unite as one people and community against the common foe. As translated by McGranahan, the Babu's appeal read in part as follows:

To the communities of Kham both under Tibet and under China:

You are aware of how much you have suffered under the Chinese occupation, for many years. Today's new China follows the religion-less Russia. They might treat you nicely for a short while, but sooner or later they will treat you even worse than [other] Chinese [governments] did before. They will surely destroy the Tibetan race and religion. Therefore, it is important that you act for the sake of Tibetans and to protect Tibetan history. Those of you who are under Tibet might have been deprived by some

Tibetan government officials in the border areas, but it is better to suffer a little at the hands of your own leaders than to betray your own people and religion by being misled by China. There will be a time to address the mistreatment of your people to kind lamas and leaders some day in order to solve internal problems. Right now these internal problems must be left behind, and effort put forward to regain your independence.

And in the conclusion to his appeal, Babu Tharchin—now employing the editorial “we”—identified himself culturally in the most intimate manner with the citizens of his ethnic homeland:

We, the tsampa eaters, chuba wearers, dice players, raw and dried meat eaters, followers of Tibetan Buddhism, Tibetan language speakers, the people from Ngari Korsum, U-Tsang Ruzhi, Dokham Gangdrug, the thirteen trikors of Tibet, we must make the effort to end the [Chinese] occupation. After freeing ourselves from the occupation, then you can deal with internal troublemakers, and have leaders from the thirteen trikors of Tibet. For this everyone must put in [the] effort. This request is made by the publisher.

Nevertheless, because this was still “the grace period” throughout much of Kham, it being several years yet before the introduction of drastic and destructive reforms there by the Chinese Communists, as well as it being a time when it was assumed by many Khampas that life would go on without too much change, Tharchin’s appeal was largely ignored. Additionally, observes McGranahan, “Chinese activities in Kham were pitched as benefits—medical facilities, educational opportunities, and road building.” Furthermore, Amaury de Riencourt has noted that the Chinese Communists even collected together quantities of the cherished brick tea “for purposes of propaganda distribution to the Tibetan population” in Kham. And, “under the expert advice of the cultural anthropologist Li An-Che,” he added, the Chinese “emphasized” to the Khampa citizenry “their conciliatory attitude towards the Lamaist religion and local Tibetan customs.”⁹⁷

Despite these clever blandishments by the Chinese, however, the Babu would not give up. McGranahan, again translating from the *Tibet Mirror*, reports that he issued one further appeal to Tibetans before the aforementioned reforms began, exhorting them to become “Titos”; which was to say that, like the East European Yugoslavians who revolted against the Russian Communists’ tight embrace, they should revolt against the Chinese. Singling out the Khampas in particular, he declared that in order to regain independence in their land, the Tibetans must manifest courage and wisdom as did Tito of Yugoslavia: “I, the old man, know that there are many Titos in Kham and Tibet. You courageous Titos, you must yourselves soon stand up like Tito.”

With the coming of the oppressive “democratic” reforms in 1956, which Mao himself personally initiated and which came to be known as “the High Tide of Socialist Transformation”—a euphemism for collectivization,^{97a} the situation in East Tibet triggered a radical change in the *Tibet Mirror’s* coverage of events there. This was because of the drastic nature and the highly destructive consequences of these hated reforms. The latter, as described by Mary Craig, included the introduction of the commune system of collective farming which involved the forcible confiscation of the people’s meager possessions

and was implemented “without any regard for their customs, wishes or needs.” Far worse, their children were now to be taken away, forcibly if necessary, for education in China. There was also the imposition of high taxation, the confiscation of estates, the arraignment and subsequent execution of landowners for “crimes against the people,” and even the roundup of thousands of nomad farmers who previously had freely roamed the steppes of Amdo and Kham in pursuit of their livelihood. Moreover, these so-called democratic reforms called for the forcible indoctrination of the people against religion and the harassment, beating and public humiliation of lamas, monks and nuns by means of the infamous practice of *thamzing* or class struggle sessions in which they and other Tibetans would be “shamefully humiliated, spat on, beaten and kicked” till they confessed to having had “reactionary thoughts or behaviour.” Furthermore, attendance at these *thamzing* was compulsory and the attendees were required to be “enthusiastic and positive” in their participation, “on pain of imprisonment or death.”⁹⁸

No wonder, therefore, that the Tibetan newspaper editor dramatically shifted his coverage of events in East Tibet. McGranahan notes that besides reporting the urgent news, Tharchin would henceforth include as well eyewitness testimony by those Khampas who had managed to escape the trauma which had engulfed their homeland and who had every intention of relating, to whoever would listen, their various accounts of what was occurring on the ground in Kham. They would find a ready ear in Babu Tharchin. For instance, as reported and translated once again by McGranahan, in the 5 October 1956 issue of the *Tibet Mirror*, the paper’s editor included the first article he would publish during this period that was written in the name and voice of another: “a knowledgeable person from Kham.” The Khampa author declared that the Chinese claim of there being no conflict in Tibet and that the little trouble which they (the Chinese) had encountered in Szechuan was now over “is an unbelievable lie! ... The ones who are fighting are Tibetans [not Szechuanese]. They say ‘Szechuan’ because they have cut Tibet into pieces in an attempt to destroy the unity of the Tibetan people. These Chinese plan to destroy Tibet without the world even knowing about it.... They are covering the eyes of the world with the dust of their lies.”

Thus, upon their arrival in Tharchin’s hill station, one eyewitness after another would now give an account to the newspaper publisher of the Chinese atrocities being perpetrated back in Kham. “Their testimonies,” explains McGranahan, “were efforts to secure help in fighting the Chinese,” and Tharchin was more than happy to accommodate and encourage them in a number of ways. Writes McGranahan:

He played the role of informal middleman, providing necessary introductions, translation services, as well as a place for meetings and discussion for Tibetans, but his chief—albeit under-recognized—contribution was in his publishing of as much information about Kham as he could gather. Thus, from 1956 onward, [*Tibet Mirror*] articles about Kham were drawn primarily from eyewitness testimony often accompanied by drawings of the scenes described. As the situation disintegrated just as Tharchin had anticipated, his nationalist pleas continued.

If Mao and his subordinates were bent on “covering the eyes of the world with the dust of their lies” about what was happening in East Tibet, Kalimpong’s pen-warrior in opposition

to Mao was intent on laying all those lies bare. Indeed, issue after issue of his famed newspaper now rolled off the press that would include a series of articles which unrelentingly exposed horrific Chinese offenses in Kham. As but one example of this, in an article he published in the 15 August 1956 issue, the fearless Tibetan editor recounted in stark detail Chinese crimes that had been undertaken against monastic institutions, their inmates, and against lay Tibetan religious practices. Babu Tharchin reported how monastic properties had been confiscated, sacred religious objects destroyed, and citizenry and monks prohibited from interacting with each other. In the name of "democratic reforms," wrote the Babu, the poor were handed guns and ordered to humiliate leaders, lamas, and the rich. Not only were these measures repressive, added the editor, they were also unjustified according to the very claim made by the Chinese that Tibet is a part of China. Nevertheless, he explained in conclusion, "the Tibetan people's behaviours, culture, language—everything—are different from that of the Chinese. This is proof [that Tibet is not China]." And on 1 November 1957 Tharchin the freedom-fighter with the pen was moved to editorialize in the following fashion concerning the dire situation in East Tibet: "The people of Kham were killed by guns and bombs. Every monk and man sighted by the Chinese was to be killed. It was as if the Khampas were wild animals and the Chinese were hunters. The Kham areas were wiped out like a broom sweeping clean a floor."⁹⁹

It could be said, then, that from 1956 through at least 1960 this untiring Indo-Tibetan patriot-publisher never relented in printing detailed information about the situation in Kham in the pages of his newspaper, and included testimonies of those who were eyewitness to the unmitigated horrors inflicted upon the Khampas. But the Babu also saw the need to launch a new publishing project by which to make those *outside* the World's Roof aware of the true situation inside Tibet. In fact, Tharchin was so devoted to this objective that he felt it was his obligation to extend a special "helping hand to the great cause of the Tibetan people" by commencing to produce in 1958 a series of pamphlets or monthly circulars *in English* that would serve as a vehicle for informing outsiders what was actually taking place in all its ugly detail inside his beloved ethnic homeland. Found among the Tharchin Papers was the draft, in typewritten form on four lengthy sheets of paper, of the first number in the intended pamphlet series, which from internal evidence dated from the late summer of 1958. And on the initial page of this inaugural issue, the newspaper editor had appropriately set forth, in an Editor's Note under the heading of THE MIRROR and signed: From the Editor THE TIBET MIRROR, what he hoped to accomplish through the publication and dissemination—particularly in India and adjacent areas—of these monthly circulars. Written in very good English, thus signifying that the Babu had received some able assistance from another hand, the Note provided a well-developed introduction to this journalistic endeavor:

With the enclosed pamphlet as the first of its series, I intend to publish a monthly circular mainly to inform you of the situation now prevailing in the neighbouring country—Tibet. Ever since this vast Himalayan state had been subverted by the Communists from China, it has suffered uninterruptedly the iron sway of the invader's armed forces. There is no organ of information to the outside world except the propaganda material of the Communists themselves.

For the last eight years the patriotic elements in Tibet resisted quite strongly the expansionist policy of the Chinese overlords. The partisans tried their utmost to persuade the Chinese not to interfere in the affairs of their country and the result was an armed conflict between the patriots and the Communist invaders. This continued struggle of the Tibetans against the Chinese and the recent armed resistance by the patriotic National Defence Army came very scantily to the notice of the world outside. My purpose in acquainting you of these developments in Tibet is to give an idea of the situation within the context of world events. Tibet is not a small region to be ignored by the world at large, and the impact of the events in that land will definitely influence the world situation as a whole. Tibet has a contiguous frontier with some of the world powers, and its immediate borders touch conveniently the Communist world.

This newspaper has served the neighbouring state for the last 33 years and it has always stood for the cultural and political integrity of Tibet. It has always served our neighbour with all the important news from outside. But today, with Tibet itself under the yoke of a ruthless Communist neighbour and having no outlet for the day-to-day happenings inside its own country, the Mirror stands alone to give you a glimpse of the world behind the nearest iron curtain. This pamphlet is being published from the border town of Kalimpong in the Himalayas and as such it deserves [?has the distinction?] more than any other of serving the cause of the freedom-loving people of Tibet. The spontaneous movement of the vast masses of Tibet is a living proof of their determination to fight for their faith and freedom. For the last eight years they were solely dependent on their own resources, human or otherwise, and no helping hand from any quarter had been extended for this splendid cause. The international situation during the last few years proved rather unhelpful for their cause, and even now with all the odds [against them], these simple, freedom-loving and brave people of our great neighbour are fighting hard in spite of the fact that not a single country in the free world is helping or even giving moral support to their noble cause.

In the light of the above facts and in exchange for my humble attempt to extend a helping hand to the great cause of the people of Tibet, I can only hope you will take interest in the affairs of a country inhabited by a deeply religious and peace-loving people. Their country is virtually under the process of Communist indoctrination. It invokes [calls upon] your sympathy and moral support for the victims of a naked aggression.

This quite moving introductory statement was then followed by the other three pages of typed text that formed the contents of this initial pamphlet. The first page was headed up as follows:

THE MIRROR
(The Only Newspaper Published in the Tibetan Language from Outside
Communist Countries)
NEWS FROM INSIDE TIBET

This was immediately followed by five extensively written-up news topics, each of which was amply provided with relevant background information which would be helpful for the reader in understanding clearly the latest news the Editor would then report on. These five topics were: The Tibetan Government Functioning under the Chinese Military Occupation,

Recent Economic Exploitation in Tibet, The Resistance Movement of the National Defence Army, The So-Called Militia Corps, and J. Nehru: the Indian Prime Minister's Visit to Tibet [Indefinitely Postponed by China].

All these news topics were obviously based on the information which this tireless newspaper editor had been able to glean and evaluate from his informal intelligence network within Tibet, from personal eyewitness testimony of those who had escaped across the border to Kalimpong, from various radio broadcasts and newspapers, and from his numerous contacts with Government officials and other important individuals in those lands spread out along the Indo-Himalayan frontier. Clearly, Babu Tharchin would leave no stone unturned in his endless quest to keep the entire world, if he could, informed of what was actually occurring within the borders of Tibet. Every journalistic technique he could conjure up was brought to bear in furthering this objective.

In an exceptional delineation of this man's multifarious contribution to Tibetan journalism at a most critical time in Tibet's history, Carole McGranahan has offered up the following unrestrained appreciation of Gergan Tharchin:

While Tibetan history since 1959 has always been written as the political story of Lhasa, coverage of Tibet prior to 1959 was not always focused on Lhasa, or even on Central Tibet. [A case in point was the] Tibetan newspaper reporting on Kham in the 1950s [that was conducted from Kalimpong, India].

News of the Chinese invasion and occupation of Tibet received general and mostly sporadic coverage in the global press. The People's Republic of China controlled information about the situation in Tibet save that voiced by Tibetans who fled to India. Before 1959, Tibetans leaving Tibet for India would always go via the Nathu La pass which took them straight to Kalimpong. In Kalimpong, as had been the case for three decades, the information center for the Tibetan-speaking world was the Reverend Tharchin's *Yulchog Sosoi Sargyur Melong (Tibet Mirror)* newspaper office. It is in the Tibetan-language newspaper that the most detailed immediate and *Tibetan*-reported news of events in 1950s Kham is available. Politics saturated the Kalimpong social scene in the 1950s. No one knew how things in Tibet were going to play out, but everyone wanted to be involved somehow. From the Dalai Lama's elder brothers to the Pangdatsang family, from Heinrich Harrer to George Patterson, as well as Indian intelligence officers, CIA agents posing as tourists, and aristocrats and royalty from throughout the Himalayas, the one person who was able to move between these groups with relative ease was the Reverend Tharchin.

Tharchin Babu ... had built a strong connection to the Tibetan community. He was trusted by them, and he, in turn, worked diligently on their behalf, publishing many Tibetan ... texts, including a copy of the 13th Dalai Lama's political testament, and printing any and all information about Tibet that he could uncover.... Tharchin used the newspaper to not just disseminate news in and about Tibet (and the world in general), but also to advocate his sense of what Tibet could and should be—in a nutshell, a united and modern self-governed country. He published political articles by and about Tibetans,... and was not above printing gossip with the qualification that this particular information was not verified and thus open to inspection. To [certain] Tibetans ..., Tharchin was a respected and cosmopolitan figure [, one of them having declared] that the little he knew about Westerners, he learned from Tharchin Babu. When Tibetans would arrive in Kalimpong from Tibet,... they would go to Tharchin's office to share with him stories about what was happening in Tibet....

... Tharchin's liberal, Christian, and Tibetan sensibilities were diametrically opposed to Chinese communism. Throughout the 1950s, he published detailed information and commentary about the situation in Tibet, often including impassioned pleas to the Tibetan people to oppose the Chinese oppression. His reporting combined his views with information given to him by [numerous] Tibetans ..., as well as culled from other newspapers in India....

[Moreover], through the pages of *Tibet Mirror*, and through his translation assistance, Tharchin was instrumental in fostering the development of the new *lo rgyus* in the Tibetan exile community [i.e., ordinary Tibetans—both lay and monastic—recounting personal, village, even battalion narratives (among others) as parts of Tibetan history and intended to be heard by broad audiences]. His acceptance of eyewitness testimony, and even qualified second-hand stories, contributed to the development of community validation of personal and local stories as news in the 1950s,... and thus, as histories today....

... Alongside stories of specific areas and monasteries [in Kham and elsewhere in Tibet], Tharchin published detailed information about forms of torture, suicides, and struggle sessions [the infamous *thamzing* events]. He was a one-man newspaper in many ways, serving as publisher, editor, and chief writer. In terms of disseminating Tibetan-language information about what was happening in Tibet in the 1950s, his newspaper was invaluable; and, in terms of providing information to the English-speaking world, he served as translator for Tibetans who traveled to New Delhi to meet with Indian politicians and international media. The Reverend Tharchin, a [Kunawari] Tibetan converted to Christianity, was one of the strongest voices for Tibet in the face of the Chinese communist invasion. His editorial nationalism is evident throughout [the] 1950s issues of the *Tibet Mirror* newspaper, and is an important part of the story of how we now tell the history of this period in Tibet.¹⁰⁰

Meanwhile, the Babu had not given up hope of securing a resumption of the coveted subsidy from the Indian government. Indeed, he would employ every legitimate tactic possible in his attempt at doing so; even sending, for example, an unusual appeal to, of all people, the Director of the School of Foreign Languages at Delhi's Ministry of Defense! This he had done in early 1954. In his letter of appeal to the Director, Tharchin had first laid out before him a brief publishing history of the *Tibet Mirror*, citing as well its anti-Chinese Communist editorial policy, and including the mention of past subsidies granted him from both the Indian and Tibetan governments. But he then cleverly explained to his letter's recipient why he was now directing an appeal for financial assistance to *him*:

I write [to you] about my [financial] difficulties [inasmuch] as your department [in the Defence Ministry] seems to be taking great interest in the Tibetan language. I am sure that sooner or later there will be great trouble [for India perpetrated] by the Chinese Communists from Tibet; at that time the [Tibetan] language as well as the Tibetan newspaper is [i.e., will be] most useful [in India's defence]. I therefore request your department to move this [request for assistance] to the Government and if possible help me in the publishing of the paper as well as [in the publishing of] the [?language?] books in Mss.¹⁰¹

Yet, as before, no positive response ever emerged from this remarkable indirect attempt at garnering Government support for his cherished *Tibet Mirror*. Babu Tharchin would

nonetheless carry on in issuing and distributing the newspaper as best he could under the circumstances and for as long as he possibly could.

A day would come, however, when, too old and financially strapped to continue, this notable warrior with words had to lay down his own particular weapon of war forever and cease publication of his famous newspaper. In the words uttered decades later by a much younger contemporary of the Babu's in the Kalimpong sub-division, Gergan Tharchin had "single-handedly and unflaggingly ... taken on the might of the Chinese Communists" by having issued through his news journal during this horrific period for his Tibetan countrymen "a barrage of anti-Chinese, anti-Communist and anti-Mao Tse-tung articles"—with Chairman Mao having always received "the author's full contempt."¹⁰² Inevitably, however, the Tibetan newspaper editor's celebrated "one-man war with Mao" had to come to a close. Gergan Tharchin would now leave to others to carry on the fight of pens vs. guns.

*

Yet these were very tense days at the time when the Babu had finally handed the torch on to other and younger defenders of the truth. For, as was indicated two chapters earlier, this had occurred in the early 1960s at the height of the Border War that was then raging between Chinese-occupied Tibet and India; and members of the Tharchin family were greatly concerned, as were others, over the possibility of Chinese incursion into the Darjeeling District itself. But if that were to occur, what might happen to the Babu, they wondered in dismay. During this period, of course, the retired newspaper publisher, ever eager to keep abreast of international news affecting Tibet, had continued to monitor numerous radio news broadcasts (he having utilized not just one but some three or four radio sets that were tuned to different stations for their news programs!¹⁰³) and had continued his subscriptions to a variety of newspapers and other publications.¹⁰⁴ And in reading the alarming news accounts every evening about the ever encroaching Chinese military movements towards Darjeeling's border area, Tharchin's European wife Margaret (Karma Dechhen having died some years earlier) more than once was heard to say to her husband, "Darling dearie Babula! See, they're getting closer; the situation is worsening, it is not good at all; and surely, if they finally break through and come to Kalimpong, you will be their very first target: their very first person to be arrested; you may even be *killed!*"* To which the fearless anti-Communist publisher and freedom-fighter for Tibet would respond each time

* This was not merely the natural emotional outburst of a loving wife concerned for her husband's safety. A very close friend of Tharchin's, Pandey Hishey—a Tibetan-speaking Buddhist Lepcha from Gangtok and another of Babula's many dear "sons" and who had worked at the Tibet Mirror Press between 1956 and 1960 as its Tibetan compositor and proof-reader—tells of the audience both Tharchin and Margaret had had at Kalimpong's Bhutan House in January of 1957 with the Fourteenth Dalai Lama. Later the Babu had related the details of their time with His Holiness to Pandey Hishey, including what Tibet's ruler had said to Tharchin when presenting a special gift and *khata* to the Tibetan publisher: "You have been a great man for Tibet. You have opened the eyes of Tibetans everywhere to the torture and persecution which the Chinese have inflicted

with a “Ha, ha, ha!” and laugh it off at that. Indeed, Babu Tharchin’s daughter-in-law Nini recalls that during this entire anxious period for District Darjeeling there never ever appeared any sign of fear or anxiety in Babula’s face but only absolute calm in his demeanor whenever the subject was raised. That he had been well aware for years that his life could be in jeopardy is clearly borne out by what he had reported to his dear friend Marco Pallis in 1958 at the height of Tharchin’s support through his newspaper of the uprising in East Tibet. “My life is not safe,” acknowledged the Babu; “but,” he added, “I trust in God. I was told by several friends that they heard that the C.C. [Chinese Communists] ... instructed some persons to harm me as well as some others, and [that] they are willing to spend [up to] 1000 loads of Chinese dollars [to accomplish it]. But if God is on our side, who can harm us?”¹⁰⁵

Nevertheless, Margaret would often say privately to Nini and her husband Sherab Gyamtsho, Tharchin’s son: “We have to pray very much for Pala, because I fear he could be in mortal danger, just as happened to the ‘five-hours walla’ who was found murdered in his home not long ago.”* And with that, all three of them would immediately kneel down and pray together on behalf of Gergan Tharchin.†

As for the Babu himself, he not only exhibited no fear, he also was even ready to take up arms personally against the Communist Encroachers from the North. This he made crystal clear in a letter he wrote to his former intelligence agent Dawa Sangpo just a month after all-out war had erupted along India’s northern frontiers. Though incorrect in his prediction over the final outcome, Tharchin’s defiant stand against China had remained unequivocal and undiminished. It was likewise obvious from his letter that this warrior for freedom was still relishing the fact of his having been singled out by a foreign news journal as having conducted through his Tibetan newspaper a “one-man war with Mao.” Declared this renowned freedom-fighter for Tibet and now for India:

I am sure you ... have read in the papers that the ruthless and treacherous Red Chinese, whom our Govt [had] helped so much, have invaded our borders. Due to this cause all we Indian citizens—from children to old men and women, different communities—are all united into one; and we will fight and turn the aggressors [out] in the near future. The shameless Red Communists have disturbed not only we [*sic*] Indians who are a peace-loving people but also all other peace-loving countries in the world.

I am now 73 [Tibetan reckoning]; still, if my health permits, I [would] like to join the

upon our people. You have done this by means of the news articles you have published in your Tibetan newspaper. And for this we are most grateful.” Added Pandey Hishey: It was because of such hard-hitting articles exposing Chinese persecution and torture of the Tibetan people as had happened in particular in East Tibet during the 1950s, and especially after the 1959 Tibetan Uprising in Central Tibet, that “the Communists were so fiercely opposed to Tharchin Babu.” Interview with Hishey, Dec. 1992. Margaret therefore had every reason to be concerned; and more so, after what happened to the “five-hours walla” (see next footnote below). * One Tibetan visitor who frequented the Tharchin home was a man who was given this nickname by Margaret because he never stayed for less than that amount of time on each occasion he came to engage the Babu in conversation on the latest political and military developments relating to Tibet and now India. He was later found murdered at his home near the Tharpa Chholing Monastery, both places located not very far from the Tharchin compound. He was believed to have been a victim of retaliatory action by Chinese espionage agents in Kalimpong because of his outspoken anti-Chinese Communist stance. Per interview with Nini Tharchin, Dec. 1992.

† *Ibid.*

army and fight the ruthless Chinese Communists. Of course, I have fought [them] through my small newspaper for many years. Once a newspaper called "The Globe" published an article about me and my paper, and the caption of that article was "One Man War with Mao." Now I am ready to fight unitedly with forty crores of Indians [i.e., 400 million, the essential population of India at the time] with weapons, and we will finally win the undeclared war. Please pray for us.¹⁰⁶

**Heights and Depths: Tharchin Ordained
and the Death of Karma Dechhen**

[Trustworthy] is the saying, If a man seeketh the [church] office of an overseer, he desireth a good work.

In all these things we are more than conquerors through him that loved us. For I am persuaded, that neither death, nor life, . . . nor any other [created thing] shall be able to separate us from the love of God, which is in Christ Jesus our Lord.

1 Timothy 3:1 mgn; Romans 8:37-9

ALTHOUGH GERGAN THARCHIN in 1946 had again resigned from the Mission service, he once more did not commit the unbiblical act of separating himself from church membership or the church fellowship. It would appear, he had noted in his “memoirs,” that several Tibetan Christians in the past had fallen victim to the dangerous temptation of dissociating themselves from the church and ultimately causing shipwreck to their precious faith.¹ Not so with Gergan Tharchin. Every Sunday he attended the church services, although he had to occupy the less prominent role of sitting in the pew instead of preaching from the pulpit. Meanwhile, both Rev. Scott² and missionary doctor Albert Craig³ had come to recognize—perhaps with greater understanding and appreciation than their missionary colleagues—the importance of Tharchin’s life and work, and in time asked him to resume Mission service. Tharchin listened to and appreciated their viewpoint.

Nevertheless, it would not be an easy decision for the Babu to make; for there were a number of conflicting issues confronting him which needed to be sorted out, as is thoroughly evident from a signed copy of a letter he had written and sent at this time, addressed to “The Rev. Dr. A. Craig, The Tibetan Missionary, Kalimpong,” in response to this missionary’s repeated appeals to return to the Scots Mission. Dated 18 August 1951, this extant document from Tharchin’s papers is quite revealing as regards the inner struggle this former Tibetan catechist was experiencing in his mind and heart over what should be best for all concerned. Here in its entirety is what he wrote Dr. Craig (with some necessary editing added for the sake of clarity):

As to your requests about my joining back to the work with the Tibetan Mission as a Catechist, at present I am very busy with the press work as well as engaged with some teaching work, and so I am not now able to join in the Mission work. But I shall try my best to continue helping in the Mission work honourarily just as I am doing at present.

I shall try my best to join the work from next year 1952, if it is God’s will. If possible

I shall try to work full-time, but if not, then I may try to spare some time and serve part-time.

Even so, if I am able to rejoin and work full-time, I will have to give up several works which help for my living needs, since my living expenditure is very high inasmuch as I have to meet many high and low Tibetan people, and the customary Tibetan ways of dealing are rather expensive. The Mission's pay which I had received before was never sufficient and I thus was always under debts; and so I had to do work on the side, which I always thought was not right, but I had to do so. In this way, both sorts of works did not prosper.

Anyhow, as I have said above, I shall try my best, because I like to work for the Lord better than any other work; and for this reason I worked in the Mission many years. Otherwise, before I had ever joined the Mission I could gain much more [remuneration] doing other work. Yet I did not want much worldly gain, for all I had wanted was to live simply and without debts; but I am sorry to say that I was never able to live in this way. Please pray.

In the end, after considering not only his personal, professional and family needs but also the spiritual needs of the Tibetan church congregation, Gergan Tharchin rejoined the Mission service as the Tibetan catechist from the beginning of New Year 1952. In fact, from what was stated in the final paragraph of his letter, it would appear that the work he liked to do "more than any other"—service for His Lord and His people—was the overriding factor which led him to make the decision he finally opted to undertake.

Now for a number of years after 1946 the Tibetan congregation did not have its own ordained pastor who could take an active and personal interest in the spiritual oversight of the believers. Certain events impressed themselves upon the Church authorities to realize the need for having an ordained national pastor for the Tibetan church in Kalimpong. Under these circumstances Gergan Tharchin was accepted as a candidate for the ministry. As a matter of fact, it was largely due to the suggestion and recommendation of the Church of Scotland missionary Dr. Craig that Tharchin had indeed been considered for ordination to the Christian ministry. It is of interest to note, however, that according to one visitor to Kalimpong in early 1952, Tharchin was already by this time, and well prior to his ordination, conducting the Sunday morning service each week, which by now was being held at 8:30 a.m. in the Macfarlane Memorial Church building.⁴

According to the regulations of the Church, an intending pastor/minister should appear for certain oral and written examinations in various theological disciplines. For this purpose Rev. Pasang S. Targain,⁵ a Lepcha and the longtime minister of the Macfarlane Memorial Church, together with Rev. Chhotuk,⁶ the minister of the local church at Gangtok, had been appointed as Examiners by the Mission Church Council to adjudge the intellectual and spiritual competency of a given candidate to take up church responsibilities. Among other exercises and assignments appertaining to his own candidacy, Tharchin was required to write out a standard sermon from the Holy Scriptures based on acceptable homiletical principles. He would of course consult Bible translations, reference works, and theological and other types of Christian literature, of which his personal Christian library contained many, acquired over the years before and since his ordination.⁷

The Board of Examiners was satisfied with the spiritual and theological preparation of Candidate Tharchin for the ministry and made a proper and favorable recommendation to that effect to the Scottish Mission authorities at Kalimpong. The Scottish Guild Mission's Eastern Himalayan Church Council therefore resolved to ordain the man from Poo as the full-fledged minister of the Tibetan congregation. The ordination service, held in 1952, was organized in the local Macfarlane Church building. The attendance was packed to overflowing. Many of Tharchin's friends and loved ones were present. Many non-Christian Tibetans also attended the ceremony. By 1952 there were as many as three hundred to four hundred Tibetans regularly resident in Kalimpong, and this number was augmented twice a year with the arrival every six months of the great mule-caravans which at that point in time made their way down from the Tibetan mountain passes, complete with wives and families.⁸ For the first time ever, therefore, many in the local Tibetan community could observe the Christian way of ordination. They could also have an opportunity to hear about the gospel of Christ. Many who attended the service offered scarves to Tharchin as a mark of respect. The younger ones offered the *khatas* over the head while the older ones offered them on the hands in keeping with the proper Tibetan custom. After the service, lunch and refreshments would be provided for the invited guests in one of the finest restaurants in the town.

At the ordination ceremony itself Rev. Targain brought the message from the Christian Scriptures. As required by the rules of ordination a passage from 1 Timothy Chapter 3 dealing with the qualifications of church overseers was read out to the congregation. In his message Rev. Targain noted that Gergan Tharchin "is the first man from the Tibetan Church to be ordained as a minister of the Church in the north-eastern part of India. He is also the first Tibetan moderator of the Tibetan kirk session." Targain in his sermon expressed great hope that God would use Rev. Tharchin and the local Tibetan congregation mightily in the future for the glory of God and the evangelization of Tibet. It ought to be pointed out here that the first moderator of the Tibetan church kirk session had been Dr. John Graham, who was then followed in succession by Dr. Knox, Rev. Mill, Rev. Scott, Rev. MacHutchinson and last of all Rev. Tharchin; although, as already indicated, he was the first national—that is to say, ethnic Tibetan—moderator among them. Indeed, the nationalistic sector of the community was quite proud of this moment. Tharchin recalled that several photographs were taken of his ordination service. Even a special movie film was taken, at the time of the laying-on-of-hands ceremony. That very movie is now preserved at the Guild Mission headquarters in Scotland.



From time to time certain differences of opinion would arise between Dr. Craig and Rev. Tharchin with respect to the policy and administration of the Tibetan church. Reconciliation

was always amicably effectuated in the greater interest of the church with neither claiming a victory over the other.*

Over the years the church work proceeded as usual. The new pastor had contact with many Tibetans who used to come to Kalimpong to obtain a permit to export to Tibet the cloth they obtained in India. Rev. Tharchin used these opportunities to form friendships with the Tibetans and also to speak to them about the love of Christ. Moreover, with the availability by now of the entire Tibetan Bible as well as the usual Scripture portions thereof, purchases could be made of both at the little bookroom which Tharchin and his Tibetan congregation maintained near the bazaar.⁹ These would often be taken back into Tibet by those who had come to Kalimpong for trade and business or to India on pilgrimages to the Buddhist holy places. Then, too, as a result of these numerous contacts and friendships established, Tharchin the publisher was able to secure additional subscribers to his *Tibet Mirror* newspaper. This helped the journal to be nearly self-supporting at this particular period in its history.

All along the way the new pastor had to fight against those tendencies which were harmful for the Tibetan church. Some wanted to merge it with the local Nepali congregation of the Macfarlane Church. It may be recalled that in the earliest days of the Scottish Mission in Kalimpong, especially in the early years of Dr. Graham's labors, the dominant indigenous element in all the churches of the Kalimpong district, including the Macfarlane congregation, had been the Lepchas. Yet even in those days it was the Nepali language that was the one most commonly understood and used by all the ethnic groups, and was accordingly, in the words of Graham, "the best medium for preaching" and teaching before mixed audiences in Kalimpong. And hence the main Sunday morning worship hour at Macfarlane, even in that early period, was referred to as "the Nepali service," despite the fact that in the service there were a number of other nationalities present and even though the series of ordained ministers who over time pastored the congregation were themselves Lepchas.¹⁰

Diplomatic ways were used to try to effect this merger plan, but Rev. Tharchin, who in January 1963 was appointed by the EHMC as the Superintendent of the Kalimpong Tibetan Mission,^{10a} vigorously fought against it. Some suggested that he conduct the Sunday Tibetan church services in his private residence instead of in the Macfarlane Church building proper, thus falsely advising him to do so simply on the ground of his ailing health and heart ailment. As a matter of fact, old age was indeed creeping over him and he was counseled to take more rest and avoid vigorous activities.¹¹ The pastor's response to all this was: "If I had implemented this idea then some would have used this circumstance as a pretext to fold up the local Tibetan church and amalgamate it with the local Nepali church. I did not succumb to this dangerous suggestion."

* Such was the summary statement on this aspect of their relationship as it appeared in Gergan Tharchin's end-of-life record which he had had prepared not long before his death. According to another and equally reliable source, however, the same could not be said of their relationship when it came to the use of certain Tibetan church property or of the particular funds of the Scots Mission which the latter's ruling Mission Council, the EHMC, had allocated to the Tibetan church for its work in Kalimpong and elsewhere. See later in Chapter 29a for the details.

To his dying day Gergan Tharchin hoped that the local Tibetan church would be allowed by the Church authorities to continue to maintain its Tibetan culture, of which obviously the Tibetan language forms an integral part: without the use of that language in its services the Tibetan church, so far as Rev. Tharchin was concerned, could not be conceived of. Hence, this concept ruled out any possibility of amalgamating the Tibetan congregation with any non-Tibetan-speaking church. Such a merger would be tantamount to the destruction of the Tibetan culture during the Sunday services, which would in turn annihilate the identity and existence of the Tibetan congregation altogether. This Tibetan pastor's continual and fervent prayer was: May God grant wisdom from above to the Church authorities to leave the Tibetan church alone to enjoy its religious and cultural freedom.



The Tharchins had observed their silver wedding anniversary in 1949. For the occasion a party had been arranged for both friends and well-wishers alike. But in late 1954 Tharchin's wife Karma fell seriously ill and was therefore admitted for three months into what was then still known as the Charteris Hospital in Kalimpong.¹² She was very kindly looked after by Scottish Mission missionary Dr. Craig, who during the 1950s was the Hospital's Medical Superintendent. At that time Charteris possessed a line or row of individual cabins or cottage units situated along the main road where the rest of the Hospital's buildings were located. In one of these units was where Karma Tharchin lay throughout her entire hospitalization, and where also her husband and their son Sherab lived during the final days and weeks of her life.¹³

During this period of sickness many Tibetans and non-Christian friends visited the Tharchins in their Hospital "cabin" to express sympathy and kindness. The Tharchins used these opportunities to witness to the non-Christians about their faith and hope in Christ. "We are thankful to them," noted Tharchin, "for they consoled us and remembered us with their prayers, gifts and cooperation." Moreover, found among the Babu's personal papers were letters, postcards and notes which were sent from near and far to him as a way of encouraging his saddened heart. One such communication he received just prior to Karma Dechhen's admission to the hospital. It was from his dear friends over at Ghoom, the two or three Anilas, whom the Babu dearly loved as sisters of his in the family of Jesus. This postcard of 24 November 1954 was full of consolation and identification with their friend in his period of sadness. "Our Dear Tharchin Bro. in the Lord," began the card,

Today Wednesday you were specially remembered by the Tibet Prayer Fellowship members. We feel sad at heart over Sister Dechhen's illness, [we] joining you in prayer for her recovery, be it His will & for the glory of His name. Earnestly asking that our precious Sister may have a fresh revelation of God's love in Christ Jesus and [of the] Precious Blood [that] only [is] able & mighty to cleanse away sin & [can] shed His peace into the heart. It would have been good to sit at our Sister's side, but [let us] rejoice that in [the] Spirit we can be very close to you. Tell our love to her in our Redeemer's name & to you—love, love. [Signed] Anilas.

One particularly touching expression of kindness and understanding extended towards the Babu during this stressful period of his wife's grave illness was that shown by his very close friend and co-laborer in the gospel, David Macdonald. On Saturday 4 December 1954 the former British Trade Agent in Tibet penned a note of sympathy to the Tibetan pastor and offered some timely help. "My dear pastor," he wrote from his nearby Himalayan Hotel,

We are very sorry to hear that Guru Ama [Karma Dechhen] is very ill. We will remember her in our prayers. I shall gladly help you by taking the Tibetan [congregational church] service tomorrow morning (D. V.). With kind regards to you both from us all,

Yours affectionately,
D. Macdonald

It was sensitivity to his situation and timely kindnesses like this which helped to ease the burden of Tharchin's heart during the next few months of anxious waiting.

The last days of Karma Dechhen's life on earth were really like days in heaven for her. Until the very end she conversed cheerfully with all. She maintained her faith and trust in Christ as greatly as she had always done.

Now the Tharchins were able to cook their own food while they occupied the rooms of their private ward at the Hospital. On one particular occasion as Karma was near the point of death some bread had been left on the table. And what was about to ensue was an experience for Tharchin not unlike that of the two disciples of Jesus as they walked to the village of Emmaus.¹⁴ At a certain moment Mrs. Tharchin asked for the bread. Her husband handed a piece of it to her. From that portion she broke off a still smaller piece, closed her eyes and took the bread. Tharchin at first failed to realize the significance of this moment involving the bread. On the table there was also some orange juice in a cup. She asked for it, too, and her husband gave that to her as well, still unaware of what she was about. On the contrary, his understanding was withheld so that he could not comprehend the situation until the whole act had been consummated. She took the cup of juice, sipped from it, and then closed her eyes once more. After this she quietly said, "I am satisfied." Only in that instant were the Tibetan pastor's eyes of understanding opened, and he then understood that she was taking her last Communion with Christ by herself. Later Rev. Tharchin humbly confessed: "I am ashamed of myself that I could not perceive all this earlier. In fact, I should have myself arranged it for her beforehand. I am truly ashamed of myself."

Throughout that night Karma Dechhen occasionally spoke and slept. From time to time she would report to have seen wonderful things, perhaps in a vision or in her mind. In one instance she specifically mentioned having seen many stars blanketing the sky. In that visionary realm she beheld thousands of people gathered together with Bibles in their hands. She reported that they were either reading them or singing hymns. After narrating the vision she fell asleep. Her husband later asserted with great confidence and assurance that his dear wife was unquestionably saved in the Lord Jesus Christ. She remained conscious until the very last moment before her departure from this world. Finally she slept her last. Calmly and quietly this child of God, simple and sincere, left her earthly home at last for the eternal heavenly destination she had longed for and where she believed she would be in the sweet

presence of her glorious Lord forever and ever. For Karma Dechhen, what a blessed hope! Truly did David of old declare: "Precious in the sight of Jehovah is the death of his saints."¹⁵



Mrs. Tharchin was laid to rest in the old cemetery just beside the water tank where, as is commonly supposed, the first generation Christians—or more appropriately stated, the firstfruits of the early missionaries—were usually buried. This is confirmed by Rev. Graham, who in one of his earliest books, *On the Threshold of Three Closed Lands*, published in 1897, had devoted an entire chapter (and aptly titled "God's Acre") to those earliest local saints and earliest missionaries of the Mission who were buried here. These included the founder of the Scots Mission himself, William Macfarlane, and the first indigenous catechist, preacher and foreign missionary in the Mission by the name of Sukhman, a Gurkha Nepali. What may have given rise to possible uncertainty in some minds as to who among the local firstfruits of missionary service might be buried here may be the fact that, as Graham noted, "most of the graves are marked by mounds of stones, for few of the native Christians can afford aught else. Here and there we see one squarely made of bricks, and covered with cement, or even built up in the shape of a cross. One row, indeed, there is of the familiar chiseled stones, but these are to mark the graves of Europeans."¹⁶

Be that as it may, Karma Dechhen Tharchin was the first Tibetan believer from Lhasa to be buried in this Christian cemetery. Her husband observed that "from the worldly point of view she hailed from a well-bred and cultured family in Lhasa. But far more important than that: she was a redeemed child of God. In this fact we do rejoice."



One week following the passing of his beloved wife, Gergan Tharchin would compose a "Letter of Thanks," which first appeared in print three days later on 6 March 1955 in *The Himalayan Times*, Kalimpong. It would subsequently be reprinted in the Babu's own newspaper, on a page devoted entirely to this death event, accompanied by photographs taken at the gravesite of Karma Dechhen. The "Letter of Thanks," punctuated repeatedly with the heartfelt expression, "my unbearable sorrow," reads in full as follows:

I offer my thanks to all the Doctors, Compounders, Sisters, Nurses, Ayas and Sweepers in the hospital who were so kind to help at their best to my dear wife during her stay in Charteris hospital.

I offer my thanks to friends who kindly visited us during the long illness of my dear wife in the hospital and comforted us through prayers and gifts.

I offer my thanks to all the friends far and near who were remembering us in their prayers and words of comfort sent through letters and helped us in various ways

during my dear wife's long illness.

I offer my thanks to all kind friends and various caste and creed who helped me and took part in my unbearable sorrow at the time of her funeral ceremony and shared my heavy burden.

I offer my thanks to all the friends far and near who so kindly sent letters and telegrams of sympathy and shared my unbearable sorrow. I could not write individually, but through this letter I offer my hearty thanks to all of them.

Lastly, I thank God who was and is good to us and to me in my unbearable sorrow.
"LET HIS WILL BE DONE."

I am delighted that on 24/2/55 God has taken my wife from this troublesome world to His Glory and has given us the assurance that we shall meet again and remain there always where there is no sorrow and separation.

May the Lord help me to get ready to go there where my dear wife went happily and peacefully.

"DEAR BUMO, WE WILL MEET AT THE FEET OF JESUS. AMEN."

1-3-55

G. THARCHIN.

Needless to say, for Gergan Tharchin to have been separated from his dear life-partner of more than thirty years was a most difficult and painful experience to endure. Indeed, the profound sorrow he had over the loss of Karma Dechhen would apparently take its toll of Tharchin Babu in one very pleasing, unforgettable facet of his persona—his happy, cheerful mien—for the rest of his life. Gyan Jyoti, who knew the Babu well, indicated to this author that after Karma Dechhen died, Tharchin's demeanor, heretofore always extremely happy, cheerful—even, some have said, jolly—would never be the same, even after his second marriage that would occur a year or so later (see the following chapter). Having become sad and long-faced following his dear Karma's death, recalled Jyoti, Rev. Tharchin "changed completely." He had been "very fortunate in having had a Tibetan wife like Karma Dechhen, who did everything her husband had asked of her, and did so the way he had always wanted things done." On the other hand, Jyoti went on to say, with his second wife Margaret "the Babu was different; for though it was clear to all that they both loved each other quite much, he was never as cheerful or as contented as when Karma Dechhen was still alive." "Even so," Jyoti was quick to add, "Tharchin La was happy with Margaret; but there was nonetheless a definite perceivable difference—at least to me—in his general demeanor after Karma's death, he being not nearly as happy as when she had been his wife."^{16a}

Sometime afterwards the Babu would still be heard to remark about Karma Dechhen's homegoing to be with her Lord in these words: "It was very hard for me to part with her." In fact, a handwritten letter he wrote to his dear Japanese friend Hisao Kimura (Dawa Zangpo) just a little more than a month after Karma's death makes this abundantly clear. Poignancy over the loss of his beloved wife comes across in almost every line:

27 March 1955

My dear Mr. D. Zangpo,

These few lines just to thank you for your beautiful Xmas Card which we received when we were in hospital with my dearest and beloved wife who was very sick and had to be in hospital for nearly three months from 8 December 1954 to 24 February 1955. This is a sorrowful and sad news I am writing, with tears dropping from my eyes, that my beloved wife peacefully passed away on the morning of 24 February and [we] performed her last ceremony on the afternoon of 25 February.

Now I have lost my Right Hand and faithful life-companion forever and I feel very bad, and now it is more than a month, but still I am getting bad and no peace in my mind, I only recollect[ing] my dear wife. When we got your Card just at the time of Xmas she was so happy and remembered you, and we recollected the days you were with us. Now I have many things to settle and Phurpu Tshering [his son's nickname] to bring up, else I have no mind to stay here [on earth].

I feel so lonely, there [was] no comforter like her, but now I can't do anything [about it for] it was God's will and I have to bear the heavy burden of [the] cross. I am sure she is with Jesus, as she passed away so happily with kind advice and instructions.

Please do inform this sad news to Taktsher Rimpoche [eldest brother of the Dalai Lama who was in Japan at this time] and Mr. Bunkyo Aoki [dear friend and famed Tibetologist]. I shall also write them soon.

With my best kind greetings to your dear wife and love to children.

I am sorrowful
Tharchin¹⁷

In response to the above letter, which Kimura faithfully shared with the celebrated Japanese Tibetologist, Bunkyo Aoki penned a most touching Buddhist-oriented missive of condolence:

Dear Mr. Tharchin,

I was most grieved to hear from Mr. Kimura of the passing of your beloved wife, and unable to find the words to condole with you. I feel very sad to imagine that you are suffering from the unspeakable miseries both in your personal and public lives. We believe, however, that we will be delivered from the endless sufferings by the immeasurable Mercy of the Lord Buddha.

I am sure you will ever be protected and blessed with the Light of Love, which is emitted from your late better half, who has been born in the Buddha realm of "De-wa chen."

May you for ever be with the Mercy of Buddhas [*sic*], Om mani Pe me Hum.

With kind love,
Your Most Affectionate Friend,
B. Aoki¹⁸

Just a few days before receiving this condolence message, Tharchin Babula, still grieving, found an outlet for his grief and sadness by composing the following three-stanza poem written down in two segments on two different days three days apart. It is both melancholic and sanguine in expression:

Softly, softly, weeps my heart and
softly makes the pearly drop.
'Cause I find the world so gay
leading towards one's final stop.

Moment by moment and hour by hour,
the rules of life are laid.
When one is born, another dies. The
moral creatures have no rest.

11/5/55

Secret are my words of prayer for
only God may hear.
The hidden damage that none
can mend save this only prayer.

14/5/55¹⁹

A few days later Babula Tharchin would receive a short but most sympathetic letter of condolence from one of his many "sons"—Sonam Topgay Kazi. He happened to be on his way back up to Lhasa at the time he learned of the passing of Karma Dechhen. Though typewritten, it was obviously composed hurriedly, yet still heartfelt in tone:

c/o Rhenock House
P.O. Gangtok, Sikkim
17.5.1955

My dear Mr. G. Tharchin,

Extremely sorry for not being able to write you any letter since long time. I felt a great shock to hear of your dear wife's sudden departure from our [earthly] company. I read it in the Himalayan Times of Kalimpong after many days, and then I heard from my daddy [the Sikkimese aristocrat, Tsetan Tashi Kazi] with your message to home people here. You must excuse me for delayed letter.

Her kindness to me can never be forgotten by me and her memory of the past is as fresh as ever in my mind. I deeply mourn for her sudden departure leaving us in this troubled world. May God rest her soul happy and peaceful in His kingdom for ever.

Yours ever sincerely,
[Signed] Sonam Topgay
(Consulate, Lhasa Tibet)²⁰

Two decades later when having his "memoirs" prepared, the Tibetan pastor—despite the recollection of how lonely it had been for him back then—could nonetheless look back on the loss of his precious life-partner in uplifting terms: "Afterwards I grew very lonely, but I accepted this circumstance as the Lord's will for my life. And besides, I had come to realize, as the Scriptures tell us, that 'in all these things [even in death itself] we are more than conquerors through Him who loved us.'"

It was Gergan Tharchin's firm belief that those who cherish the secret of the Christian hope shall die in the Lord peacefully.

C H A P T E R 26

Renewed Life and Vision: Tharchin's Second Marriage and a Children's Home Established

The Lord knoweth the way of the righteous.
One [can] chase a thousand, and two put ten thousand to flight.
Religion that God our Father accepts as pure and faultless
is this: to look after orphans and widows in their distress ...

Psalms 1:6; Deuteronomy 32:30; James 1:27 NIV

IT SO HAPPENED that the Anilas, the Misses Edla Treshbech and Hanna Juriva,¹ came over to Kalimpong to pay a visit to Rev. Tharchin. Both these ladies hailed from Finland, and were living at Ghoom Mission in Karmala Cottage² situated not far from its more famous sister structure, Evelyn Cottage. For nearly forty years they had worked together as missionaries for the Ghoom Mission, with Ani Treshbech herself serving fifty-seven years! This in itself underscores what in part was said of these two missionaries by one missions writer who had herself been a missionary and whose own locus of Christian gospel work had been the District of Darjeeling too. Lillian Carlson, who knew Gergan Tharchin very well and had labored among the Tibetans of Kalimpong with him and others for the sake of the gospel, had the following to say of these two stalwart missionaries of the Cross:

As in all mission and Christian history there are many individuals who are worthy of special note for their untiring zeal and unflagging faith in the Lord. Suffice it to mention the two *anilas* ... of Ghoom, Miss Treshbech and Miss Juriva, who in their many years of service ... were an inspiration and encouragement to countless numbers, foreigners and nationals alike. They were tremendous women of prayer and real warriors of the cross.³

Yet, as will shortly become evident, the same testimony could also be given concerning these two ladies' junior associate and colleague Margaret Vitants* who on this particular occasion had come to Kalimpong with them too.⁴ In time she would become the second Mrs. Gergan Tharchin.

* The renewal application (in ?1956?) of her Indian passport indicated her given and maiden names as "nee Margareta Vitants"; but in consulting all the source materials in which her name appears, the present writer discovered a plethora of spellings for both given name and surname—especially for the latter—which various people conjured up when referring to her: Margaret, Margareta, Margarete, Margareta, Margret; Vitan, Vitant, Vitants, Vitandt, Vitandts, Witant, Witants, Witandt, Witandts, Wittandt, Wittandts, Wittant, Wittants! Yet even Margareta, it would appear, could not herself agree on what should be her name's proper spelling. This is evidenced by how in 1931 at Riga, Latvia, she had signed her name on the flyleaf of a German language volume of hers that was found in Gergan Tharchin's personal library: Margarete Wittandt!!

It must be remarked, however, that though Margareta, or Margaret, was born of Russian parents, the family



Now Margaret's original home had been at St. Petersburg, where she was born on 18 December 1899, the daughter of Ludwig and Meta Vitants, both of whom—like Margaret herself—having been born in a Russian Empire still ruled by the Tsars. As a young girl she grew up in the most culturally sophisticated city of Tsarist Russia. Soon afterwards, however, the family removed westward to Russia's Baltic territorial possession of Latvia. Along with the other sister Baltic States of Estonia and Lithuania, these three small eastern European lands had for two centuries been a part of the vast Russian Empire of the Tsars. In February 1918, though, these three territories achieved their independence as a result of the Communist Revolution of 1917 that overthrew the Romanov Emperor Tsar Nicholas II of Russia. As a consequence of this "Constitutional change"—as Margaret would long afterwards term it on her Indian passport—all Russians living in Latvia and in the other sister Republics along the Baltic Sea who remained there now forfeited their Russian citizenship and nationality and gained the Latvian, Estonian and Lithuanian counterparts. These three States would remain free and independent until 1940, when they were greedily re-annexed and absorbed within the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (the Soviet Union) in consequence of a Secret Protocol struck between Hitlerite Germany and Stalinist Russia.

This Protocol constituted the secret part of the widely publicized Non-Aggression Pact entered into the same day by the representatives of these two European powers. The signing of this Pact, called by one author on European affairs, "the most stunning political event in twentieth-century history," brought into an agreement of non-belligerency a Fascist State and a Communist State—both heretofore passionate enemies. But "an even more astonishing secret protocol" lay beneath the short-lived rhetoric of the published part of the Non-Aggression Pact and which within a year thereafter would divide eastern Europe between Fascist Germany and Communist Russia. For under this clandestine part of the Pact, all of which was signed on 23 August 1939 by V. Molotov and Herr von Ribbentrop (the respective foreign ministers of Russia and Germany), Stalin allowed Hitler to invade western Poland and Hitler permitted Stalin to occupy eastern Poland and to later swallow up the Baltic States in the north and Bessarabia—now called Moldavia but formerly a part of Romania—in the south. The invasion and occupation of Poland by the two powers began on 1 September 1939, the attack by the Germans ushering in the hostilities of World War

name of Vitants bears little resemblance to the generality of Russian names familiar to the present author from Russian history, politics, literature, religion, sports, or whatever. Given the political history of East and Central Europe as that history impinged itself on this particular family (see the presentation of it to follow in the Text above), the non-Russian character of the family name has led the author to surmise that Margaret's paternal grandfather may have been of Baltic, even partly German, extraction (since her father's given name was Ludwig), the grandfather having perhaps moved from the Baltic region of the former Tsarist-ruled Russian Empire to Russia proper where Margaret would much later be born in St. Petersburg and from which later place she and her father's family would subsequently resettle in the nearby Baltic State of Latvia and from whence several of the surviving members of the family would ultimately emigrate to Germany following the European War of 1939-45.

Two, and within weeks after that, the Soviet Union moving in to occupy its share of Poland in the east. And by 1940 Soviet Russia had annexed Margaret Vitants' home country of Latvia, as well as Lithuania and Estonia, and had also gobbled up Bessarabia. She and her family were once again Russian (though now Soviet) nationals!⁵



As will shortly be seen, it was because of the Soviet annexation of her homeland that Margaret's family would in the end relocate elsewhere in Europe. But in the earlier years while the family was still at Riga, young Margaret had belonged to the Girls Bible Circle (called Maedchen-Bibel-Kreisen MBK) and later, almost immediately after her personal conversion to Christ, to the Women's Mission Prayer Group or League (Frauen-Missions-Gebetsbund DFMB). It was during her identification with this latter prayer fellowship that "the Lord," she would later explain, "had laid on [my] heart" as gospel prayer burdens the people groups among the Himalayan kingdoms which at that time (the 1930s) were all still "closed to Jesus." These were the Tibetans, the Sikkimese, the Bhutanese and Nepalese. When almost forty years old, an unmarried single and without the backing of anyone, Miss Vitants went off by faith on her first journey to India in 1938, she for the most part remaining—as Margaret would term it on the renewal application of her Indian passport—engaged in "missionary work, independently" and supported, after her marriage, by "my husband and Prayer League with office in America and Germany." Some twenty-five years later she was to recount to a close friend from the Baltic region, Margaret Urban, a singular incident which had occurred in England during the course of her travel on this first missionary journey overseas. Miss Urban would subsequently publish the particulars as follows:

In London she lost her ship ticket. She was so ashamed of herself that she did not once let the members [of the faith mission she was with] know anything. She told only the head of the mission. But then the wonder occurred: the very next morning she had her ticket again! The honest finder had brought it to her in the suburbs thanks to the address which was enclosed with her ticket. This had taken place in a city of several million. As she told me this incident, I of course asked: "And if you had not gotten the ship ticket back?"—"Then I would have spent the rest of my money and purchased a new one."—"And you would have gone into a foreign land without even an emergency Groschen [currency]?"—"Yes." Such is the caliber of Margaret Wittandt.⁶

This courageous missionary from Latvia went on to confide to Miss Urban that because she could only learn the languages of the Himalayan border region via the English tongue, this latter was what she had had to master in India first! This would-be missionary to the Himalayan peoples did so, nonetheless, enduring in the process one trial after another that had included many sicknesses and the most difficult of medical operations. But once mastering English, sister Vitants went off to Landour in Northwest India⁷ to study Hindustani and later to Darjeeling to learn Nepali and Tibetan. Needless to say, with her kind of resolute

determination, she successfully passed all her examinations, as aided particularly by Gergan Tharchin with respect to the latter language (for the details, see a few pages hence).

It would appear that Miss Vitants' first independent work as a missionary, following her various language studies during 1938-9, had been at Pedong laboring with one of Gergan Tharchin's beloved Anilas. This is learned from a copy of a letter dated 14 August 1939 found among the Tharchin Papers and written by Guild Mission head W. M. Scott to the departed Dr. Knox (who was now back in Australia with his gravely ill wife, never to return to Kalimpong). In the letter the Mission leader reported his impressions of a recent arrival in the hill station: "A new lady from Latvia turned up on Saturday and left yesterday to join Miss Kempe in Pedong. She seems quite a decent sort and is young and keen. She is going to try the place, she says." Not surprisingly, given her plucky spirit and her devotion to her Lord, Miss Vitants remained at Pedong for some little while, became a fast friend of Miss Kempe's, and would apparently imbibe deeply of the selfless spirit and conduct of her older missionary friend (see a few pages hence about this).

During what developed into wartime years in India not long afterwards, however, it turned out to be nothing short of a very grim experience for Margaret. One must bear in mind that in this period India was still a part of the British Empire. And just as had happened during the First Great War of 1914-18, all foreigners on the Subcontinent who were citizens of those States in the world who were deemed by Britain to be her enemies or potential enemies were either asked to leave or else interned in camps which were ringed with barbed wire. The latter had been the fate, it will be recalled, of German missionary August H. Francke and other Moravians during World War One, and had also been the fate of Austrian Heinrich Harrer in the present War under discussion. Because of the Soviet annexation in 1940 of independent Latvia and the other two Baltic States, these three territories could have been deemed by the British to be a part of a potential wartime enemy during the early years of the conflict in Europe, and Great Britain would have accordingly been justified—from that country's point of view—in detaining Margaret Vitants or deporting her from India. Even so, since these formerly independent East European States had not made war against the British, had been taken over by Russia against their will, but had then, because of their inclusion in the Soviet Union, become allied a year later with Britain against Nazi Germany when the latter had shocked the entire world by invading Hitler's former "ally" Russia in June of 1941, Miss Vitants—though experiencing some anxious moments along the way—never ended up behind barbed wire nor was ever deported.

Yet despite this turn of fortune in her favor, sister Margaret found life hard in wartime India. As her friend Miss Urban has commented, "She almost begrudged the other missionaries: they at least had something to eat!" Moreover, added Urban, the freedom which had been preserved to Margaret by the British had nonetheless turned out to be "very threadbare, because everyone suspected her of being a spy. She therefore had to be extremely careful lest she suddenly end up before a War Court." Near the end of hostilities, though, the British Government of India, again in Urban's words, finally "took pity on her and granted her [citizenship] in the Union of Indian States."⁸ This was subsequently translated into full-fledged citizenship of Independent India after August of 1947: what Margaret would later describe on her Indian passport as having become an "Indian citizen by registration."

And thus it was that this Russian-born woman had adopted a *third* nationality and citizenship in less than ten years' time!

For the rest of her missionary life on the Subcontinent this development continually worked to her advantage, in that unlike the other missionaries who were required to pay high taxes to the Indian authorities on everything sent them from outside the country—whether money or goods, sister Margaret was always released from this obligation. And thus this made it possible for her to expend all funds received from contributors entirely for her missionary enterprises. A huge advantage, indeed!

Meanwhile, with the help of the various languages she had learned, Miss Vitants was able for some little while to carry on nicely the Christian work she had now been given the opportunity to perform at Lachen and Lachung in northern Sikkim State.⁹ This opportunity had been presented to her at the request of the Finnish Mission when during the only period of her work in India and its environs she had abandoned her “independent” missionary status by joining this Mission. These were the years 1948 to 1953. Besides serving the Mission at these two Sikkimese centers, she also did so in the community of Mangan further north. But she would additionally serve the Mission at Shillong¹⁰ and Buxa Duar¹¹ before settling at Ghoom with the Anilas and other Christian workers there for the few remaining years of her stint with the Mission. Interestingly, she too was often addressed with the title of respect which had attached itself to the other Anilas. *Her* title, however, became “Anisharpa”—meaning “the new ani”—almost from the first moment of her joining the Mission in 1948, and despite the fact she had already been on the mission field for a full ten years! Furthermore, regardless the place at which Margaret thereafter served—whether at Ghoom, in Sikkim or at Buxa—this title stuck with her forever!

It did not take long for people to recognize that in Margaret Vitants was a depth of spirituality which was both remarkable and rare. One person who got to know her well at Ghoom after 1949 would become a relative (by marriage) of the Tharchin family. This was Rev. Tshering Wangdi, who came to Ghoom in 1950 to live and work for a while. He had nothing but the highest praise for her, declaring that “she was *very* spiritually-minded, a gentle woman, humble, selfless and kind” (his emphasis). Another person who got to know Margaret quite well in her later life was Tharchin-la's daughter-in-law Nini. For during the many years in which the latter had lived with the elder Tharchins, Nini had been able to observe up close a truly profound self-giving spirit in sister Margaret. “She always took the lesser quality food served her at meals,” Nini remarked to the present author, “combining it with lemon water; for she herself never consumed meat, good quality rice or any rich foods but constantly partook only of simple fare.” Thus money was saved for the needs of others. On the other hand, explained Nini further, Margaret “would always serve better food for others, which brought her great joy whenever they heartily consumed what she placed before them to eat. She would especially enjoy providing a large, good quality meal for the poorer classes of people who often frequented the Tharchin home.” Furthermore, Nini added, “like Ani Kempe, whatever she received—whether money or food gifts—Margaret would always distribute it to others to meet *their* needs.” This, and so many other acts of self-giving which through the years she had been able to observe in Margaret had moved Nini to declare to the author how “inspiring” it had been for her to behold “the way God had

put together these two, Gergan and Margaret, because they both had the same spirit of generosity towards the less fortunate, a zeal for the Lord and His people, and such a willingness to sacrifice for the goodness and well-being of others.”* Unfortunately, some other Christian workers would grow jealous of Margaret’s spiritual ministry and this consequently created many difficulties for her, but she could testify that her Lord sustained her very wonderfully. She was proven to be a true Christian servant and this fact put her detractors to shame.

In 1953 on an Indian passport she had obtained in August of 1951 Miss Vitants went abroad to gain support for her soon-to-be launched work as an independent missionary once more in India, thus severing her official ties with the Finnish Mission. For this purpose she would visit several European countries as well as England, Canada and the United States. But while in Europe Margaret made a point of visiting for a while with her mother and sisters in Germany, whom she had not seen since departing for Asia fifteen years before. It needs to be mentioned that because of the Soviet annexation of her homeland, Miss Vitants’ family had ultimately moved to what after the War became the territory known as West Germany. This move of the family had occurred towards the end of the European phase of World War Two (that phase ending in May 1945) while Margaret was away in India. And this thus explains why it was to Germany and not to Latvia that Margaret had gone when she visited with the remaining members of her immediate family in 1953. But upon the conclusion of this reunion of the Vitants family, she traveled extensively through Switzerland and several other Continental countries before heading for England, the North American continent and finally back to India. In all places she visited Margaret sought to interest Christian individuals and groups in supporting by prayer and contributions her future endeavors for the gospel in India.

Upon her return to the Asian subcontinent in 1955 Miss Vitants went immediately back to Ghoom where she settled into a very old structure which by that time was known as the Samden building and located down along the “toy train” railroad tracks. This had been the original structure constructed by the Scandinavian Alliance Mission way back in the 1890s but which had subsequently been sold to a family named Samden (not, however, to be confused with Gergan Tharchin’s friend and Ghoom Mission school headmaster of long ago, Karma Samden Paul) after Evelyn (Enfield) Cottage was built much farther uphill for the Mission. Here Margaret, now 54 years old and an independent missionary once again, began to hold Bible classes for both adults and children, organize prayer meetings, and even arrange for evangelistic meetings. It was thus in the midst of these activities and not long

* Interview with Nini (Mrs. S.G.) Tharchin, 12 Dec. 1992. She had shared these observations with the author within the context of having recalled for him what she had once heard Gergan Tharchin relate about his dear missionary friend Ani Kempe; for Nini had favorably compared sister Margaret’s sacrificial lifestyle with that of the Ani. “I remember one occasion,” the Babu had reminisced, “when Ani Kempe had nothing with which to purchase food for herself. Nevertheless, she had just then received a substantial monetary gift from someone; yet she never set aside any of it for her own future needs but had immediately gone out and bought all kinds of foodstuffs, clothing and shoes and proceeded to distribute to all and sundry among the many needy people around her! Truly did she exhibit a genuine missionary spirit!” Nini Tharchin went on to add in the author’s interview with her that “Margaret Tharchin had the same missionary spirit, one which is rare to find in others today.”

after her return to India that she accompanied the Anilas to Kalimpong, which was sometime during the month of September 1955. And while in the hill station the Anilas and Anisharpa made a point of visiting with Rev. Tharchin and having a time of prayer and Christian fellowship.

This was not the first time that Margaret had met Babu Tharchin, for over the years previous to this she had already had several interactions with him. Not least of these was the instance which had occurred in 1948. It so happened that in late January of that year Margaret had sent from the Ghoom Finnish Mission an inked handwritten letter to Tharchin Babu requesting a favor of him: "Dear brother Tharchin," she began, "As [the] Anilas are longing to have a rest in Kalimpong and my [Tibetan language] examination is drawing nearer, I would ask you if I could come and stay with you and have you as an adviser in the language—I prefer to stay with you and to hear the Tibetan language."

Explaining further that she had previously made arrangements to stay at the Himalayan Hotel, she makes clear that should Tharchin's answer prove to be positive, she was prepared instead to pay *him* the Hotel rate of Rs 2, 8 (i.e., 2 Rs, 8 annas) per day. "Please, dear brother," she implored, "let me soon know, if I can come—with Christian greetings from us all—to you and your family." As though to underscore the desire of the Anilas themselves to see Margaret have this opportunity to stay with the Tharchins for this important language purpose, Ani Treshbech added a kind of postscript to the note just below Margaret's closing, as follows: "Dear brother. Sister V. tells [us] that Mr. Macdonald had earlier promised to keep Sister V. at Rs 2.8 per day, but if you cannot keep her for so cheap [a rate], please write frankly so."

Given the well-known generous and hospitable nature of Gergan Tharchin and his closeness to these Ghoom missionary sisters, one can say with a great deal of confidence that Margaret was welcomed into the Tharchin home for the said purpose. For although no extant evidence could be found among the Tharchin Papers of a reply having been sent by the Babu, there nonetheless was found the following handwritten "thank you" letter from Margaret to Rev. Tharchin which most likely is related to the assumed stay in question, since it is dated but a little over a month from the time of Margaret's original request. Dated 6 March 1948, it reads as follows: "Dear Mr. Tharchin, These are only a few lines to thank you for all your kindness and help to me—Praise the Lord, all is over [most probably a reference to the Tibetan language exam]—but now there will be other high mountains [of challenge] before me, for which I have to pray—and to claim up [*sic*]—But nothing is impossible for God—May He bless you and your house—Yours sincerely, Margaret Vitants."^{11a}

Returning to the narrative at hand, it would now be these three stalwart Christian missionaries from Ghoom—the two Anilas Treshbech and Juriva and Anisharpa—who would not only pay their profound respects to the Babu but also sympathize with him in all his sorrow and loneliness and attempt as best they could to console him over his bereavement at the loss of his former lifelong partner. As indicated earlier, this was during September 1955.



After the days of fellowship the Anilas and Margaret returned to Ghoom and continued to carry on their ministry as usual. The Anilas prayed much for Gergan Tharchin and pondered in their hearts about his future. Indeed, found among his papers was a letter the two Anilas had written a month later, on 16 October, thanking the Babu and his son Sherab for their “sweet” hospitality, and declaring with emphasis: “It will make you happy to know: that there will not be a day when we shall not pray for you, & give thanks to God that He is *able* & mightily willing to do great things in your life.” A recent letter of his, they went on to say, “we received late last evening, very welcome since our thoughts & prayers were and are with you since we left you waving ‘adieu’ to us,” and adding—by way of further consoling the Babu—“May the God of *all* comfort comfort you with His very *real* presence.”

But the Anilas also indicated in their letter their ongoing interactions with Anisharpa: “We were at Sist [Sister] Margret’s place yesterday for prayer, united in spirit with many others on behalf of Tibet, her people, & gospel workers.... The hours [of prayer] were precious. Sist Margret told [us] she had written you about our safe arrival [back from Kalimpong].... M. came for supper last evening but before your letter came, so she will get to read it ... tomorrow.... Those days you kept us [three] in your house were most delightful, a sweet little holiday when both of you [Tharchin and son] so lovingly served all three of us.... With loving greetings in Christ to both of you from the old happy Anilas.”

Now after further prayer and much consultation over at Ghoom between these two very elderly Anilas, they thought that Margaret would make a second suitable life-partner for the Tibetan pastor. They proposed the name, and both concerned parties—Margaret and Gergan—were happily surprised. Both accepted the proposal of the Anilas with great grace and obedience, as they looked up to them like their mothers in the Lord. Whereupon, the engagement took place in Ghoom on the 1st of March 1956. This is learned from a draft, found among the Tharchin Papers, of the Engagement and Wedding announcement, dated Ghoom P.O. 6 Feb. 1956, which was sent to various friends, colleagues and other well-wishers. It had been signed as follows: “G. Tharchin & Margaret. Isa. 30:21.”* Several friends—including Rev. and Mrs. Targain, Mr. Chemjong from Kalimpong, as well as Rev. Chhotuk (C. T. Pazo) from Gangtok, and others—made a special trip in a landrover to be present for the occasion in Ghoom.

Although one could describe this engagement/marriage between the Indo-Tibetan gentleman and the Russo-Latvian lady as in some sense an arranged one, it was not in the least devoid of love between the two. As a matter of fact, almost from the outset of their relationship there began to be manifested quite a profound and heartfelt affection for each other that never ceased thereafter. And also, not surprisingly, given their deep spirituality, there was a profound recognition in their hearts that their God had brought them together in

* This is a reference to a verse from the book of Isaiah in the Judeo-Christian Old Testament Scriptures, and reads: “And thine ears shall hear a word behind thee, saying, This is the way, walk ye in it; when ye turn to the right hand, and when ye turn to the left.”

a most remarkable way—all for His glory and purpose. This sense of oneness in heart, spirit and purpose for whatever their future married life might hold can readily be discerned from a spate of letters Margaret had almost daily sent to Tharchin that had been preserved by the latter among his personal papers. All this is likewise confirmed by several extant letters sent from the Babu to Margaret, copies of which were also preserved. Taken as a whole, they can easily be termed “love letters,” for they are filled to overflowing with words of endearment, deep affection and heartfelt expressions of concern for each other’s health and well-being. But they also are reflective of an abiding sense in their hearts of an unmistakable special divine calling on them in their future joint life together. Indeed, there is an indication of this in a one-stanza poem which Tharchin, the poet that he was, had included in a letter to Margaret over at Ghoom which he had sent her very early on in their romantic relationship. Dated 26 October 1955 and signed, “With my deep deep L. & K—Yours, waiting in His Will,” the letter’s inside blank left page was where he had penned in ink the following five-line prose poem:

Although my old body is here, but
my young heart is there, I do not
know why it is so. But I have full
faith & confidence in Him, that He
has something to do better for His glory.

Illustrative on Tharchin’s side of his growing love for Margaret are two letters he sent her on 3 January and 20 March 1956. Both of them handwritten in ink, they speak of his love for Margaret, his concern that nothing untoward happen to either of them pending their marriage, and of his desire that whatever they do together will bring glory to their Lord. Here is what in part he wrote in both letters which he sent off to Margaret at Ghoom:

[Kalimpong, 3 January 1956] Darling Sweet Mar, Thank you so much deary for your long letter of New Year’s Day, which I received at 10 a.m. at home.... It is good [for me] to have work, but I have to work hard again. I hope the Lord will give me strength.... I will be happy, as we are nearer [the Wedding date], [that] if anything should happen [with you at Ghoom], it is only 2 ½ hours away.... I am longing to see my sweet darling Mar ... We need to meet in prayer & talk more for our future. I hope in the Lord, deary, that He will keep me & you some more years yet to serve His Kingdom.... Please do not be anxious for me [he had a cold, sore throat, and cough], but take great care for your health. Deary, pray that I may get more time to pray & study the Bible; at present I am engaged with many other works, but ... whatsoever I do is for His glory, [and] in this way I can help others & provide work [for them].... So I close this letter with my love from my whole heart ...

[Kalimpong, 20 March 1956, 7:30 a.m.] My deary Mar, I hope that you are quite well & nothing is gone wrong, but I am very anxious, since yesterday afternoon I felt some uneasiness in my mind.... Deary, only the Lord knows how I feel when I do not get a letter, especially today ... Deary, now only 12 days left [till the Wedding]. Till then I hope nothing happens to both of us.... So many friends we have are in prayer with us

... Let His will be done in all our doings, let it be for His glory.... Many are jealous and envying ... us. Let us be strong to face everything & I am sure by His grace we shall get through all these difficulties for the remaining few days ... till 2/4 [2d April, the Wedding date], then we shall be Conquerors & victorious over every hardship.... It is now 10:30 p.m. I shall stop this writing with anxiety, but in prayer. Take my sweet ... love, Your H[usband] after 12 days if D.V. [if God wills].

Typical of Margaret's expression of deepening love for her future husband and of her desire that God's will and glory be manifested in their future walk together was one particular letter from among many still preserved which she sent from Ghoom to her "sweet, sweet darling Thar." Dated 12 February 1956, 4 p.m., it reads in part as follows:

God bless and help you. My thoughts, heart & body are with you. Even [though] I am here, deary, you are so near to me.... Oh, ... soon, soon we shall be together. The time flies. May the Lord help you with your work.... Sweetheart, I am so longing for you, and our love is truly growing, day by day. May it be still sweeter afterwards.... May the Lord bless us both, as we are getting ready for our great day—and our future life. What joy & love the Lord has given us! We have no words to praise Him. We are so poor, and yet so rich in Him—All is only by His grace and love. He knows we love Him! ... Truly, deary, how will it be when, God willing, we shall be as one together? I don't know, I can only close my eyes and rest in Him and in you. Before me is an awesome step & way, but it is Jesus before and behind [me], and we both want to do His will, do all for His glory and [see] His Kingdom come. Deary, tomorrow will be only 4 months [ago that] we met before the Throne of Grace [possibly a reference to when they agreed to marry], and [yet] it seems so long, so long [ago]. Each month [since then] it gets sweeter & deeper—so deep, so deep, so sweet, so sweet. How good, God gave us such love....

On the 2nd of April 1956 at Kalimpong Gergan Tharchin and Margaret Vitants were united in holy matrimony in the local Macfarlane Church building. He was nearly 66 years old (Western reckoning), she was ten years younger. Rev. Targain officiated at the ceremony. After the wedding a sumptuous luncheon was arranged in the Himalayan Hotel. Delicious Tibetan dishes were served at the occasion. Both the wedding-service and after-service programs were themselves a Christian witness to many non-Christian Tibetans. After the entire program the newly-wedded couple departed for Ghoom on their honeymoon.

About this choice for their honeymoon the bridegroom simply commented: "This was the leading of the Lord." At Ghoom they lived in the very bungalow that had long served as the headquarters of the Finnish (Ghoom) Mission. It will be recalled that ever since those bygone days it had been referred to as Evelyn or Enfield Cottage. Coincidentally, on his first arrival from Delhi back in 1912 the young man from Poo had lived in this same Cottage. And, again, in the same building, Tharchin and his former wife had for one month spent time together in revising the Tibetan Hymn Book.

In this very dwelling Gergan Tharchin was now to recollect all these memories from the past. The owner at that time, who had purchased the building from the Finnish Mission, had not maintained its proper upkeep and as a result the rooms were in a wretched condition.

They were dismal and dirty. Rev. Tharchin reminded the owner that this residence had once been used for God's work and asked him how he could have neglected it so badly as to allow an awful stench to develop. These remarks pained the owner so deeply that he was ashamed of himself. Later he had the entire premises made immaculately clean, neat and tidy.

The following day, on the 3rd of April, presbytery meetings were scheduled to be held in Darjeeling. Both the Revs. Targain and Chhotuk made special arrangements for Rev. Tharchin to obtain a leave of absence, for which he had himself made an application. The request was granted most understandably. And after a week or ten days the Tharchins returned to Kalimpong and resumed their normal work in both the Press and the church.



After her arrival back at Kalimpong, Margaret invited a well-known Bhutanese family—the Napa P. Tsherings—to come over from Ghoom as well. It will be recalled that before her marriage Margaret had performed missionary service both in northern Sikkim (at Lachen and Lachung) and at the Bhutanese hill station of Buxa Duar. Both these lands figured prominently in the personal history of the Tshering family members, as the following historical sketch will make clear. Sarah, the wife of N. P. Tshering, had been born and reared in a Christian family at Lachung, Sikkim, whereas Napa himself had been born and raised up in Bhutan. Sarah's Christian father had for some time been an evangelist in Sikkim, but when he and his wife, together with Sarah and the rest of the family, had eventually moved from Lachung over to the Finnish Mission at Buxa Duar, the evangelist became a teacher at the Mission school there. By this time Sarah was in her teens.

Now it was at Buxa that Sarah was to meet her future husband, Napa. Napa was Buddhist; but Sarah, whom he was soon to marry, was a Christian. When the two of them were finally married, Sarah was of course, by custom, taken in by Napa to live with him in his parents' home. In time, however, and after the death of Napa's Buddhist parents, Sarah—who had remained steadfast in her Christian faith—now had opportunity to successfully lead N. P. and their four children to Christ: two boys and two girls (they later adopted as their third son a Bhutanese orphan boy). In the meantime, N. P. Tshering and his family had relocated to Ghoom where they were living at the time of Margaret Tharchin's invitation to move over to Kalimpong.

As a result of Margaret's prayers and ministry, all the previously non-Christian members of this family were eventually baptized, and Napa Tshering himself became in due time one of the elders of the local Tibetan church in Kalimpong (and for the longest time remained so even into his old-age years). Moreover, Sarah, who had been baptized long before, became a helper in the Children's Home that was soon to be founded by Margaret and Gergan Tharchin. In addition, the elder Tshering daughter Nini was joined in marriage to Tharchin's

only remaining child,* his son by adoption, Sherab Gyamtsho, †¹² who became an elder and later, with the death of Rev. Tharchin, became the pastor of the local Tibetan church. In fact, these two were married in 1959 at the Macfarlane Memorial Church. The couple have had eight children, four sons and four daughters, though, sadly, the next to youngest son, Benjamin, died quite unexpectedly on 1 August 1999 in his early twenties. Sadly, furthermore, Pastor Sherab Gyamtsho has himself passed away, having died from a severe adverse lung condition on the 5th of May 2005, ‡ after having faithfully served as Superintendent of the Children's Home for nearly three decades; while his wife Nini, having served devotedly as Matron of the Home during these past decades, now continues to serve as its general overseer as best she can despite the loss of her husband, and most recently (October 2008), her eldest son David. It should be added here that Sarah is no longer alive, nor is N. P., who for many years after his wife's death lived with his daughter Nini and Sherab Gyamtsho at the Tharchin homesite along K. D. Pradhan Road but who passed away on 25 April 1991 at the age of 78. Though he had been a diabetic and suffered from high blood pressure, his death was nonetheless very unexpected; and daughter Nini was quite heartbroken over his demise inasmuch as she and Sherab were away at Thimphu (Bhutan's capital) at the time attending the wedding of a relative and had therefore had no opportunity to be next to her father during his last moments.¹³

* That the elder Tharchins had another child, an adopted daughter, is confirmed to the present author by Sonam T. Kazi, a longtime Sikkimese-Tibetan friend of the Tharchin family. In an interview the present author had with him in October 1991, Mr. Sonam T. confided the following: "During my student days at Kalimpong College [in the mid-1940s], I remember, when visiting frequently in the home of Tharchin Babu, seeing ... the Tharchins' adopted daughter whose name was something like Miriam. I remember she was much taller than [their] little boy Phubu Tsering." The latter was Sherab Gyamtsho Tharchin's childhood name. SGT himself has provided additional information about this adopted daughter. In a letter to the author dated Kalimpong, 14 Jan. 1991, the younger Tharchin wrote: "I recall having a sister named Marium or Mariyam (... for the English *Mary*), who was elder to me. But she died when she was around 14-15 years of age, which was when I was a little boy. And as far as I can recollect, the cause of her death was illness (most probably a chest problem)." When comparing S. G. Tharchin's recollections with an item of information which the present author discovered in a letter written by Tharchin Babu himself in 1949, one can deduce that the adopted daughter had been born in 1928 or 1929 and that she died in 1942 at the age of 14 or 15. See Tharchin to Joseph V. Nunes, Kalimpong, 21 Sept. 1949, in which the Babu had written: "We had one daughter, but [she] died in 1942."

† Interestingly, it was the result of the present author's research which, when shown to S. G. Tharchin, had *definitively* revealed to him for the first time that he was not the offspring of his father Tharchin but his adopted son. The younger Tharchin had indeed received intimations of this fact from his friends around town and even once or twice inadvertently from his Tharchin parents, but these intimations never fully registered in Sherab's mind. Only when presented with the incontrovertible evidence, both published and private, by the author did these intimations of long ago take on real and substantial meaning in Sherab Gyamtsho's mind. And as a consequence the younger Tharchin, his memory now prompted by the author's "revelations" to him, was able to recall an unusual incident, heretofore long forgotten, in an interview the author had with SGT at the Tharchin home on 9 February 1992. The relating of this incident to the author opened up for the latter a fascinating episode that among other things reveals much about the winsome character of the elder Tharchin. This quite meaningful episode is recounted for the reader in Chapter 29a of the present narrative.

‡ The funeral for Pastor S. G. Tharchin was held on Sunday afternoon 8 May at a service held within the main residence of the Tharchin compound. Many people attended to pay their last respects to him. Conducting the service were Rev. Samuel Lepcha of the Church of North India and Rev. B. K. Biswas of Masihi Mandali (of nearby Algarah). Afterwards a funeral procession was led down to Polhill Hall where, in a befitting gesture, he was brought inside one final time. For it had been here that for several decades the late Rev. G. Tharchin's son had devotedly preached from the Christian Scriptures to the flock of God which he had shepherded so faithfully during that same lengthy period. Following the singing of one hymn and offering up one prayer,



The Christian Scriptures declare that the “religion which God our Father accepts as pure and faultless is this: to look after orphans and widows in their distress ...”¹⁴ In keeping with the spirit of this text Margaret caught the vision of establishing an orphanage for the Tibetan poor, needy and deserving children. She wrote to her friends abroad, who subsequently sent some financial assistance with which to commence the initial work of the Children’s Home. Its objectives were threefold: first, to teach the children about the Lord Jesus Christ the only Savior of mankind; second, that through the children the parents too might receive the light of the gospel of Christ; and third, insofar as it was possible, to provide the necessary humanitarian and educational requirements for the children who were poor and needy.

In the past, several persons had indeed endeavored to establish orphanages for the Tibetan children (including, it will be recalled, Tharchin himself in conjunction with Dr. Knox back in 1928), but the plans could never be realized due to the non-cooperation of the authorities concerned. Now, though, there arose a new opportunity.* Originally, the Tharchins had had the idea of establishing a pure orphanage—that is to say, the type of Home in which only parentless children could be admitted. But it soon became obvious to them that such pure cases were few in number. The next idea was to admit the poor, needy and deserving but only from among the Tibetan children. This notion likewise proved to be unrealistic, since the Tharchins also discovered that there were not that many Tibetan children who were in need. And hence, from the very outset, the scope of admissions was widened to include Nepalese, Lepchas, Bhutanese, Sikkimese, as well as other children.

Rev. Tharchin conceived the original blueprint for the orphanage but Margaret was the one who had the real vision for the project. Many were not pleased with this venture of theirs and some were outright jealous about the whole program. Nevertheless, as in so many other instances of their life together, because the Tharchins were—in the words of a close friend—“like two glowing coals, ... it is no wonder that something happens.”¹⁵ Indeed, a Christian humanitarian group in Europe, when approached by Margaret, took a keen interest in the work and welfare of the children. This was the organization called Kindernothilfe E.V. (*Kinder* – children; *Not* – need; *Hilfe* – relief, help, aid or assistance), and generally referred to, for short, as Kinder Not by the Tharchins.¹⁶ Kinder Not was even

Pastor S. G.’s remains were taken from the Hall and borne to his final resting place directly beside his father.

Thereafter, for a number of evenings, prayer services were held within the Tharchin residence conducted by different churches and Christian groups. During one of these prayer services, that of 12 May, the video recording of Pastor Tharchin’s funeral was telecast on the local TV channel. But finally, a Memorial Service was held at the Tharchin residence on Sunday afternoon, 29 May, as a suitable way for the many assembled to remember Pastor Tharchin’s life and work.

* It should be mentioned, incidentally, that besides the opportunity afforded the Tharchins and now to be described in the Text pages to follow above, there was also, by the mid-1960s, another orphanage established in Kalimpong which catered particularly to the needs of the Tibetans, this one founded by a Brethren missionary couple stationed in the hill station, Rev. and Mrs. Thomas J. Pratten. See p. 4 of “The Story of the Christian Mission to Tibet (Compiled by Rev. G. Tharchin and Others),” unpublished typewritten paper prepared in late 1966 and found among the ThPaK.

prepared to sponsor the entire program provided the Children's Home would be affiliated with a church.

Accordingly, Rev. Tharchin went before the Mission Council with a request. Explaining to the members present at the meeting that he and his wife had recently established such a faith work for needy children, he made a point of bringing to their attention the fact that those children already taken into the Home were not only Tibetans but also Nepalis and other hill peoples' children. In fact, he added, the very first six children to be admitted were half-orphan offspring of Lepcha villagers. Moreover, these children had supposedly been under the care of two outreach congregations of the Macfarlane Memorial Church (one located at the village of Totetangta near the Bhutanese border, the other, at Chebo near Kalimpong). From the very beginning, Rev. Tharchin made clear, "we have been operating the Home on faith. And as a result of our faith in God to supply what is necessary, a philanthropic organization in Germany became aware of this work and have offered to extend help. It would even be willing to sponsor the entire program, provided the Home can be affiliated with a church. I am therefore coming to you in the Council in order to request not money but only your willingness to allow the Home to be affiliated with the Mission Council in order to meet the minimum condition laid down by Kinder Not." Before concluding his remarks of explanation on his petition, the Babu emphasized again that he was not requesting any allocation of funds but only church affiliation.

Unfortunately for the Tharchins, the attitude of some on the Council was such that, totally ignoring the Tibetan pastor's repeated emphasis that no money was being sought, these members could only project onto the Council for its consideration their fear that should the foreign support cease for any reason, the Mission Church Council would become liable for the financial requirements of the Home. Rev. Tharchin countered by repeating again: "I am not asking now, and shall not do so anytime in the future, for a single paisa but only for affiliation." Nevertheless, those on the Council who had objected to the request repeated their imagined fear of what might eventuate for the Council should Kinder Not's support be terminated. In a final response, Babu Tharchin stood up and shouted forth to these objectors: "You people have no faith in God! Our God is *not* a poor God that He is unable to supply all our needs."

Though Pastor Tharchin's request motion was tabled at this meeting, the Mission Council's ultimate ruling on the matter would only finally come after a delay of two whole years. It was willing, the Council said in its ruling, to recognize the Children's Home as the part-activity of the Tibetan church, but it was made clear that in making its decision the Council was not in a position—on the contrary, it flatly declined—to contribute a single penny towards the Home in times of crisis.

Shortly following the handing down of this decision, Rev. Tharchin was heard to say privately, in a somewhat humorous vein: "We now know why it took the Council such a long time to decide on our request. They were continually afraid that they would be held accountable at some future date for all financial support. They imagined they would have to contribute money; yet I told the Council repeatedly that no money would ever be involved!"^{16a}

So trusting in God alone, the Tharchins in 1962 founded the Himalayan Children's Home in Kalimpong as a work of faith. From the earliest days there had been a great deal of

encouragement received from the United States in the person of Pastor Adolfs Majorins (an immigrant Latvian) who, along with a small but very faithful circle of friends around Pastor Majorins there, stood behind the Tharchins in supporting this work of faith.* Likewise in America, there was a very prominent Protestant evangelical Church leader who expressed deep interest in the Tharchin orphanage. Through others he and his wife had learned of this work of faith quite early on in its history and immediately forwarded a substantial contribution. For a letter and check arrived in early September 1962 from Rev. C. Arangaden based at Bangalore. In it he wrote the following encouraging words:

You may recall my interest in what Mrs. Tharchin and you are trying to do for Tibetan children and the Home you are building for some of them. I have since then had opportunity to place the matter before Dr. Sherwood Eddy & Mrs. Eddy who continue to be deeply interested in the return of people to Christ and also in the well-being of those who are without help. They have been pleased to contribute Rs. 500 towards your Home for the Tibetan children and I enclose a cheque for the same. They & I would be happy if you could use this gift. It comes with the assurance of continued remembrance in prayer.

P.S. If you wish to write to the Eddys, they can be reached in Jacksonville IL [and he gave the address].^{16b}

Yet not only in America but also in both Germany and Switzerland it would especially be the prayer support of the "Faith-sisters" of the chapters of the Women's Mission Prayer Group—to whom, as was learned earlier, Margaret had belonged from the days of her conversion to Christ—that continually undergirded the work of the Children's Home.¹⁷ So that by 1965 Tharchin could report that "now we have 20 children, among whom there are Tibetans, Bhutanese, Lepchas, Sikkimese and Nepalese." He could also report, no doubt with a sense of accomplishment, that "one of the girls ... who was with us for two years has now been sent to the Mirik Bible School and has joined there from 1st June '65. We pray that she may do well and spend her future life for the work of the Lord Jesus." But the Children's Home co-founder then added that because the Home was not able to secure seats for all of its girls in the local Girls' High School, he and Margaret "have started a private school for them at our compound." This thus represented a further advance in the work of the Home.^{17a}

In the meantime, the question of whether the Mission Council should continue to recognize the Children's Home as a facet of the Tibetan Mission work was raised again a few years following its founding. This was reported by the Tibetan pastor as a part of his summary news on the Tibetan congregation of Kalimpong for publication in the *Eastern Himalayan Church News* (UCNI). In his news summary submitted in January 1969, Tharchin could report that at the Church Council meeting held in November of the preceding year (and at which he was again present) it was decided to write and inquire further of Kinder Not about the matter, much of the Council membership most likely hoping that the German philanthropic organization might be willing to continue its full or partial support of the Home

* In a letter dated 10 April 1964, Margaret referred to "Mr. Adolfs Majorins of the U.S.A." as "my friend." ThPaK.

even should the Council find it necessary to drop its Church tie to the work of the Home. Not mincing his words in the least, however, Rev. Tharchin added the following candid observations: "I am sorry to mention here that some of our [Council] members are afraid of a financial handicap in the future. It seems to me that they have no faith in the Almighty who is the owner of all the wealth. Anyhow, they might be wiser to drop this question till the next Council meeting." That was how the Tibetan pastor, living up to his near legendary reputation for being bold and forthright, had frankly and quite openly couched his comments for publication, all of which were to be included in the June 1969 number of the *Church News*. But the powers that be, no doubt smarting from Tharchin's candid assessment, felt it necessary to tone down his remarks that subsequently appeared under the title and byline, "'Kalimpong: Tibetan Congregation,' by Rev. G. Tharchin"; for an altered version of the more blunt segment read as follows: "It seems that the Council is afraid that it may have to bear the financial responsibility, which it is not able to do!"¹⁸ It was thus made abundantly clear once more that the Tharchins—had they ever had a mind to, which was completely out of the question in any case—could never look to the Mission Council for any kind of monetary assistance whatsoever.

There would be other instances of disappointment, such as happened with Kinder Not itself. This organization had for some years continued to support the work with its funds, and accordingly the Home's annual accounts audited by the Chartered Accountants were sent to the German group regularly for review. In fact, three years into the history of the Children's Home, Kinder Not's Director, W. Thielmann, had been moved to write quite supportively, as follows: "The next remittance will be sent in the beginning of October 1965. Wish you the best for your work. Please give our regards to ... Mrs. Tharchin and to all our foster-children.... We like to support your Children's Home as long as we have foster-parents for the children, and we are convinced that we are able to give our help also in future."¹⁹ Eventually, however, due to certain mistakes and misunderstandings Kinder Not discontinued its financial support. This was, to say the least, a very heavy blow.

Another such instance of disappointment—keen in the extreme—stands, nonetheless, as a shining example of how very much Margaret Tharchin and her husband stood in faith. The episode is told in Margaret Urban's little volume *Jesus unter Tibetern* (Jesus among Tibetans), which doubtless had been related to the authoress by Mrs. Tharchin herself. Writes Miss Urban:

A Swiss factory owner sent her a check for over 40,000 francs. She had never before received such a large gift. It was to her as "Yes" from God for her new undertaking. Right away she had begun to build the big house, comprising the Orphanage, gospel hall, free-time home, and parsonage. Her heart rejoiced—and then came the disappointment! In the correspondence back and forth which had shortly afterwards developed, it [became clear that it had been] assumed [by the Swiss donor] that the orphans would be raised in the religion of their fathers—Buddhism. From the Swiss man's viewpoint, this requirement had been a noble intention. But Mrs. Tharchin had naturally felt she had to send the gift back to the good giver with an accompanying explanation. Nevertheless, she still wanted to manage without the money, for she was not [willing to compromise her stand of] Jesus being the only Savior of these children.²⁰

From all this it can easily be judged that it was not always easy for the Tharchins—especially Margaret—to cope with the responsibilities connected with the Home. On one occasion in 1964 Miss Urban, who as a younger missionary was visiting in the Tharchin home for two weeks that year, happened to come upon Mrs. Tharchin's study where the latter would usually be occupied in responding to letters and handling financial matters involving the Children's Home. This day, missionary Urban wrote in her book, she caught a glance from Margaret's eyes, which were "distant, large and full of tears as she looked at me." In that one tearful glance, the younger missionary explained, "I first understood that it is not easy to carry out a missions task from Jesus in such a way that the Enemy does not win ground."²¹

Yet, despite all the various vicissitudes which have marked its history, to this present day the Children's Home has continued to be maintained through the generous support sent in by Christians from different places. In recent years more children have been admitted; but additional space was required in the face of even a greater need for the poor and needy to be admitted. It has been most encouraging to witness a move among a small group of supporters in America some two decades ago whereby funds had been provided that permitted the capacity of the Home to be more than doubled; and at this writing, the renovation that has made this increase possible has long since been completed and the increased numbers of children have for some time now occupied most of the available spaces.

During the regular vacation periods those children who wish to, and who have one or both parents or guardians, are sent home. In their homes they pray before taking their meals. At both the rising and the retiring hours they again pray to Jesus. Directly or indirectly, the children are able to testify to their parents about the love of Christ.* They also have modeled before them Christ-like character as lived out in their presence by the Home's leaders and other spiritual Christians in their midst.

Some parents are thankful because their children receive a good Christian education and training. Others send their children only for the sake of receiving material benefits. Regardless the motives, the children have wonderful opportunities to hear and learn about the love of Christ through their live-in experience at the Home, and through the Sunday School and the church and various other activities of the church.

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Now a typical day in the busy life of Rev. Tharchin during these years—which saw a

* Nevertheless, it must be acknowledged that more than likely because of the Christian instruction given, some of the children never returned to the Himalayan Children's Home from their holiday periods, as was the case once in 1970. In his annual summary of Church news regarding the Kalimpong Tibetan congregation for that year, the Tibetan pastor wrote: "The HCH is running on smoothly as usual, although several children did not return from their holidays—perhaps they wanted to avoid the religious teachings being given in the Home." Tharchin, "Church News of the Tibetan Congregation, Kalimpong, for the Year 1970," a 3-page typed document submitted (early 1971?) for eventual publication in the *Eastern Himalayan Church News* (UCNI), p. 3, ThPaK.

large influx of Tibetan refugees come into Kalimpong from across the border—could not be better conveyed than what has been described by the same missionary visitor mentioned earlier, Margaret Urban. In her little book already cited, in which the Tharchins figured quite prominently throughout its pages, she wrote:

During my stay it all lay before me to experience much of Pastor Tharchin. But he has so little time. My visit fell during Holy Week and Easter. He worked on the preaching in the evenings. His extensive correspondence he also answered in the evenings. Because of the reporting which he needed for his newspaper, the radio would run day and night.... During the day came a stream of visitors. Almost everyone stayed for hours, and others were even more rude! Singles he would receive in his bedroom and his study. There the old sickly man [i.e., Tharchin] squatted in his favorite resting place and smoked his water pipe [the famous hookah]. From the nearby kitchen the cook, in service for decades to his master, brought hot tea from time to time. The conversation went back and forth. In between were long pauses. Advice in external matters was sought, but also help in questions of the Faith. Whom now saw I go through the foreroom?—Monks from a monastery—Refugees and pilgrims—David [whose Tibetan name was Tenzing, a former incarnate high priest from Tibet, by this time converted and baptized by Tharchin] and other Tibetan young men come for their daily Bible study with the pastor—Even the Queen [the wife of the refugee royal couple from East Tibet who now lived in Kalimpong], who had a difficult burden to carry. The Abbot of the [Tharpa Chholing] monastery was often there, once for an hour-long preliminary discussion for a conference of the Buddhist school. Then was Tharchin for the entire afternoon in the monastery for a session. I found out that he is a member of the board of directors of the school and that his advice is highly valued.²²

Just here, it should be noted, Mrs. Tharchin had often attempted—with some success—to shield her husband from the full effect on his health of the constant “stream of visitors” cited above that would descend almost daily upon the Tharchin residence. This was during the event-filled decade of the late 1950s to the late 1960s which witnessed a huge influx into Kalimpong of Tibetans who had fled their homeland to freedom in India as a consequence of the merciless Chinese put down of the Lhasa Uprising of 1959 against Tibet’s Communist occupiers (see the following chapter for details). It has been reported by Tharchin Babu’s daughter-in-law Nini that from morning till night many Tibetans would visit the Babu for talk, counsel, or assistance of every kind. Margaret, who naturally did not remain in her study all the time, had occasion to go in and out of the main house and throughout the Tharchin compound. And thus she was able to observe the people coming and going who were intent on visiting with Babula. And sometimes, concerned about her husband’s deteriorating health, she would say to a newly-arrived visitor who was waiting to see Rev. Tharchin: “Please, when you see him today, kindly do not talk too long because he is in need of more rest.” Or, she might say to another visitor, “Please, could you come back another day, because my husband is resting [or sleeping, as the case might be], and must not be disturbed, since the previous night he did not sleep too well because of having been overworked from so many visitors that day.” In fact, Nini, who was a permanent resident

within the Tharchin household during this period, could recall no instance of ever witnessing the Babu turning away any visitor, even when he might be in very bad health on any given day. Even if, she added, he were having difficulty in breathing because of his enlarged heart condition, and there was someone at his door seeking a time with him, Babu Tharchin would never refuse; though often, the most he could do in such a situation would be to listen and speak only briefly to his visitor.

There was one instance when Margaret's protective action, though successful, resulted in her receiving the brunt of her husband's notorious anger. Not having recognized one visitor one day who happened to be Tharchin's aristocratic Tibetan friend Phunkang, Margaret had politely but firmly turned away this former high official in the Tibetan government, whose wife was related to the Sikkimese royal family. Subsequently, Phunkang innocently telephoned Tharchin-la to explain that he would still like to come again for a visit, but that because "you were not well when I called on you earlier, I was asked by your Mrs. to return another time." Tharchin immediately inquired about this from Margaret, and when she confirmed that this had happened, Babula erupted with an angry outburst at his wife for having turned away his friend. However, a few minutes later, as he always would do following a display of his hot displeasure with someone over some matter, Rev. Tharchin instantly calmed down and apologized to his dear wife; for he realized that she had done this out of a sincere concern for his physical well-being. Nevertheless, he felt deeply ashamed that this prominent individual had been turned away.*^{22a}

It should be pointed out, incidentally, that so far as the Tibetan community was concerned, no matter whoever came to his door—whether high or low, rich or poor—or whomever he met on the street, Gergan Tharchin, out of identical respect for all, always spoke in the honorific Tibetan to them. And if the situation with any of them was dire, a familiar but always sincerely-expressed line of his that was constantly falling from his lips was: "Oh, you poor little thing!"^{22b}

On yet another day during Miss Urban's two-week visit, there occurred a most unusual incident in the ebb and flow of life at the Tharchin home, one which at first had shocked the visitor's religious sensibilities but which upon further inquiry revealed to her a unique and in the end acceptable facet to the ministry of the Tibetan pastor. Moreover, it demonstrated why and how it was that Gergan Tharchin had come to be so widely respected among

* On yet another occasion during this hectic period in the Babu's life, Jinpa Rimpoche, the then Abbot of Tharpa Chholing Monastery nearby to Babula's home, came one day to visit Rev. Tharchin. Margaret kindly asked him if he could come another day, once again pleading that her husband's health was not good this day, he at that moment taking rest and could not be disturbed. The Rimpoche graciously departed. Several years later, when by that time Jinpa had renounced his monkish vows to become a Professor of Tibetan at Darjeeling's St. Joseph's College, Tharchin's son Sherab and his wife Nini happened to be in Darjeeling one day and paid a visit to their friend Jinpa. In the years since his days at Tharpa Chholing it had developed that whenever he returned to Kalimpong on visits, he would always try to call on the Tharchins, father and son. But these visits with them had become most infrequent. When reminded of this fact by his two visitors that day in Darjeeling, Jinpa, who possessed a humorous streak in him, responded in this fashion: "Oh, it's because you've got an Alsatian dog stationed in your compound!" Immediately, all three erupted with roars of laughter at this harmlessly-intended humorous reference to Margaret and the protective role she had lovingly assumed on behalf of her husband. Interview with S. G. and Mrs. (Nini) Tharchin, Feb. 1992.

Buddhists, Hindus and other non-Christians in the community, both Tibetan and non-Tibetan alike. Here is how the missionary visitor recounted the incident of the “holy” cow:

One morning I noticed from the balcony that in the right corner of the garden below something special was going on. On the lowest terrace the servant was digging a deep pit. Soon it came to resemble a giant’s grave. I suspected that during the night a cow had died and would be put in there. People now gathered around, also children. I was indeed correct in my assumption, for they now dragged a cow over the steep side down inside the garden pit. I went back into my room. But the event pulled me out once more to the balcony. I could see and hear Tharchin who was standing alongside the pit as though at a gravesite! Yes, there he stood and spoke to those gathered. “Burying a cow!” I exclaimed to myself. My religious sensibilities were offended. I went back to my room. But as I heard the pastor on the steps I quickly shot out of my room. “What was *that*, brother Tharchin?” Though my greeting was with raised hands, horror spoke through my voice. The old man laughed and said cheerfully: “A mission opportunity! I could proclaim [a short word] to these unbelievers: ‘See, for the cow, death is the End. But not so for you! We all await the judgment of God, and we must now decide, whether we want to go to heaven or to hell.’” The “holy” cow had been brought with all due respect to a grave dug out upon the ground of the Tibetan Christians. This was not at all offensive to the religious feeling of the Hindus and the Buddhists. But at the same time the pastor “of all” had moved onto a higher level and had used the occasion as an opportunity for evangelism. The message, as short as it was, will not be forgotten by any of those assembled.²³

As if such typical and far from typical activities and responsibilities were not enough to keep the Tibetan pastor busily engaged, there was the ministry of prayer which ascended to the heavenly Throne of Grace every day from the Kalimpong parsonage and that covered a wide range of concerns. Joining in with the Tharchins during her two-week stay, the missionary visitor became acquainted with the substance and intensity of this devoted couple’s intercessory prayers. “They stand in prayer not only for their own congregation and for the orphanage,” Miss Urban explained, “but also for all those who are seeking Christ and who are new converts. The Tharchins are in a fight between angels and demons [for souls]. Truly enough for a man of 75!” But she then went on to enumerate other challenges and other struggles with which the Tibetan pastor and his wife Margaret were confronted.

During my visit I made the observation that he [Tharchin] is not spared difficulties. Some who belong to the work do not help as they should. Some do not understand the need for order and cleanliness. The old cook is jealous of the young servant. There are also thieves. The Tharchins can only pull through when they take something less important [?when they lower their expectations?]. A few times I heard Margaret say: “[In comparison] to all others, it is impossible for me, like fighting against the flaps of windmills!” I noticed that the problems between the generations they take very seriously and fight against such with much inner strength and time.

Otherwise, it is a consolation to know that God builds his kingdom with the material that in weakness is at His disposal. If He were to wait until His laborers were fully ready, nothing would ever get done. From this, one learns to bear one another and not to lose patience.

Which very thing is what the Tharchins themselves had learned to do over the years. For to the question, Would it be more spiritual to pray to have the burdens removed?, the younger missionary Urban remarked that "we weighed that possibility ... at the Tibetan Parsonage ... where ... [the answer came forth]: When one burden is removed, you soon find a new one!" It was talks like these which Miss Urban and Margaret would have together in the mornings over tea. Topics discussed, the visitor later noted in her book, "were on work, family, heart needs, the future. I learned the meaning of 'Now is Grace-Time': years earlier Margaret had been personally harassed on the Chinese [that is, the Chinese-occupied Tibetan] border. That God's grace would be freshly obtained [was the concern] which served as the springboard for our corporate prayer."²⁴

At one point in a conversation Miss Urban had with Pastor Tharchin, the latter could hardly contain himself when in mentioning his wife Margaret's two Prayer Groups he exclaimed: "We have so many fine Christians in our congregations! Think only about my wife's Mission Prayer Circles that have Bhutanese, Nepalese and Tibetans coming together!" Although she could not speak any of these languages, the lady visitor from abroad attended one Prayer Circle session with Margaret at which both Circles came together for prayer, as they often did, since most of the women could understand each other's languages. To one of the Circles belonged Tibetans, and to the other, Bhutanese and Nepalese. Urban briefly described how the women in attendance "prayed in a circle, short and heartfelt—not unlike as in the German and Swiss Circles. Really, it was not a long-winded flood of words."²⁵ It was nonetheless effective prayer that ascended heavenward from these Prayer Circles which Mrs. Tharchin had helped to organize. It surely was but one of many different ministries she had labored so devoutly in for Christ and His kingdom interests at Kalimpong alongside her husband.

Indeed, one who knew Margaret Tharchin and her husband so very well and had been in a position to observe firsthand for many years the character and lifestyle of both was Tharchin's daughter-in-law Nini. Having become a close member of the senior Tharchin's family household, Nini, it was noted a few pages earlier, had come to admire greatly what she daily witnessed in their lives together. With respect to Margaret in particular, Nini related to the present author how on one occasion, after Mrs. Tharchin had gone to the bazaar to collect all the foodstuffs needed for the household, Margaret then went down again to buy more food—just for herself. What she purchased and brought back to the compound, however, was a sizable bundle of rotten or nearly rotten vegetables. When Nini inquired of her why she had bought this sad condition of vegetables for cooking and eating, Margaret replied: "Oh, I saw this old lady earlier today sitting beside her vegetables trying to sell them; but she could not do so because no one would buy such from her. And I felt so sorry for her that I just had to go back down and purchase them myself." And besides, she rationalized, "if the vegetables are too far gone for me to eat, then they can at least be given to the cows and pigs to eat." Far from being stingy with other people who frequently dined with the Tharchins at their table, Margaret would deny herself good food for the sake of others' well-being. Such was the kind of self-sacrificing ministry which this deeply spiritual Christian woman exhibited on a daily basis in her service towards others that was without discrimination of any kind. Speaking of both Margaret and her husband, Nini Tharchin was moved to comment

ill once again, which culminated two years afterwards in her death. Before her passing, however, and during a period of hospitalization, not only Margaret but her husband, too, had to be taken to Kalimpong's Charteris Hospital since both had fallen ill at about the same time. This was in 1973, noted one of the Tibetan friends of the Tharchin family. Tashi Pempa Hishey remembered so well having heard at that time a false rumor that the Babu had died soon after being admitted to Charteris. He and his wife Yudon, eldest daughter of one of Tharchin's closest friends, the late Atuk Tshering, rushed to the hospital upon hearing the rumor; but to their great relief they found Tharchin-la alive!

Upon seeing this much younger couple's concern for their welfare, both Margaret and the Babu expressed their deep appreciation to them for their visit. Said Tharchin in gasping tones from his hospital bed, "Yes, I'm still alive, but with great difficulty I am breathing." Margaret too, in her familiar high-pitched voice, expressed a similar sentiment, she also dispelling the false rumor by saying: "Yes, we are both alive and eating a little porridge and keeping body and soul together." "And now," she added, "let's pray and give thanks." In so doing, their prayers exhibited once again the faithful and selfless character of these two elderly Christian servants who were always more concerned about others than about themselves. Margaret prayed first, Pempa Hishey recalled, her prayer in substance being: "We are grateful to You, O God, for people like Pempa and Yudon who have come to visit old people like ourselves in the hospital. It gives us great happiness. *Thuji-chhe* [Thank You], Lord." Her humble prayer of thanks was immediately followed by her husband's, echoing the same sentiment and ending by thankfully declaring to their God how happy the two of them were that because of the Hisheys' visit, he could be reminded once again of Pempa's father and father-in-law, whom he loved so dearly.²⁷

In a letter to the Tharchins' friends and co-laborers involved in the work of the Himalayan Children's Home and written just a few days after Margaret's passing in early 1974, her husband delineated in some detail the circumstances surrounding her prolonged illness and ultimate demise. In the letter, Tharchin wrote in part as follows:

... my dear wife Margaret ... had been ailing for the last two years. In spite of all our efforts to [help] her get well and thereafter avail us of her services for a few more years, the Lord was pleased to call her home to heaven [and] into His eternal presence. She peacefully slept [into the presence of] the Lord on Friday the 25th of January 1974 at 11 a.m. ...

Although we find it very hard to bear the feeling of her departure, yet, by the grace of our Lord and His loving consolations from His Holy Word we are trying our best to keep our emotions under control.

Her husband went on in the letter to indicate what had continually been close to Margaret Tharchin's heart:

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During her prolonged illness I and my son had been corresponding on her behalf as she was too weak to do it herself. She used to ask me and my son to write her friends

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several friends and well-wishers, including many Tibetans and Bhutanese, came to our residence to console us. On Sunday the 27th of January, we took the funeral, which was attended by over 500 people. The [Macfarlane Memorial] church was so overcrowded [beyond] capacity that many had to stand outside. We prepared a short life-sketch of her, which was read out in the church by the local pastor. It was a great witness indeed!

As the reader shall soon learn, Margaret's homegoing would be followed by her husband's own call to their heavenly home in just two short years later.

to the present writer that “today there are very few people like these two.”^{25a}

Surely it could be said of the elder Tharchin couple that their joint ministry both to their God and to man clearly demonstrated in practical reality the truth of one of the verses from the Judeo-Christian Scriptures which head up this chapter: “One [can] chase a thousand, [but] two [together can] put ten thousand to flight.” These two Christians came to realize that the ministry each of them had heretofore fulfilled individually for the sake of their Lord and His coming kingdom was nothing to be compared with what their service jointly entered into as husband and wife had produced and would continue to produce. In any other field of endeavor one plus one should always signify an arithmetic doubling of the results of whatever efforts have been put forth. If one person can chase away a thousand of whatever, then two together should mean chasing away two thousand. But in *Biblical* mathematics, when two people are brought together in any worthwhile Christian endeavor, the result is an increase *geometrically*: two persons can put *ten* thousand to flight. The Tharchin-Vitants partnership in faithful service for their Lord and His people was both powerful and effective, just as promised in this remarkable Bible passage. There were most certainly many challenges, obstacles, and even enemies of the Faith that Rev. Tharchin and Margaret had to face during their joint walk together; but these all, they firmly believed, could be and would be “put to flight” by the power of God’s Holy Spirit in them. As the Judeo-Christian Scriptures also declare: “This is the word of the Lord . . . , saying, Not by [human] might, nor by [human] power, but by my Spirit, saith the Lord of hosts” (Zechariah 4:6 AV).



There came a time, however, when Margaret Tharchin would have to lay aside her Christian service temporarily; for she became seriously ill and remained so for some little while. This period of illness, which began in October 1966, had left Mrs. Tharchin extremely weak, eventually requiring that she be hospitalized for nearly two months—from early December to the following February of 1967. Many fellow Christian laborers remembered her in their prayers. Her life was providentially spared—“by God’s grace and doctors’ help,” wrote the Babu—in spite of the fact that the doctors had themselves initially despaired of saving her. It would not be till nearly mid-June of ’67 that Tharchin could write to an American friend that “now she is gradually recovering her former health.”^{25b} Margaret’s faith in her Lord grew stronger than ever before during her days of serious illness. Her spirit of praise and thankfulness to Christ Jesus for His tender mercies and faithfulness was always something worth witnessing.

But so, too, was the love and affection Gergan and Margaret Tharchin publicly expressed towards each other within the family compound which apparently friends and others could not help but witness with respect and admiration. Indeed, one close friend of the Tharchins has remarked that these two “love-birds” could often be seen hugging each other most affectionately. Moreover, Babu Tharchin’s son and daughter-in-law have recalled how the two could frequently be observed kissing each other within the residential compound and

how they were constantly addressing one another in such endearing terms as “Honey, darling” and “Darling deary.”^{25c} One other example of this apparent public display of endearment can be told here. During the great influx of Tibetan refugees into Kalimpong that began in 1959, there was one among them, Losang Khyongla by name, who, finding his way to Tharchin’s doorstep a few months after his arrival, turned out to be a high-ranking Lama (he was a holder of the coveted *lharampa geshe* degree) from the highly esteemed Rato Monastery near Lhasa. In his autobiography he describes his encounter in late 1959-early 1960 with the Tharchins, which also provides, incidentally, an example of how people would often point others to the Tharchin family if in need of help. This recognized Incarnate Lama wrote as follows:

I went, on a friend’s suggestion, to the home of a Christian clergyman ... named Tharchin, who ran a Tibetan-language publishing house. He had had a Tibetan wife who had died, and he had then married an elderly, very gentle and kind [European] lady. They obviously loved each other; and when I visited them, they were both friendly, wanting very much to be helpful. But the great problem was that I was unable to speak any language but Tibetan, and besides, had no usable skills. When I suggested that I might be of help to them, Mr. Tharchin promised that though he needed no one just now, he would surely keep me in mind.

It needs to be added, however, that a few months later, Losang Khyongla himself received, as would Tharchin, a letter of invitation to Mussoorie from the Dalai Lama. The former Rato Lama was to assist in the planning and writing of a textbook series for use in the Tibetan schools established in exile.²⁶ Whether the Kalimpong publisher had a hand in this invitation or not is unknown, but doubtless the two of them subsequently saw each other in Mussoorie (see the next chapter).

Recalling her spiritual ministry and goodness in the past, several friends and well-wishers visited Mrs. Tharchin from time to time during this bout of illness. Some believers had even traveled long distances (such as from Lachen and Lachung in northern Sikkim) to express their gratitude towards her. They all thanked God for her spirituality and her assistance to them in the name of Christ. One who knew Margaret extremely well—both at Ghoom and now at Kalimpong—was her attending physician, Dr. Andrew Pradhan, himself a Christian. In an interview he gave the present author, Dr. Pradhan had been quick to describe Margaret’s unchanging, uplifting demeanor: “She was most hospitable, helpful, ever smiling, and always joyful.” And Tharchin’s son Sherab, present at this same interview, had commented on her profound spirituality, noting that he had constantly observed his third “mother” kneeling in prayer in her private study.^{26a}

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But though Mrs. Tharchin had, by her God’s grace, overcome this particular period of serious physical weakness, she was not as fortunate later when in 1972 she fell gravely

ill once again, which culminated two years afterwards in her death. Before her passing, however, and during a period of hospitalization, not only Margaret but her husband, too, had to be taken to Kalimpong's Charteris Hospital since both had fallen ill at about the same time. This was in 1973, noted one of the Tibetan friends of the Tharchin family. Tashi Pempa Hishey remembered so well having heard at that time a false rumor that the Babu had died soon after being admitted to Charteris. He and his wife Yudon, eldest daughter of one of Tharchin's closest friends, the late Atuk Tshering, rushed to the hospital upon hearing the rumor; but to their great relief they found Tharchin-la alive!

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C H A P T E R 27

Tibet in Turmoil: Private Audiences with Dalai Lama XIV and Tharchin's Response through His Press and Church

I say unto you, Every one who shall confess me before men, him shall the Son of man also confess before the angels of God ... And when ... you [are] before ... the rulers, and the authorities, be not anxious how or what ye shall answer, or what ye shall say: for the Holy Spirit shall teach you in that very hour what ye ought to say.

Luke 12:8, 11-12

Then the righteous will answer him, "Lord, when did we see you hungry and feed you, or thirsty and give you something to drink? When did we see you a stranger and invite you in, or needing clothes and clothe you? When did we see you sick or in prison and go to visit you?" The King will reply, "I tell you the truth, whatever you did for one of the least of these brothers of mine, you did for me."

Matthew 25:37-40 NIV

IT WILL BE RECALLED that on Gergan Tharchin's third and final visit to Lhasa in 1940, he like many others who were there had seen the Fourteenth Dalai Lama for the very first time during a more general audience given for many people at the Boy-King's Installation in the Potala Palace only a few short months after the young Priest Sovereign had arrived in the capital from the Sino-Tibetan border area. On that occasion the spiritual ruler was less than five years of age. It would not be until seventeen years later that Tharchin would have the first opportunity to talk with the young leader personally and, as will be seen, under the most trying of circumstances. This took place in the year 1957 and most surprisingly in Kalimpong itself. Lengthier and more private audiences with His Holiness would come still later.

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It so happened that the Dalai Lama had been invited to India by that nation's Buddhist societies in 1956 to attend the Buddha Jayanti, or 2500th anniversary of the birth of Gautama Buddha. It happened further that Beijing at first was reluctant to let the Dalai Lama go, but finally agreed when invitations that could no longer be ignored or rejected were extended to *both* the Dalai and Panchen Lamas by Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru himself.¹ It is

believed that at the back of the attempt to have the Dalai Lama come to India was Nehru's wounded pride.

Two years earlier the Prime Minister had initiated the invitation during his first ever meeting with the Dalai Lama that had occurred in Beijing when both were guests of China in 1954. The Indian leader had begun to be miffed over the growing impression he had commenced sensing that the Tibetans held him responsible for all their sufferings under the Chinese because of his insistent pro-China policy, and, further, that they no longer viewed India as a friendly and sympathetic neighbor. Moreover, during their brief Beijing meeting, the Dalai Lama had apparently exhibited a deliberate if politely conveyed lack of confidence in Nehru which disturbed the Indian leader. For when the latter had inquired of the Dalai Lama if there was anything his country could do to help Tibet, His Holiness had carefully replied that India could really do nothing. Hence, before he departed the Chinese capital, Nehru went out of his way to extend an invitation to His Holiness to visit his land even as the Tibetan ruler, while both men were still in China, had proffered an invitation of his own to the Indian leader to visit his country. Moreover, the latter was careful to give assurance to His Holiness that India would assist in getting China to agree to the Dalai Lama's visit to the Subcontinent.²

But Nehru and his Government had also personally given assurance to the Dalai Lama's brother Gyalo Dhondup and W. D. Shakabpa that if the latter would persuade His Holiness to accept the invitation, the Indian government "would offer him asylum in India." In addition, these two Tibetans were also told that the Dalai Lama could live in any of the Palaces of the Indian Maharajas and that the Government "would help him negotiate with the Chinese" about the then current deteriorating situation in Tibet. Reported the Dalai Lama's brother further, "Through different channels" he and Shakabpa were able to contact His Holiness and "urged him to accept" the invitation, regardless "what the Chinese said," which thing he happily did. As shall be learned subsequently, however, the Indian Prime Minister and his Government did not hold up their end of the understanding, and Gyalo Dhondup was later made furious over Nehru's renegeing on his promises. Indeed, the exiled Tibetan angrily declared that "Nehru betrayed us ... and ... push[ed]" the Dalai Lama "back into the jaws of death." Added Gyalo long afterwards, "I was absolutely livid and even today [1995] I still feel we were betrayed."³

Meanwhile, for the Chinese the invitation had placed them in a most awkward position. As one Tibetan historian has written about this development: "If they were to prevent the visit, they would be accused of imprisoning the Dalai Lama, but if he were allowed to leave [Tibet] he might come into contact with people who would encourage him not to return."⁴ Indeed, the Tibetan ruler's entire family would now be in India and would unquestionably stay with him should he decide to remain there and not return. In addition, the members of Tibet's *Kashag*, who would certainly be traveling with His Holiness to India, would likewise be inclined to stay with him, including even the alleged traitor among them, Ngabo Ngawang Jigme. An unpleasant quandary for the Chinese, to be sure!

In the end, China had found herself backed into an unenviable diplomatic corner from which she could only extricate herself by giving assent to the visit and take her chances with the outcome. As Chairman Mao would himself explain in a speech delivered at Beijing

before his Communist Party's Central Committee on 15 November, "The Central Government recognized that it is better to let him [the Dalai Lama] go than to prevent him from going."⁵ But China was able to arrange that Premier Chou En-lai would also make a visit to India where he could keep an eye on things and use his near-legendary charm on both Tibet's "god-king" and India's leader.

For the Dalai Lama the Indian invitation was "like a ray of sympathy and sanity from the outside world." The visit would naturally include making religious pilgrimage to Buddhist holy places, but in addition, "from the secular point of view," he would write later,

a visit to India seemed to offer me the very opportunity I wanted to withdraw from my close contact and fruitless arguments with the Chinese, at least for a time. Not only that, I hoped it would also give me a chance to ask Mr. Nehru and other democratic leaders and followers of Mahatma Gandhi for advice. I cannot exaggerate our feeling of political solitude in Tibet. I knew I was still inexperienced in international politics, but so was everyone in our country. We knew other countries had faced situations like ours, and that a great fund of political wisdom and experience existed in the democratic world; but so far none of it had been available for us, and we had to act by a kind of untrained instinct. We desperately wanted sympathetic wise advice.⁶

But whether His Holiness received the kind of "sympathetic and wise advice" he had been in quest of and that had been best suited for that time may still be an open question today. Meanwhile, with Mao's grudging permission, this current Tibetan Buddhist Pontiff would now prepare himself to go to the Land of Buddha's Birth for the first time.

Nevertheless, as a precautionary measure by the Chinese, before his departure from Lhasa the Dalai Lama was given a long lecture by none other than General Chang Ching-wu on how His Holiness was to conduct himself while in India. The General had only recently returned from Beijing as the permanent representative of the People's Republic in Tibet.

At one point in the lecture General Chang, in a lengthy aside, reminded the Dalai Lama that when Hungary and Poland had only recently issued calls for help from the outside, the Soviet Union had quickly put down such internal problems within her sphere of influence by crushing the opposition. "I realized," reported the Dalai Lama later, that this lengthy lecturing on recent European history "was the hint of a warning that no other country [for example, India] would be allowed to interfere in Tibet." But in addition to this, the General further "suggested" to the Buddhist Pontiff that if the latter intended to make any speeches during

* In fact, writes Tibetan historian Warren Smith, Ngabo's son Jigme Ngabo, in a personal communication to this historian in 1995, reported that Mao was not that much concerned about a possible defection by the Dalai Lama, since Mao believed Tibet's Priest-King, described by Smith, "was not only not essential but was even an impediment to Chinese plans in Tibet, implying that he thought the Dalai Lama would eventually have to be eliminated, or his influence reduced to insignificance, if China's plans in Tibet were to be achieved." Further, according to Ngabo's son, Mao had gone on to compare the Dalai Lama's possible defection to that of Chang Kuo-t'ao, the one who during the Long March of Mao's Red Army had split off from it in Tibet. For Mao reasoned that since the Communist Party had survived Chang's defection it could likewise survive the Dalai Lama's. Smith, *Tibetan Nation*, 412n.

the upcoming celebrations, these should be prepared prior to his departure from Lhasa, presumably for review in advance by his Communist masters. Moreover, to add insult to injury, the Buddhist Grand Lama was presented with a draft of a speech to be delivered by him at the Buddha Jayanti which had been composed by Kalon Ngabo (considered by most Tibetans to be a Quisling traitor) in consultation with the Chinese! The Dalai Lama, however, was not to be intimidated by such tactics, especially when it came to matters religious: he totally rewrote the speech once he was in India.⁷

With China's reluctant approval having been granted, both His Holiness and the Panchen Lama (now aged 21 and 19, respectively), ensconced first in an automobile and then in a Soviet-made jeep, traveled down together from Tibet to the Sikkim border; but they were flanked by a 200-man Chinese Communist troop escort as well as accompanied by both Chinese and Tibetan officials. This incredibly large escort, wrote one newspaper correspondent, "had assignments more practical than mere observance of protocol or lending color to the procession."⁸ After the arrival of the two High Lamas in India on November 25th it became known that His Holiness planned to seek asylum here because of the increasing unrest back home and repeated violation of promises made by the Chinese in the so-called Seventeen-Point Agreement. In fact, towards the end of the two Lamas' time in India, agents from America had in Calcutta urged *both* of them not to return to Tibet.⁹ Chinese Premier Chou En-lai, during his own "coincidental" visit to India, which had begun just three days after the Dalai Lama's arrival in New Delhi, and who had heard of the young Priest-King's hesitancy to go back to Tibet, had first met in private at the Chinese Embassy with the Dalai Lama's two elder brothers, Thubten Norbu and Gyalo Dhondup, and urged them to encourage their brother to return to Tibet. They would end up urging His Holiness to do just the opposite! In fact, Gyalo days earlier had already approached India's Intelligence Bureau Chief, B. N. Mullik, and had told him "in no uncertain terms" that the Dalai Lama was intending to seek exile abroad.¹⁰ But Chou had next sought, in private interviews in Delhi, to persuade His Holiness to return home by promising to delay unwanted reforms in Tibet for six years if he would do so. The implementation of these highly destructive reforms—initially introduced by the Chinese by force several years earlier in the eastern region of the country—were still being vigorously opposed by the people by every means possible, including the taking up of arms. For Tibetans clearly recognized that these supposedly beneficial reforms would turn their society upside down and would prove in the end to be totally disruptive socially, politically and religiously. In response to Chou's promise to postpone implementation of the dreaded reforms if only His Holiness would agree to return home, the Tibetan "god-king" gave no certain reply.¹¹

Less than a month later and as though on cue from Chou, the Beijing government, while His Holiness was still touring India and trying to make up his mind, announced to officials of the Tibetan government at Lhasa that not until 1962 (the very six-year period alluded to by Chou) would it be "permissible" for the Chinese "to carry out democratic reforms in Tibet." Apparently hoping to make it easier for the Tibetan ruler to agree to return to Lhasa, the announcement further indicated that even after this six-year delay, the matter of when actually to implement such reforms would be determined through "consultation among the Tibetan leaders, members of the upper social strata and the mass of the people," and

furthermore, doing so solely “in the light of the conditions at that time.”* No doubt the Chinese Premier, taken aback by the Dalai Lama’s continued hesitancy about returning to Lhasa, now hoped that this public announcement—which was conveyed to the Dalai Lama and his officials down in India—would lend greater credibility to his own words of assurance given privately to Nehru and to His Holiness.¹² The crafty Chinese leader¹³ would have to wait still longer, however, for a more definite reply from the young Tibetan king.

Meanwhile, in his conversations with the Indian Prime Minister, the Dalai Lama described the desperate situation in East Tibet and shared the fear he and his Tibetan officials had that “worse troubles” would spread elsewhere in the country. He also expressed fear that the Chinese would ultimately destroy the religion and customs of Tibet and that the Tibetans’ “last remaining hopes” were “pinned ... on the Government and people of India.” The Dalai Lama ended by saying that he wished to stay in India till the situation in Tibet had improved.

Nehru’s response was to indicate first that there was nothing India could do since Tibet had never been recognized as an independent nation, that the best way out of the troubling situation in his country would be to return and try to work within the framework of the Seventeen-Point Agreement and to pressure the Chinese to honor the promises made in it. As though to underscore this advice, the Prime Minister had even gone one day to the Dalai Lama’s quarters at Delhi’s Presidential guest house, taking with him a copy of the Agreement. There he proceeded to advise the much younger and less experienced Tibetan ruler on those points in the Agreement with which the Dalai Lama could challenge the Chinese.

On the other hand, in response to the Dalai Lama’s expressed desire to remain in India, the Prime Minister declared that it would be “the height of folly” for him to do so, that his place was with his people leading them through a difficult period, and that he was the only leader in his country who could unite all Tibetans. Were the Buddhist Pontiff to remain in

* Per article, “Put Down the Rebellion in Tibet Thoroughly!” in Beijing’s *Renmin Ribao* (People’s Daily) of 31 Mar. 1959 and which was quoted in *Peking Review* (17 Apr. 1959):7. On 10 Dec. 1956 while on his visit to India, Chou personally assured Nehru (who in turn reassured the Dalai Lama) that Tibet would enjoy autonomy and that China would not force Communism on Tibet. Per “Chronology of Events” in International Commission of Jurists, *The Question of Tibet and the Rule of Law* (Geneva, 1959), 8. The Chinese Premier had even told Nehru (who then confided it to the Dalai Lama) that the Chinese government “did not consider Tibet as a province of China. The people were different from the people of China proper”—a startling admission. To say the least! “Therefore,” added Nehru, paraphrasing Chou, “the Chinese considered Tibet as an autonomous region which could enjoy autonomy.” The Indian Prime Minister, noted the Dalai Lama, further reported the following to him: “Nehru told me that he had assurances from Premier Chou En-lai that Tibet’s autonomy would be respected and, therefore, advised me to make efforts to safeguard it and cooperate with China in bringing about reforms.” In other words, by these reported understandings and assurances from the Chinese Premier the Indian leader was urging the young Lama-King to return to Lhasa. Quotations are found in Point 3 of a Note by the Dalai Lama that accompanied letters from him to China’s later paramount leader Deng Xiaoping and to its President Jiang Zemin, and which were delivered personally to them by a three-member delegation from the Tibetan exile government in India (led by the Dalai Lama’s brother Gyalo Dhondup) on their diplomatic mission to Beijing in July 1993. See “Dalai Lama’s Correspondence with China Revealed,” *TR* (Oct. 1993):11. Even with these assurances and understandings, however, the Dalai Lama was finding Nehru’s advice to return to Lhasa disappointing and a difficult pill to swallow. Said His Holiness shortly afterwards to Apa Pant, the Indian Political Officer in Sikkim: “I am a very young man. I do not know which way to look. The medicine that the doctor [Nehru] is proposing for my weakness seems to be bitter and unpalatable. I do not know whether I would really get well with that medicine.” Quoted in Tsering Shakya, *The Dragon in the Land of Snows*, 156.

India, added Nehru, his people would be demoralized and become easy victims of Chinese domination. It would be best, therefore, he insisted, that the Dalai Lama return to Lhasa.¹⁴ Indeed, this appeal from the Indian leader to His Holiness he would repeat again and again during their several talks together over a two-month period. Above everything else, Nehru did not want anything pertaining to Tibet to occur which might threaten the good relations then currently existing between India and China. Were the Dalai Lama to seek asylum and seek it on *Indian* soil, such a request the Prime Minister would feel compelled to grant for a whole host of reasons but whose development would be fraught with all kinds of trouble for Delhi *vis-à-vis* Beijing. No, mused Nehru to himself, it would be best for his guest to return to his homeland.

Yet even Nehru's continued insistence to the Dalai Lama that he return to his homeland did not effect a prompt response one way or the other from His Holiness.* The latter would not be rushed into a decision so momentous.

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But Chou, in his own talks with the Tibetan leader, had also wished to advise the Dalai Lama on yet another matter: he flatly said outright that he did not wish His Holiness to visit Kalimpong; that "the people there [might] create trouble."¹⁵ For here were reportedly some "ten thousand Tibetans, including many Kham rebel leaders" from eastern and southeastern Tibet. A great number of these had already been driven into exile by the Chinese rule, and were now gathering to welcome the Dalai Lama at Kalimpong, "where it was known that

* This was early 1957. Two years later a far more mature and much more wise and perceptive Dalai Lama would have it out, so to speak, with the Indian Prime Minister over this very insistence, when in a four-hour conversation these two would be together once again—this time, though, at the Tibetan leader's exile headquarters in Mussoorie, Northwest India. This event His Holiness would recount in his published memoirs of 1990. By 1959, of course, the political climate in India with regard to the Tibet issue had dramatically changed, with the Prime Minister now finding himself in what the Dalai Lama would describe in his memoirs as "an extremely delicate and embarrassing position," what with tense debates on Tibet in the Indian Parliament having erupted following the news of the Tibetan Priest-King's exit from Lhasa a month earlier.

Now in their lengthy conversation together the Dalai Lama had begun by relating to Nehru everything which had occurred since his having returned to Lhasa back in 1957—"largely, as I reminded him, at his insistence." "I had done just as he had suggested," His Holiness had gone on to say to the Indian leader, "and dealt fairly and honestly with the Chinese, criticizing them where necessary and trying hard to keep to the terms of the Seventeen-Point 'Agreement'." The Chinese, however, had not responded in kind, creating an intolerable situation that ultimately forced the Dalai Lama to depart his capital secretly and seek asylum in India. In his memoirs the Dalai Lama concluded his account of these talks with Nehru by noting that the latter, having been criticized for years by many Indian politicians over his handling of the situation on the World's Roof, "was now showing signs of a guilty conscience at having been so insistent that I return to Tibet in 1957." Dalai Lama XIV, *Freedom in Exile*, 146-7.

As will be learned subsequently, the Indian leader would apparently attempt to find ways to redeem himself in the eyes of his critics, and make amends especially among the Tibetan refugees, on account of his greatly flawed foreign policy on Sino-Tibetan issues, one key facet of which had been this insistence by Nehru that the Dalai Lama should return home when all indications even then portended a disastrous situation for Tibet.

they wanted him to remain and organize help from India and other countries in their struggle for freedom.”¹⁶ The Chinese Premier had already conveyed his wishes on this matter to the Kashag, having told its members that His Holiness should not go to the hill station, describing it as a center for reactionary groups. But now, with the Dalai Lama, Chou was even more insistent, stating that he should not be unduly influenced by the Tibetan *émigré* community in India, principally those who had settled in Kalimpong. He further declared to His Holiness that he should certainly not meet with the former Tibetan Prime Minister Lukhangwa, who was now residing in Kalimpong. Instead, advised Chou, the Dalai Lama should return directly to Tibet, where, he added, the situation had gotten worse.¹⁷ Again the Tibetan Priest-King gave no certain answer, only telling Chou he “would think that over.”¹⁸ Even India’s Prime Minister Nehru, in his own final interview with His Holiness in Delhi, had advised the latter against going to Kalimpong. The Prime Minister was not unacquainted with the controversial hill town since he himself, along with his daughter Indira and India’s High Commissioner in the United Kingdom Krishna Menon, had paid a visit to Kalimpong four years earlier in April 1952. And though he may have been mildly disturbed by what he heard and observed then, in late 1956 his chief concern—not unlike that of Chou En-lai’s—was that “the people there might be troublesome and might try to persuade” the Dalai Lama “not to go back.”¹⁹

It so happened, however, that the Chinese Premier had earlier spoken privately to Nehru about Kalimpong at no little length. From a near quasi-verbatim record of their various talks together in Delhi that was published by Nehru’s Foreign Office Secretary Subimal Dutt, it is learned that Chou spoke quite vigorously with the Indian Prime Minister against Kalimpong and its Tibetan community. He complained “that some people under the influence of foreign Governments did not want Tibet to be under the Central Government of China and talked about Tibetan independence. These elements carried on their activities mainly from Kalimpong and received their instruction from some people who had returned [to there] from the USA.” Chou also “complained that while in India some of the Tibetan officials accompanying the Dalai Lama had come under the influence of the Kalimpong Tibetans led by the Dalai Lama’s elder brother [Thubten Jigme Norbu] who had just returned from the USA.” Further, he “complained that some local officials in India had been unfriendly in their speeches of welcome to the Dalai Lama, calling Tibet a separate country and not mentioning China at all.”

On his part “Nehru assured the Chinese Premier that India had no political interest in Tibet.” He went on to say that “the Government of India had warned the Tibetans who had settled in [District] Darjeeling that if they indulged in any political activities, they would be forced to leave India.* Under the Indian Law, however, it was not possible for Government

* Though this was what he told the Chinese Premier, Nehru is reported to have privately told his Indian Intelligence Bureau Chief, B. N. Mullik, that “no Chinese protests would be entertained” and that no notice would be taken of the activities of Tibetans in Kalimpong. Quoted in Shakya, *Dragon ...*, 149. This was perhaps indicative, as alluded to a few pages earlier, of Nehru’s growing concern for his souring public image *vis-à-vis* the Tibetans on both sides of the Indian frontier that would greatly escalate during the latter half of the 1950s (see later in the present chapter for further on this concern by the Indian Prime Minister).

to take any action against anybody, not even a foreigner, so long as he kept within the bounds of law.” But Chou was not satisfied. He “was not willing to let the Dalai Lama visit Kalimpong,” and “told Nehru that according to his information the Dalai Lama might be forced by the Kalimpong Tibetans to stay on in India. He feared that if the Dalai Lama visited Kalimpong, there might be some unpleasant incident.” Besides, added Chou, “the Panchen Lama was not keen on passing through Kalimpong as he apprehended discourteous treatment from the local Tibetans.”

But the Indian Prime Minister had the last word with the Communist leader, assuring him “that the Dalai Lama was free to choose his itinerary. Whichever route he would take, the Government of India would take all necessary steps to prevent the outbreak of any disorder anywhere on Indian territory.”²⁰ In fact, Nehru acknowledged to His Holiness himself that since “India was a free country, . . . nobody could stop the people of Kalimpong expressing their own opinions,” adding that if the Dalai Lama “really wanted to go,” his Government “would make all the arrangements and look after” him while in the hill town.²¹

But just to make sure nothing untoward *would* happen, Nehru, upon learning that the Dalai Lama had determined to go to the Himalayan hill station, immediately took the precaution of warning the Tibetan community there. Reviewing the entire incident later before the Indian Parliament, the Indian leader informed the Lok Sabha (the House of the People, Parliament’s lower house) that he and his Government “had informed the people—the Tibetans and the people of Tibetan origin—in Kalimpong that they would have to behave themselves when the Dalai Lama went there.” And, added Nehru, “they did so when he went there.”²²



In the end, the spiritual ruler of Tibet decided he “ought to go” to Kalimpong “in spite of Chou En-lai’s advice.” He concluded that it was more than merely “a political matter,” declaring: “I had a spiritual duty to visit my countrymen, on which Chou En-lai could certainly not advise me.”²³ Accordingly, at the conclusion of his months-long tour of India (December 1956-January 1957) in company with the Panchen Lama, the young Pontiff of Tibetan Buddhism left by air from Calcutta on January 22nd bound for the famed pilgrimage site of Buddha Gaya and then onward alone to Gergan Tharchin’s hill station for what would be a much longer visit than the originally-planned week’s stay at the controversial Himalayan town. He arrived to a tumultuous welcome from as many as ten thousand Tibetans and many thousands of others. There he was made comfortable in Bhutan House where his great immediate predecessor had resided during part of the time of his Indian exile from Tibet that had lasted from 1910 to 1912. He was the guest of Rani Choni Dorjee, mother of Jigme Dorjee, the (late) Prime Minister of Bhutan.²⁴

Here the Fourteenth Dalai Lama would now listen to the advice of his many countrymen living on this side of the Indo-Tibetan frontier where opposition against the Chinese was the

most bitter. While in Kalimpong he “met not only the Tibetans who were living there,” recalled His Holiness later, but also met a deputation that had been sent by his Government in Lhasa to escort him home. And according to the Fourteenth Dalai Lama’s own account of the matter, “they all suggested” that he “should stay in India, because the situation in Tibet had become so desperate and dangerous.”²⁵



In the Himalayan hill station one of the many “Tibetans living there” whom His Holiness “met” was Gergan Tharchin, who would have an opportunity twice to converse with the Tibetan leader. The first was most likely on the occasion of a grand public reception proffered the Dalai Lama at the Graham’s Homes Establishment (see below) where thousands were to gather to hear him speak. Yet neither Tharchin nor His Holiness could converse freely between themselves at this function because the latter was surrounded by several unsympathetic political figures (especially the Chinese Communist officials in his entourage) and the Dalai Lama was therefore not permitted to speak his mind much, as had been the opposite case three years before when he had been in Beijing. Obviously, the political climate had radically changed since then.

In having his “memoirs” prepared much later Tharchin would recall how at this public function in Kalimpong he had noticed that various individuals were hovering about the young ruler of Tibet all the time trying to censor his comments. And Tharchin Babu was himself one of the chief targets of these Chinese Communist “protectors” of His Holiness, particularly in the light of what had happened in July 1951 at the hill station when the humble blacksmith’s son from Poo had been so outspoken in his confrontations with the Chinese Communist delegation and its lordly Head, General Chang Ching-wu (see earlier, Chapter 24). And thus, because the Dalai Lama had been strictly instructed, when conversing more privately with some of his well-wishers, to speak to the point and not to overstep the limit, he had been unable to express as he wished his friendly feelings towards the founder of the *Tibet Mirror*. Yet despite the restrictions which had been placed upon His Holiness, he was nonetheless able shortly afterwards—and while still in Kalimpong—to forward to Tharchin, through one of his officials, a gift of Rs. 1000/- to be used for his Tibetan newspaper. This obviously indicated two things: (a) the Dalai Lama’s high regard for the Kalimpongian and his news journal; and (b) a recognition of the value and effectiveness of the *Tibet Mirror*’s anti-Chinese Communist editorial position.

There would be a second, much more private and relaxed opportunity, however, for Tharchin to meet with His Holiness, but this time accompanied by his wife Margaret. According to Margaret Urban, to whom in 1964 the Tharchins confided information about the matter, the Kalimpong Christian pastor and his wife were “among the few chosen ... to be granted an audience” at Bhutan House. On this occasion, though, politics and journalism were largely put aside as His Holiness and the Tharchins exchanged pleasantries and spoke

briefly of spiritual things. * Mrs. Tharchin herself was able to assure the Dalai Lama, reported Miss Urban, “that she and many Christians were praying for him and his people.” And in departing from his presence, the pastor and his wife were also able to present to the Tibetan Buddhist Pontiff both an English-language Bible and a copy of the Christian Scriptures in Tibetan.²⁶ Interestingly, shortly after this encounter with the Dalai Lama, Tharchin had shared with his fellow Christian minister, Rev. B. K. Biswas, that His Holiness “was good, he [having] listened to all I said to him [about spiritual matters], and had very humbly accepted the Tibetan Scriptures which I gave him.”^{26a}

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Now during his stay in the Himalayan town the Dalai Lama was tendered a grand reception and ovation on the grounds of the Graham’s Homes Establishment where a special rostrum had been set up in Ronaldshay Park to welcome him and where also a golden throne had been erected for his use. An estimated four to six thousand Buddhists alone plus thousands of other people assembled on the grounds on each of three days between 0900 and 1500 hours either to express their good wishes or else to obtain the *darshan* blessing of His Holiness.²⁷ On this occasion the Buddhist ruler delivered a three-hour “sermon” (after private meditation for two hours inside a nearby room) that consisted of the reading by His Holiness from one of the Tantric volumes devoted to the praise of Tibet’s protective deity Chenrezi, whose incarnation, of course, he is believed by Tibetans to be.²⁸ It was but one of several “religious discourses” he was to give both here and in Sikkim, and these occasions provided the Tibetan Buddhist leader with the greatest satisfaction. As he confided later in his autobiography, “I was weary of politics. . . . So I was most happy to find that in Kalimpong and Gangtok I had time for meditation and for religious discourses to the people who had gathered there to hear me.”²⁹ But he also took time as well to visit twice the two cinema houses in Kalimpong,³⁰ an event which doubtless manifested a continuing fascination with motion pictures that dated back to his youthful days in the Norbu Lingka Palace when he had asked Heinrich Harrer to construct for him a private cinema-hall and had the Austrian, who became his tutor on Western knowledge, give him private film showings of interest.³¹ Furthermore, during an *informal* visit His Holiness made on a subsequent day to Graham’s Homes to meet with the Homes’ school faculty and Kalimpong’s missionaries, the latter were able to present to the Dalai Lama a collective gift from themselves, wrapped within a

* Nevertheless, it will be recalled from the conclusion of Chapter 24a that on this same occasion the Dalai Lama, out of his deep appreciation for Tharchin Babu and his hard-hitting anti-Communist newspaper reporting on the oppressive situation in Chinese-occupied Tibet which His Holiness verbally expressed to the Babu, had gifted the latter with a large signed photograph of himself that was wrapped within a white *khata* which measured about eight feet in length, the largest-sized a Dalai Lama ever presents to anyone, thus signifying the profound respect His Holiness had for the humble man from Poo. These details are per the author’s interview, Dec. 1992, with Pandey Hishey, to whom the Babu had reported the matter shortly afterwards. Moreover, it was reported to the author that Tharchin had deemed this portrait of the Dalai Lama to be one of his “prized possessions.” Per interview, Jan. 1998, with Achu N. Tsering, to whom the Babu had shared this sentiment.

silk cloth and a Tibetan khata. The gift contained a Tibetan New Testament, several different Christian tracts and booklets, some English books, and a number of gospel-playing records.³²



By the end of his stay in Tharchin's hill town it had become clear to His Holiness that every segment of Tibetan public opinion that counted was in favor of his remaining in India. Not surprisingly, the hard-line former Tibetan Prime Minister during the early years of the Chinese occupation, Lukhangwa, was adamant that under no circumstances should His Holiness return home, adding that it was useless to attempt governing their country "under what they both now knew was not to be a benign occupation." So, too, were the Dalai Lama's two elder brothers (Taktser Rimpoche and Gyalo Dhondup) of this fixed opinion, both of whom attempted at Kalimpong to persuade their brother to stay in India; for they believed, reported His Holiness later, that "with the very existence of the Tibetan people under threat, it was essential to confront the Chinese in any way possible. The best way to do this, they felt, was for me to remain ... It would then be possible to seek foreign support, which they were sure would be easy to obtain." These two brothers had even already approached the American Central Intelligence Agency and were developing plans for covert action in Tibet.³³

Even all three members of the Dalai Lama's Cabinet (the Kashag)—who "seemed to be Quislings at worst or collaborators" with the Chinese "at the least," and who had accompanied the Dalai Lama to India—had also advised him to remain. One of these three was Ngabo, considered by many, if not most, Tibetans to be a prime traitor of the country. Among other things, they pointed out that in exile His Holiness could voice his opinions freely and alert the free world to the true state of affairs in Tibet.³⁴ Members of the Tibetan underground, the Mimang, had also urged upon him the same advice. But upon inquiring of Ngabo privately what this prominent Cabinet member thought, His Holiness learned that "his advice was that if it were possible to come up with a definite plan [for promoting Tibetan independence from abroad], then it might be worthwhile to consider staying." In the absence of a concrete plan and having only a supposition of foreign support, Ngabo felt that the Dalai Lama "had no alternative but to return."³⁵

* Interestingly, in the discussions held among the Dalai Lama, members of the Kashag, Lukhangwa, and Thubten Norbu, Ngabo had asked what could be gained by His Holiness remaining in India. He pointed out that there was no indication of aid from either the Indian or any other foreign government. Furthermore, His Holiness would be treated as merely a private citizen, albeit a high-profile one, were he to remain in India. Only the Dalai Lama's eldest brother could put forward an alternative position to Ngabo's argument, he stating that he had obtained "foreign support"—which all present knew was a reference to America. But because Ngabo, whom he did not trust, was present, Thubten Norbu was reluctant to identify the government by name. Ngabo had then countered that before committing themselves, they would need to know the nature of this support more definitely. Yapshi Sey, brother-in-law of the Dalai Lama, who apparently was present during these discussions, recalled that the supposed American offer of support was not deemed by the discussants to be significant enough to have justified mentioning it again. Furthermore, it would appear that America was in the

Leaving no stone unturned, the young “god-king” of Tibet had consulted the oracles of his country as well. Two of the three principal ones, Nechung and Gadong, were with the Dalai Lama’s entourage at Kalimpong. Both of them, recalled His Holiness long afterwards, “said that I should return.” But during one of several consultations with one of these State oracles, Lukhangwa deliberately came in; “at which the oracle grew angry” and told the former Prime Minister to remain outside. Ignoring the oracle’s instruction, Lukhangwa stayed and sat down! The Dalai Lama wrote later that afterwards the ex-Prime Minister had come up to him and declared: “When men become desperate they consult the gods. And when the gods become desperate, they tell lies.”³⁶ Subsequent events in Tibet for the Dalai Lama and his people would prove the ex-Prime Minister’s intuitive observation right, insofar as the gods’ counsel to Tibet’s “god-king” turned out to be, if not lies, most certainly questionable advice.



In early February of 1957, after several days of meditation, the spiritual leader of Tibet summoned his highest officials and announced he had made a decision. To his official family, who had hoped for the best but were unprepared for the worst, the Dalai Lama made known that he would be *returning* to the Tibetan capital. Absolutely stunned by the news and considering their country doomed, they “began to weep.” And one younger monk official among them, momentarily forgetting the status of his “god,” even cried out to His Holiness: “You are mad—it is like throwing yourself on a fire!” But the Inmost One would not be dissuaded; on the contrary, he began to calm his advisers and attempted to explain the grounds for his returning to Lhasa.³⁷

Basically, the Dalai Lama had probably six primary reasons which ultimately governed his decision to return to his land and people:

(1) The Indian government, on which His Holiness had “pinned” Tibet’s “last remaining hopes,” had made it unambiguously clear, through Nehru himself, that no help whatsoever would be forthcoming to him or his country. The Indian Prime Minister firmly believed that peace must prevail between India and China; but such could not continue were India to interfere in any way in Sino-Tibetan relations at this point in time. And despite certain tensions having recently arisen between these two Asian mega-nations, Nehru, in Tsering

process of changing her policy from trying to influence the Dalai Lama directly to a covert policy of destabilizing China’s hold on the World’s Roof. The U.S. now viewed the East Tibet revolt to be a major setback for China that could provide an opportunity for American involvement. See Shakya, *Dragon ...*, 153-4, 156-7.

This Tibetan historian went on to speculate about America’s role at that time in Sino-Tibetan affairs. He believes that like the Indian government, the Americans probably did not wish to have the Dalai Lama stay in India. Though six years earlier the Tibetan Priest-King’s renunciation of the Seventeen-Point Agreement on Indian soil would have constituted a major propaganda coup for the U.S., in 1957 the propaganda value of the Dalai Lama had lessened considerably. Hence, at this later date, “American interests,” he writes, “were best served” if the Dalai Lama returned to Tibet “and resisted the Chinese.” Like Nehru, therefore, the Americans may have felt it to be the “height of folly” indeed for the Tibetan ruler to have remained in India. *Ibid.*, 157.

Shakya's phrase, had not "lost any of his early enthusiasm for China."

(2) Although the Indian government could not forcibly make the Dalai Lama go back to his countrymen, it had likewise made it clear that should the "god-king" seek asylum in India, the Government would certainly grant it but Tibet's Priest-Ruler could not expect any special privileges nor would he be accorded any assistance. In the words of Ngabo, the Dalai Lama would simply "be treated as a private citizen" with no opportunity to serve as a rallying point for challenging Communist China's attempted total takeover of Tibet. Under circumstances of this kind it was obvious that there was little positive advantage to be gained by remaining in India. (Admittedly, two years later, it would be very different; but only because the political climate among both Government and people of India would dramatically change during the interim; see later in the present chapter.)

(3) It appeared to the Dalai Lama, if not to his two elder brothers, that no support—whether overt or covert, diplomatic or military—could be expected from America that would be significant enough and soon enough to alter the situation on the ground in the Snowy Land that would be favorable to the Tibetan people.

(4) Not just one, but two, of the three principal Tibetan oracles, including the all-important State Oracle of Nechung, had once again pronounced the judgment of the unseen realm: the gods had declared through both mediums that the Vice-Regent of Buddha on Earth should return to the Habitation of the Gods at Lhasa.

(5) The repeated assurances and promises given in private talks with the Dalai Lama by the Chinese Premier during the latter's several visits to India while His Holiness had been there weighed considerably in the mind of Tibet's ruler in arriving at his decision. These assurances were the following: Tibet would enjoy complete autonomy as provided for in the Seventeen-Point Agreement; Communism would not be forced on the Tibetan people; the reforms then being imposed against the wishes of much of East Tibet would be withdrawn and, as Mao had himself most recently confided to Chou who in turn had reported the same to the Dalai Lama in Delhi, they would be postponed for five, even ten, years—and even longer, if necessary—and would not be re-introduced until and unless the people wanted them; many of the Chinese troops and Communist cadres would be withdrawn from Tibet and Nehru would be invited to Lhasa to see for himself that this promise had been fulfilled; and that the admitted mistakes committed by the Chinese which had caused the inhuman treatment and oppression of the Tibetans would be corrected. As His Holiness would acknowledge at a London press conference in December 1991 in response to a question from a correspondent of Communist China's official Xinhua news agency: It was because of promises like these given him by Chou En-lai at Delhi that he returned to Tibet in 1957.

(6) Of equal importance to Chou's promises in helping the Dalai Lama make up his mind to return was the insistent advice given him repeatedly by the Indian Prime Minister that his place was not in India but with his people in Tibet leading them through a most difficult period. Both Chou's "renowned charm and persuasiveness" and Nehru's counsel exerted a tremendous influence on the young Dalai Lama. Looking upon India's Prime Minister as a wise, experienced, and sensitive "father-figure," His Holiness took to heart the advice which this leader of the world's largest democracy had pressed upon him.

With an array of substantive reasons such as these impinging themselves upon the thinking of His Holiness, any objective observer would be compelled to assert that it would have been far more surprising had the Dalai Lama *not* gone back to Lhasa!³⁸

Later, in his published memoirs of the period, the Tibetan ruler would explain the reasoning behind his decision to return in these simple words: "I had made up my mind that one more chance must be given to the Chinese to carry out their Government's promises, and one more effort must be made for freedom through peaceful means."³⁹ (Subsequently, though, when back in Lhasa and events in the short-term did not materialize as had been anticipated, Tibet's inexperienced young theocrat acknowledged to his closest advisers that they had been right and he wrong: that he now greatly regretted having twice accepted Chinese assurances of Tibetan autonomy within the Chinese dominion—once in 1951 as specifically called for in the Seventeen-Point Agreement and once again most recently in 1957 and at the insistent advice of Nehru: that he now realized that while still in Kalimpong he should have gone into Indian exile where, the Dalai Lama further confided, he would at least have been able to represent his country before a watching world.)⁴⁰



Accordingly, the Priest-King of Tibet resolutely set his face once again homeward, but not before he made a brief visit to the buffer State of Sikkim on his way by mule caravan to Lhasa. In Gangtok, as the guest of the (then) Maharaja of Sikkim, the Dalai Lama, as he had done at Kalimpong, attended religious functions and addressed crowds of people who gathered to hear him and receive his blessing. But reports of heavy snows in the mountains postponed his departure for a whole ten days, and nearly two months would elapse from the time His Holiness finally did leave the Subcontinent (departing Gangtok on 13 February) before he would arrive home on the 2nd of April 1957.⁴¹

The Panchen Lama, too, headed back to the Land of Snows. He and the Grand Lama of Tibet had left together from Buddha Gaya, but only as far as Baghdogra aerodrome (near Siliguri) did the Panchen return with His Holiness, the former deciding to forego any visit with the latter to Kalimpong. This was because "an ugly incident" had occurred at this nearest airfield to Tharchin's hill-town home when the two High Lamas had first arrived on Indian soil the previous November to begin their joint participation in the Buddha celebrations. Thousands of Tibetans had gathered at the airport to welcome the Dalai Lama with gifts and the customary ceremonial scarves. But while the scarves were being showered upon him from the crowds, one bystander had used this opportunity to place a stone inside a scarf and had then thrown it towards the Panchen Lama, "who received a nasty cut on his cheek." In view of this hostile act on the part of his countrymen now dwelling on this side of the Indo-Tibetan frontier, the Panchen "did not venture to visit Kalimpong,"⁴² where Tibetan feelings obviously ran high in favor of His Holiness, in opposition to the Panchen Lama who was accused of having pro-Communist leanings. In

fact he “was informed before he came that he was not wanted.”⁴³ Instead, from the Baghdogra aerodrome the Chinese, out of fear for their lives, had the Panchen and his pro-Chinese companion Ngabo, flown directly back to Lhasa on 29 January,⁴⁴ from whence on the 31st the Panchen returned by motorable road to his ecclesiastical seat of Trashilhunpo.⁴⁵



The Dalai Lama was not, however, to remain for long in the Tibetan capital. For in less than two years he was compelled by the political situation to leave Lhasa once again as he had done before in 1950. On this occasion, though, he was ultimately to leave Tibet altogether and come down to India. It may be recalled that from the perspective of most Tibetans the Sino-Tibetan Treaty signed at Beijing in May of 1951 had by early 1959 been almost entirely thrown to the winds by the Chinese themselves as evidenced by their repeated violations of the various clauses of the Seventeen-Point Agreement. The result of this wholesale ignoring of the treaty by the Chinese—especially with the forced introduction of economic and social reforms—eventually stirred up a stiff rebel revolt in Tibet that continued off and on over a period of several years. Indeed, from 1954 onwards, notes Tsering Shakya, these reforms had become increasingly “more radical and assimilationist” in character, causing a well-nigh “universal resistance” to them by the Tibetans, particularly among the Khampas in the East.

Yet the revolt of 1959, Shakya has insightfully opined, was more than “a political act in defense of Tibet’s independent status, which had been lost with the signing of the 17-Point Agreement,” but was in essence an action “in defense of the value system of the ordinary man and woman, to which the Dalai Lama was central.” But when the onrush of uncontrollable events at Lhasa over a seven-day period threatened to endanger the current safety and future security of the Dalai Lama, “the only solution” left to the baffled Tibetan leadership at Lhasa, writes Shakya, “was to rescue ‘the most precious jewel’ from the faithless Red Chinese.”

* Although as was learned earlier Ngabo Shape was among those who had advised the Dalai Lama to remain in India, he himself returned to Lhasa. According to the Tibetan Communist Phuntsog Wangyal, who was in Lhasa at the time of the Shape’s return to the Tibetan capital and who spoke with him firsthand, Ngabo had left the Dalai Lama’s entourage under the “pretext” that his wife (who had traveled with him to India) was approaching the time of giving birth. “He obviously thought,” notes Phuntsog, “that things were serious because he requested two things from [General] Tan Guansan, then the top-ranking [Chinese Communist] cadre in Lhasa”: the first, that he be permitted to join the Communist Party; the second, which was “even more surprising,” that if the situation reached the point wherein the Party and the PLA were unable to remain in Tibet, Ngabo wished the PLA to take him and his family to China. Amazed, Phuntsog realized that the Shape believed there was a good possibility that the PLA would be driven out by the Tibetan government! Apparently, Ngabo seriously thought American support claims were plausible enough that the Chinese in Tibet might indeed be pushed out. But if so, mused Phuntsog at the time, “what must the other Tibetan officials be thinking?” Though his two requests were communicated to Beijing, Ngabo was assured by Tan that he need not be concerned about having to leave since the PLA, he added, would be in Tibet forever. The Party was nonetheless greatly relieved to learn that the Dalai Lama had decided shortly thereafter to return to his homeland rather than live in exile. See M.C. Goldstein et al., eds., *A Tibetan Revolutionary* (Berkeley, 2004), 216.

Now during the well-known Uprising of 1959, Tibetans—primarily those in central Tibet around Lhasa and in eastern Tibet—rose up in an attempt to throw off the yoke of Chinese Communism and with it the unsubstantiated Chinese claim to sovereignty over Tibet. The avowed purpose of this rebellion was to win back the freedom and independence of the country. And as indicated earlier, it was the stringent imposition by the Chinese of the hated so-called democratic reforms upon the Tibetans—initially upon those in the eastern territories—which served as the catalyst that would now galvanize the populace “to rise up against the Chinese in the name of defending religion and country.”* By the winter of 1958, the rebels (under the leadership particularly of the Khampas from the east), now having resorted to guerrilla warfare, had moved into the region south of the Tsangpo River and north of Bhutan and continued throughout the year to strengthen their control in the area (known as Loka) and recruit more Tibetans to the revolutionary cause. Furthermore, thousands of East Tibetan refugees (numbering more than 15,000 families, according to one estimate) had commenced encamping themselves around Lhasa itself, bringing with them news of the persecution and killing of many civilians, the destruction of monasteries, and other sad happenings which they had witnessed back home. The situation was soon to reach the breaking point early the following year, especially when the Dalai Lama, pressured by the Chinese military commander to deploy Tibetan troops to put down the revolt, refused—in this instance—to agree to do what the Chinese overlords asked or pressured him to do.⁴⁶ In March of 1959 incidents of violence broke out, and then increased, in various parts of Tibet and even on the streets of Lhasa. It is worth noting that despite later claims by the Chinese that a coordinated conspiracy had been hatched unitedly by Lhasa officials and the Khampas to inaugurate a rebellion, all evidence suggests, reports Shakya, that the Khampa revolt “was not instigated by either the Lhasa officials or external agents” (like the Kuomintang or America) but was “purely a reaction against the reforms.”⁴⁷

However, it should be pointed out that the March 1959 Uprising was primarily centered in Lhasa and its immediate vicinity. This is because, as historian Shakya has further made clear, the Chinese, alerted by the events occurring in the Tibetan capital, “had time to deploy large numbers of troops” to such important centers as Shigatse, Gyantse, Dingri and Shelkar Dzong, thus preemptively preventing rebellious outbreaks in these places of Central Tibet. And among the more remote areas of western Tibet, the people there were not affected at all by the Lhasa events and only became aware of the Dalai Lama’s flight to freedom when hearing about it on All India Radio.⁴⁸

Now much has been reported about the March Uprising at the capital, most of it creating the impression of its having been “the showdown of Tibetan resistance.” But Michel Peissel and other writers on the event have pointed out that the Khampas had never anticipated being able in one single clash to overcome the large Chinese force stationed there. It was

* Carole McGranahan, “Arrested Histories,” Ph.D. dissertation, 2001, p. 26. This anthropologist/historian on Tibet went on to note that “although this story of the popular armed struggle for Tibet, of a very masculine version of the nation, is one that might be expected to be at the center of national narratives of modern Tibet, it is not; histories of the Khampa-led Tibetan resistance are examples of arrested histories that have yet to solidly secure a place within state-sanctioned national history.” *Ibid.*

their view that whatever was going to occur at Lhasa would be but one part of a planned general rebellion throughout Tibet, leading to more clashes with the Chinese elsewhere and under circumstances much more favorable to the rebels. As a matter of fact, only a small proportion of the total aggregation of Khampa soldiers situated throughout Kham, Amdo and Loka were in the Tibetan capital at this time. Specifically, noted Peissel, the number of these soldiers in the holy city was only two thousand or so, of which about a thousand were there merely because of the New Year celebrations. The other thousand, as it happened, had only been sent up from the Southeast Loka region for the purpose of protecting the Dalai Lama "from pursuit by the Chinese" when it had become clear during the Uprising that His Holiness would be compelled by events in Lhasa to depart from the Tibetan capital.*

In the event, ultimately, with the mounting public demonstrations and the increasing escalation of violence, and now fearing for the Dalai Lama's personal safety, Tibet's highest officials (but not including the still today controversial Kashag Minister Ngabo who had days earlier sided openly with the Chinese)⁴⁹ reluctantly urged His Holiness to leave the capital.⁵⁰ In the words of Shakya, in wishing to move His Holiness out of the city, the Dalai Lama's Cabinet very much desired "to create political and spatial distance between themselves and the Chinese," as well as relieve themselves of pressure from the ongoing large public demonstrations. Phala, the Court Chamberlain to His Holiness,⁵¹ would be informed of the Kashag's decision. According to Shakya, Phala would later explain that the Cabinet's aim was to seek out a safe area that could serve as a "buffer zone" of sorts, from which negotiations with the Chinese could be carried on.⁵² Reluctantly, the leader of the world's last theocracy bowed to the wishes of his advisers, departing secretly for Loka under the protection of the Khampa soldiery.

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But what exactly gave rise to the March Uprising at Lhasa in the first place? Most writers and scholars on this period in Tibetan history would probably agree that, given the socio-political and cultural climate of the times in Tibet, it was a revolt just waiting to happen. All which was needed, it seems, was a spark—in this case, a fearful rumor—to ignite a public display of pent-up anger which just below the surface had been building up to a

* It should be pointed out that Tsering Shakya has observed that Peissel and other writers "have painted an overly romantic view of the Khampas' role in the Tibetan revolt." On fairly solid grounds, he has taken issue with Peissel's claims (1) that the Khampas were the primary organizers behind the Lhasa Uprising, and (2) that they were actually the ones who made the decision to spirit the Dalai Lama away from the capital. The Tibetan historian's well-documented narrative regarding this aspect of the Uprising very much argues to the contrary. Moreover, Peissel provides no evidence to substantiate these claims. There is no doubt, acknowledges Shakya, that "many Khampa refugees living in Lhasa were active in the revolt," but in his opinion Peissel has exaggerated in claiming that they "organized" the Uprising. *Dragon ...*, 495 note 70.

Another two historians of these events whose view is similar to the Peissel claims are George Ginsburgs and Michael Mathos, in their book, *Communist China and Tibet: the First Dozen Years* (The Hague, 1964), especially pages 120-23.

boiling-point among the “masses” against the Tibetan ruling elites on the one hand and against the Chinese overlords on the other. “In retrospect,” asserts Tsering Shakya, “the immediate cause of the revolt seems to have been a trivial issue of courtly etiquette which could have been easily averted.” But when linked to a rumor whose substance revolved around the possible endangerment to the safety of the Tibetans’ precious Priest-King, the Uprising became inevitable.

It all began with an innocent friendly conversation which had occurred at the height of the annual Monlam Festival. The conversation took place in the Potala Palace on 7 February 1959 during a religious dance performance there that was attended by not only the Dalai Lama and his Cabinet but also China’s then acting representative at Lhasa, General Tan Guansan, and Deng Shaodong, the Tibet Military Command’s deputy chief. These latter two individuals happened to mention to His Holiness that a newly-organized dance troupe, having undergone training in China, had just returned to the Tibetan capital. The Dalai Lama had politely responded to this comment by indicating his interest in seeing the troupe perform sometime. Tan indicated he would be happy to arrange a performance at the Dalai Lama’s summer palace of Norbu Lingka. His Holiness had countered with the observation that because no proper facilities existed to mount the show there, why not have the troupe perform in the recently constructed auditorium at the Headquarters Camp of the PLA?

This casual conversation, the subject of which soon receded into the background in the Dalai Lama’s mind, would nonetheless not long hence become, in Shakya’s words, “the final spark which led to the Lhasa uprising.” For although almost all Tibetan officials were unaware that the Dalai Lama had requested an opportunity to witness the dance performance, the Chinese had immediately thereafter decided that the latter would serve as a fitting celebration to mark the graduation ceremony of His Holiness who during the concluding days of Monlam was scheduled to take his final *lharampa geshe* examination. General Tan, with nothing sinister at all in mind, would now repeatedly press the Dalai Lama to set a date for attending the show, but busyness with other matters prevented His Holiness from fixing a date. On 5 March, in fact, he, along with his court, would be centrally involved in a colorful processional transfer from the Potala to Norbu Lingka that would be his home and headquarters for the duration of the upcoming warm season. But, finally, when Tan pressed him again on 7 March, the Dalai Lama suggested that three days later, the 10th, would be a day acceptable for him to attend the dance at the Headquarters Camp of the Chinese Military Command located just outside Lhasa.

Hence, it should be clear from all this that in the first place it was the *Dalai Lama* who had invited himself, as it were, to see the dance performance and who also had himself chosen both the venue and the date for the event. However, only a few individuals at Norbu Lingka were aware that he had decided to attend such a function at the Chinese Camp and that it would be held on 10 March. Moreover, it seems that no discussion on arrangements between Tibetan and Chinese officials ever occurred till the 9th. Furthermore, none of the Kashag members were informed of the impending visit by the Dalai Lama to the Chinese Camp. This set of circumstances easily became “grist” for the proverbial “rumor mill” that when fully played out would ignite a political firestorm that ultimately ended in tragedy for all concerned. It only needed someone to take the initiative to compose the rumor and to

convey it to the lay and monastic populace of Lhasa, who at this particular Festive season had gathered from far and near in very large numbers in Tibet's most Sacred City. Enter: a junior monk official at Norbu Lingka by the name of Barshi. He it would be, notes Shakya, "who was to play an instrumental role in mobilizing public opposition to the visit" by the Dalai Lama to the Chinese Camp.

Interviewed by the Tibetan historian long afterwards, Barshi recalls first having heard about the impending visit on 9 March morning while attending a daily tea ceremony in the summer palace. Upon hearing the news, Barshi instantly remembered a prophecy he himself, along with the Abbot of Gyume Gompa, had heard just six days earlier from the lips of the Nechung Oracle whom Barshi had invoked. The prophecy had warned that for his own safety the Dalai Lama was not to venture outside the Norbu Lingka for the time being. Immediately Barshi expressed to other Palace officials his suspicion that the Chinese were planning to abduct Tibet's "god-king" and probably fly him off to Beijing. For had he and the others not heard reports already that several Chinese planes had most recently landed at Lhasa's Damshung Airport, that the Chinese had begun assembling military trucks at their Camp, and that the Chinese had been pressing His Holiness to agree to attend an upcoming National People's Congress at the Chinese capital in April? These developments, known to Palace officials responsible for the Dalai Lama's safety and security, had now fueled their suspicions that something seriously untoward was afoot surrounding the Tibetan leader's visit to the Military Camp to attend the religious dance show.

Not aware of the innocent conversation His Holiness had carried on with Tan and Deng weeks before, various Palace officials—from Phala on down to Barshi—now became most apprehensive about the visit next day to the Chinese Camp. Especially did they become deeply concerned when it was reported to them that the Chinese that very day had been telling several Tibetan officials to dispense with the protocol and ceremony usually associated with the public movements and activities of the Dalai Lama, that His Holiness in the present instance should not have his personal bodyguards accompany him to the Camp, that Tibetan military guards were to station themselves only as close to the Camp as was the location of a particular bridge crossing that was two miles' distance away, and, finally, that they, the Chinese, would be responsible for the Dalai Lama's security. The Palace officials grew even more alarmed upon learning that not until the 9th March did the Chinese commence inviting to the performance and banquet various Kashag members, monastic Abbots, and other high Tibetan dignitaries. Panic began to reign in earnest among many of Norbu Lingka's officials.

Significantly, by the morning of the 10th, all Lhasa as well as most of the numerous monasteries in and around the capital had been made aware of the Dalai Lama's visit to the Camp that was to occur later that day. For when Palace officials on the 9th were unable to convince His Holiness to cancel his visit out of consideration that the unusual and stringent conditions never before imposed by the Chinese could only signify danger for his security, Barshi and another Palace monk official had volunteered to go immediately to Lhasa several miles away and to spread the news far and wide, which thing they did most efficiently and effectively. So much so, apparently, that one Chinese source singled out by Shakya has claimed that the Mayor of Lhasa had "on 9 March evening ... provoked citizens" by having

said the following: “Tomorrow the Dalai Lama will go to the Military Area Command for a banquet and performance; Hans have prepared a plane to kidnap the Dalai Lama to Beijing; every household should send people to Norbulingka, the residence of the Dalai Lama, to petition him not to attend the performance.” Furthermore, asserts Shakya, “some people [in Lhasa] claimed that they had heard that the Dalai Lama had been abducted by the Chinese in the middle of the night, others that the Chinese had attacked the palace. Some were told that they should rush to the Norbulingka to prevent the Dalai Lama from being kidnapped by the Chinese.”

The Tibetan historian makes clear that Barshi had never intended to ignite a revolt: all he and his colleagues had wished to do, he later said, was to keep the Dalai Lama from venturing out to the Chinese Camp. And the best and only way now open to them to see this accomplished at this late date, they thought, was to mobilize the Lhasa public to persuade the Dalai Lama to cancel his visit. Moreover, they could never have imagined, writes Shakya, “the anger of the crowd” which was released by their spread of the rumor that the safety of His Holiness would be endangered were he to visit the Chinese Camp. Nor could they ever have predicted the outcome of their efforts to arouse the public to the sinister plot which Barshi and others in the Palace had firmly believed lay behind the Chinese desire to have His Holiness attend the religious function at the Military Camp. Nevertheless, observes Shakya, “once the crowd had been prompted by the rumour that their leader was in danger, there was no way that ... any Tibetan leader could influence the people” to cease their disruptive activities.

And so, the surging Lhasa populace, soon to be engaged in daily demonstrations around Norbu Lingka and elsewhere, would first direct their anger and resentment against the Tibetan ruling elites for betraying their leader and their Buddhist faith, especially against those who they believed were pro-Chinese (“Do not sell the Dalai Lama for Da Yuan [Chinese silver dollars],” the demonstrators would soon commence shouting; “the Dalai Lama is more precious than a sack full of Da Yuan”); and second, against the Chinese for betraying the Seventeen-Point Agreement by having undermined the authority of the Dalai Lama. Needless to say, Barshi’s mobilization of the Lhasa masses achieved his and his fellow officials’ stated aim: Tibet’s Priest-King was compelled to acquiesce to the demonstrators’ demand that he cancel his visit to the Chinese Camp. But it achieved much more that was unwanted and unsought, culminating in the reluctant departure of His Holiness from the Holy City and, ultimately, from Tibet itself.*

* One of the best detailed, well-documented accounts, including background, analysis, and perceptive conclusions as to what triggered the March Uprising can be found in Shakya, *Dragon ...*, 186-96. (In fact, the Text narrative provided in the above section just concluded in the present work is based on Shakya’s excellent account.) Furthermore, this Tibetan historian has convincingly shown that the Chinese never had any intention of abducting the Dalai Lama or of taking him off to Beijing. Indeed, he quotes the late distinguished Tibetan scholar, Dawa Norbu, who had written that “it is clear from my own findings that Tibetan fears and suspicions were unfounded, and that the Chinese had no such intentions.” The idea, notes Shakya, that this was the intent of the Chinese had been “born out of the Tibetans’ fear and supported by circumstantial evidence.” See *ibid.*, 192, 193, 493 note 40.



But a week before he did so a delegation of the now aroused and agitated people of Lhasa had on 10 March appealed to the world for help through the Indian Consul-General Major Chiba, the only foreign representative in Lhasa with the ability to communicate with the outside world. According to India's Prime Minister Nehru, "a large crowd of Tibetans had entered the premises of the Indian Consulate-General to speak to the Consul-General about the rumours [circulating] and their apprehensions about the Dalai Lama's safety."⁵³ Significantly absent from the Prime Minister's first substantive statement delivered before India's Parliament on the deteriorating situation in Lhasa was any mention of the fact that the delegation had asked both the Indian and Nepalese consuls to witness later that day the Tibetan Freedom Committee's declaration of independence that would officially reject the groundless claim of Chinese sovereignty over the nation. Although the Indian Consul declined to accompany the delegation when it would deliver the challenge to the Chinese, Major Chiba himself nonetheless assured the members of the delegation that "he would objectively inform India and the world of the Tibetan resolution." The delegation had gone to these consulates, Gergan Tharchin would later note in his "memoirs," "so that the officials there would stand as witnesses" to the resolute determination the Tibetan people now wished to give expression to of declaring "the independence of Tibet absolutely free from Chinese control in the truest sense of the word."⁵⁴ Michel Peissel⁵⁵ has described in vivid terms what then happened on March 10th⁵⁶:

The Tibetan Freedom Committee [consisting of about sixty to seventy members elected by the people of Lhasa at the suggestion of the Dalai Lama's Cabinet]⁵⁷ set out to the foot of the Potala Palace,⁵⁸ the historic seat of the Tibetan government, the most famous of all buildings in the Tibetan world. There the Freedom Committee, as masters of Lhasa and the self-appointed government of Tibet, officially repudiated the Seventeen-Point Agreement before a huge crowd of over 30,000 people. Copies of the Agreement were then burnt, an act which was repeated before the Jo-khang, the great Cathedral of Lhasa, the holiest place in Tibet.

The repudiation of the ... Agreement on the grounds that it had been broken by the Chinese and had been ratified and signed by the hated traitor Ngabo was followed by an official declaration of war against China. The Chinese were ordered to leave Lhasa immediately.*

* Though fixing a different date for this meeting at the foot of the Potala, Tsering Shakya has nonetheless acknowledged that "nearly fifty government officials"—but not including any Kashag members—would be gathered there, "all in support of the revolt." They, along with "the People's Assembly" or Freedom Committee, together with "thousands of people" present, constituted "perhaps the largest ever public demonstration in Lhasa." He further noted that some of these Government officials "took charge" of the meeting as "speaker after speaker denounced the Chinese and demanded the restoration of Tibet's independence. The crowd renounced the 17-Point Agreement, saying that the Chinese had betrayed the Agreement by undermining the authority of the Dalai Lama." According to Shakya, none of the Kashag members nor any other influential figure would associate themselves with these proceedings, even though "many Tibetan officials openly supported the uprising, which they saw as the last chance to oust the Chinese and restore the power of the Dalai Lama." The Kashag, continually reluctant to display any sign of siding with the demonstrators, out of fear of the

It was now the turn of the women of Tibet to make their voice heard by the Chinese and, if possible, by the world. Called the Women's Uprising of 12 March, just two days after the Freedom Committee had declared the independence of Tibet, some women of Lhasa, under the direction of Tsarong Shape's niece, Serong Yume Kunsang (who was termed by one participant, R. D. (Mary) Taring, "a Tibetan Joan of Arc"), mounted the beginnings of a protest march through the capital's streets that in time gathered to its banners between five and fifteen thousand strong at the foot of the Potala. Whereupon this massive crowd of women began surging forward in earnest through the city as a protest against the continued presence of the Chinese in Tibet. According to W. D. Shakabpa's account of these events, "a deputation of some of them went into the [Norbu Lingka] palace asking the Dalai Lama to proclaim independence" himself.⁵⁹

At one point, Serong Kunsang directed Mary Taring (the wife of Gergan Tharchin's former Gyantse student, Jigme Taring) to head a delegation of women to go to the Indian Consulate at Dekyi Lingka⁶⁰ near the Norbu Lingka Palace, to which she did.⁶¹ At the same time other women's delegations were dispatched to the Nepalese and Bhutanese consulates, with still another one commissioned to go to the Lhasan Moslem community nearby. The task of these varying delegations was to enlist the support of the different Governments of these neighboring States in the Tibetan struggle for independence and to seek their witness to the manifesto which two days earlier had repudiated the Seventeen-Point Agreement and had demanded the withdrawal of the Chinese from Lhasa and the rest of Tibet. The Indian Prime Minister himself, but quite belatedly some two weeks after the event, acknowledged before his Parliament that "a large number of Tibetan women came to the Consulate and requested the Consulate-General to accompany them to the Chinese Foreign Bureau to be a witness to their demands." But, he added, "the Consulate-General refused to accompany them." The refusal, correctly made by the Indian and the other two Consuls, to interfere in internal matters, apparently undermined the resolve of the women to proceed further with this particular act of defiance, for the demands were in the end never presented by the women of Lhasa. Even so, wrote one chronicler of these events, "this undelivered manifesto, when [later] signed by the representatives of the principal monasteries, the National Assembly, and the Kashag, became, in effect, a national Declaration of independence."⁶²

Meanwhile, these Lhasan women had quickly put together many anti-Chinese posters. Armed with these they lined up along the *Barkhor* which surrounded the central Cathedral and commenced shouting slogans like—"From today Tibet is independent!" and "China must quit Tibet!" All shops were closed and no one was even on the streets, noted Mary Taring, "except the shouting women."⁶³ But as a massive march of women made its way

Chinese, resisted "pressure from the public to make a declaration supporting the uprising."

On the other hand, writes this historian, "the Tibetan masses were no longer prepared to listen to what they saw as the Kashag's appeasement policy" towards the Chinese. And because those members of the Kashag (Surkhang, Liushar and Shasur) who early on in the Uprising had taken refuge in the Dalai Lama's summer palace could neither convince the Chinese that they themselves were not involved in the demonstrations nor suppress the Uprising, the Cabinet "had ceased to be an effective body" of leadership for the Tibetans in the present crisis. Accordingly, the Kashag and other Government officials holed up in Norbu Lingka would now commence "to address the question of the Dalai Lama's security." *Dragon ...*, 196-9.

along the streets of Tibet's capital, Chinese troops had machine guns trained on the brave women from all sides, and loudspeakers suddenly appeared on the rooftops of buildings held by the Chinese which blared forth the warning of the Chinese that all resistance to their occupation of Lhasa was futile. "You are like ants scratching at the elephant's feet," they shouted through the loudspeakers, and "China is as mighty as the sun and wherever there is sun, there the Chinese are also."⁶⁴ But they made it clear also that "if all Tibetans do not surrender, Lhasa will be shelled." Nevertheless, the women refused to bow to such threats, and R. D. Taring's husband Jigme, who had all along been photographing the Women's Uprising, continued his work of documenting these historic events, although he later recalled that he had expected to be shot at any moment. Although the Chinese kept themselves off the streets over the next few days, reports began to be heard from all sides of the massive preparations by the Chinese and of arrivals of Han military reinforcements. In fact, it would not be till 20 March that the PLA, having received instructions from Beijing, would be ordered to recapture the Sacred City from the demonstrators and other resistance fighters.

In the meantime, Major Chiba at Dekyi Lingka was assuring Mrs Taring and her fellow delegates that the Consulate had already sent a telegraphic message to Delhi and that despite his refusal to accompany them as a witness to their demands of the Chinese, his staff would convey to his Government the women's request for support and continue to keep Delhi informed of the situation in the Tibetan capital. Indeed, during the week that followed, the Indian telegraph, in Peissel's words, "was constantly kept busy night and day informing New Delhi (and, so the naïve Tibetans believed, the world) of what was happening in the holy city." Unfortunately for Tibet, "a shameful conspiracy of silence [initiated] by Prime Minister Nehru himself" was the tragic fate that awaited these cables from the faithful Chiba. For they lay on desks in Delhi piling up day after day without their contents ever making an appearance in the press that would reveal to the world the true plight of the people and the dramatic events then taking place in Lhasa. Only a few articles by George Patterson (the Scottish ex-missionary based in Kalimpong) appeared in the (London) *Daily Telegraph* that explained a sense of the true and tragic dimensions of what was happening in Tibet. These, however, were publicly denounced by Nehru himself in the Indian Parliament as being "exaggerated and misleading reports" which had been propagated by Patterson, who, he said, had already been warned that he would be expelled from the Indian border areas if he did not cease writing such incorrect reports about events in Tibet. Yet India's leader had been fully aware for an entire week that much of what Patterson was reporting was true and not to be dismissed "as bazaar rumours emanating from [Tibetan] exile officials and former missionaries."⁶⁵

* In the most searing indictment of Nehru which the present author came across in all his many hours of research on the Tibet crisis of 1959, Paul Ingram paints a near diabolical portrait of the Indian Prime Minister's direct involvement in "this shameful conspiracy of silence" and the tragic consequences which flowed from it. Ingram, Secretary of the London-based human rights organization previously known as the Scientific Buddhist Association but later called OPTIMUS, was the chief author of a Report prepared by the SBA for submission to the United Nations Human Rights Commission. The Report, originally published in 1984, has been revised

But so were hundreds of Tibetans living in Kalimpong also aware, who, now aroused, sent repeated telegrams to the Prime Minister requesting his Government to intervene on behalf of Tibet and humanity. Moreover, a deputation of Tibetans residing in northern India and led by the most recent former Tibetan Prime Minister, Lukhangwa, went to Delhi and met with Nehru and other Indian leaders to plead for their intervention and help. But India's top leadership turned a deaf ear to all these appeals. Furthermore, when asked in Parliament on 17 March about the precise condition in Tibet, the Prime Minister's repeated satiric reply was "that the news of alleged unrest in Tibet" was nothing more than "bazaar rumours," adding that the state of affairs in the Land of Snows was simply "a clash of wills rather than a clash of arms" and that "there is [no] large-scale violence there"! This "deliberate lie" on the part of Nehru was inexcusable, and constituted a profound betrayal of the Tibetan people, whose desperate official appeals through Major Chiba, wrote Peissel, the Indian Prime Minister had "no right whatsoever to withhold."*⁶⁶

twice with new material, most recently in 1990, again undertaken chiefly by Ingram. Of Nehru he offers the following unsparing assessment (the central thrust of which the present author would be at great pains to put forward any dissent):

It is a fact that Nehru prevented the outside world from learning the full truth about Tibet since he did not wish to embarrass the Chinese or to prejudice the possibility of some kind of *rapprochement* with them. K. M. Pannikar [Nehru's pro-Chinese Ambassador at Beijing who described himself as "a radical liberal" and who apparently worked in tandem with his top Indian boss whom he also labeled "a liberal"] received many hundreds of telegrams from Lhasa during the long crisis yet they did not see the light of day and Tibet's tragic plight went almost unreported. These actions were not those of an aggressor.

Elsewhere in the Report, Ingram added these words of stinging rebuke of the top Indian leader:

There is no doubt that Prime Minister Nehru bears a heavy responsibility for the destruction of Tibet. His anxiety not to offend the Chinese resulted in a systematic censorship which prevented information about Chinese atrocities from reaching the outside world. Because his preoccupation was with the threat posed by Pakistan he constantly underestimated the threat posed by the Chinese and tacitly acquiesced in the destruction of an entire civilization. Much could have been done to mitigate the catastrophe and at the very least arms and munitions would have proved an invaluable help to Tibetan freedom fighters as was the case with the Afghan rebels who withstood the Russian invasion.... Nehru ... went to extraordinary lengths to prevent news ... from reaching the outside world. If he had actively assisted the Tibetan freedom fighters large parts of Tibet could have been denied to the Chinese with the result that India's long northern frontier would not have been so difficult and costly to defend as it now is. *Tibet: the Facts; a Report ...*, 18-19.

* Not only Western writers have branded Nehru's conduct a betrayal of Tibet, Tibetans themselves have so labeled it. In a semi-autobiographical account of his experiences growing up inside Tibet during this very period, the late Dawa Norbu had related how at first Pandit Nehru had been perceived by Tibetans as "the wisest man in the world." As perhaps the only outside world statesman to have been generally known among the Tibetans, the latter, acknowledged Norbu, had hoped the Indian prime minister (termed by them the Delhi *Gyalpo*, or King) might prove to be their "political saviour" and assist Tibet in extricating herself from "the intricate mesh of the Chinese liberation." In short, Norbu declared, in the minds of himself and his fellow Tibetans, Nehru "was our only hope." Indeed, he added, at the outset of Tibet's troubles with Red China, "no Tibetan would ever have dreamt of the policy which he in fact adopted towards Tibet—a policy which neither synchronized with the prevalent intellectual mood [in India], nor with the Indian people's wishes." In the end, therefore, lamented Norbu, "all that the Tibetan people received for the trust and faith they put in Pandit Nehru and Holy India was a cold, passive sympathy." Unaware, at the time, of the great chess game of international politics which both Nehru and Chou En-lai had all along been playing, Tibetans later came to realize sadly and with bitter anger that their land, in the words of Dawa Norbu, had been "murdered" as a result; and that "upon Tibet's grave" had subsequently been "engraved" the Five Principles of Co-Existence (or Panch Shila) that thanks to Nehru and his Chinese confreres had constituted the substantive clauses of the



The Dalai Lama and members of his Government and family, however, knew better than Nehru what the true state of affairs was in their homeland. On the afternoon of the *very day* and at about the *very hour* (four o'clock) in which the Indian leader was publicly spreading his sophistries in Parliament, two Chinese artillery shells rained down upon the

Sino-Indian Agreement signed on 29 April 1954—an Agreement which Indian political leader Acharya Kripalani would subsequently tartly describe in a Parliament speech as having been “born in sin, because it was enunciated to put the seal of our approval on the destruction of an ancient nation which was associated with us spiritually and culturally.” For this Agreement had in essence signified that India now recognized total Chinese sovereignty over Tibet; and when told this by Norbu in the early 1970s, a refugee Tibetan laborer working on the roads in India could only exclaim in profound agony: “We have been betrayed!” *Red Star over Tibet*, 147-8; and for the Kripalani quote, see George Patterson, *Requiem for Tibet*, 161.

But it could equally be said that India, too, had been betrayed—by China, despite Nehru’s assessment at the time that by this Agreement India had accomplished “nothing better in the field of foreign affairs” and despite, further, his defense of the Treaty as being “not only good for our country but for the rest of Asia.” From the perspective of Tibetans and many Indians, they as neighbors of Red China would demur on both counts. In Tsering Shakya’s apt words: “Nehru naïvely assumed that the Agreement [had] secured China’s acceptance of the Sino-Indian frontier—and peace.” For all quotes in this paragraph, see Shakya, *Dragon ...*, 119.

Interestingly enough, Dawa Norbu would later note with cogency how Nehru had desired to redeem himself, as it were, in the eyes of his several Indian critics but especially among the Tibetan refugees who, like the one above, had felt “betrayed” by the Prime Minister’s disastrous China policy with regard to Tibet. For the top Indian leader, beginning in 1959 itself, now “showed keen personal interest in the Tibetan refugee problems” and sought to place these problems “high on India’s domestic agenda in the 1960s” as a way of compensating for his “inability”—nay, his *unwillingness*, it ought to be added—“to do anything for Tibet” during the entire 1950s. See Norbu’s article, “Refugees from Tibet ...,” *TJ* (Summer 2001):9.

As but one very dramatic example of this, in June 1959, just two months after the Dalai Lama had received permission to take asylum in India, the Tibetan leader and the Prime Minister met in Delhi for formal discussions regarding the rehabilitation of the Tibetan refugees in India. The two leaders were able to map out a comprehensive educational program, with one key result of these talks having been the creation of what the Dalai Lama in his account of this event termed “an independent Society for Tibetan Education within the Indian Ministry of Education” but which would later be known as the Central Committee on the Education of Tibetan Refugees. This development, significantly, had been at the initiative of Nehru himself. Wrote the Dalai Lama later, the Prime Minister had exhibited “such interest in the future education of the refugee children that it was as if he considered the matter to be his own personal responsibility.” Nehru waxed even more eloquently on the subject by declaring that there should be separate schools for the refugee children in order to preserve the Tibetan culture, wherein, he also observed, the children would not only be provided “a thorough knowledge of their own history and culture” but also that “it was vital” that they “be conversant in the ways of the modern world.” To which His Holiness had “wholeheartedly agreed.” But then, in a most gracious and magnanimous gesture of commitment, the Indian leader let it be known to the Dalai Lama that “the Indian government would bear all the expenses for setting up the schools,” which thing the Indian government had for the most part borne even up to the time of the Dalai Lama’s published memoirs (1990). Moreover, on the very afternoon of these discussions Nehru had had his Government announce the Society’s formation. “I was highly impressed,” recalled His Holiness, “with such a rapid response.” Dalai Lama XIV, *Freedom in Exile*, 149-50. Cf. Margaret Nowak, *Tibetan Refugees*, 55-6, where she asserts, however, that the date for these formal discussions had occurred in May 1961. But that late date would fly in the face of the urgent need for such a comprehensive program to have been devised and implemented much earlier.

Though Nehru most assuredly was sincere in his concerns, a question needs to be asked. Given his near total lack of concern for Tibet’s welfare during the crucial decade of the 1950s, and given the fact additionally, as the Dalai Lama has himself observed, that “India’s own children” at this time suffered from a “lack of even [a] basic education” for themselves, could this highly personal involvement by Nehru with the welfare of the Tibetan refugees have been an attempt to assuage pangs of guilt over the disastrous consequences of his failed China policy on Tibet? Dawa Norbu would most likely have answered in the affirmative.

Norbu Lingka.⁶⁷ That spelled the *coup de grâce* to any further hesitation by the Dalai Lama to quit Lhasa. For having that same day consulted the Nechung Oracle, who had declared under possession that no longer was it safe for the Dalai Lama to remain in Norbu Lingka,^{*68} Tibet's embattled "god-king" now readily agreed with his Prime Minister Surkhang and his Court Chamberlain Phala that he and the others must leave at once.^{†69} The only stipulation he required, reported Noel Barber, was that he would not make for India "unless it became imperative." Before leaving, the Dalai Lama also left a personal letter behind to be delivered to the Freedom Committee two days after his departure, in which he thanked the Committee for their loyalty and pleaded with them not to open fire on the Chinese "unless they were attacked."⁷⁰

Meanwhile, in the face of the unvarnished truth which the Indian Prime Minister had with great insensitivity sought to ignore, the young Priest-King of Tibet and his small coterie took leave of Lhasa secretly and in the end departed the country entirely.⁷¹ But as George Patterson has termed it, it would be "an almost incredible venture." For here, he explained in graphic detail, was what the Dalai Lama and his entourage would be up against: (a) tens of thousands of Chinese troops positioned in and about the Tibetan capital; (b) the major portion of a 300,000-strong Han army stationed south and west of Lhasa, and "reaching to the borders of India"; (c) a roaming horde of some 50,000 Tibetan civilians constantly present on the capital's streets and who were "committed to keeping the Dalai Lama safe" inside the Norbu Lingka palace; and (d) the nearest Khampa guerrillas a distant 40 miles away in the Loka area south of the capital.⁷² Against such tremendous odds as these, nevertheless, disguised in Khampa soldier's garb and wearing a fur hat, the Dalai Lama, with his party (including his mother and sister dressed as Khampa men), slipped out in small groups from his summer palace just outside Lhasa⁷³ on the night of 17 March 1959. Fortunately for all of them the leaders of the crowd of Tibetans surrounding the Palace,

* This was not all the State Oracle had declared; indeed, the Nechung medium was even more specific and highly detailed in what he next uttered while still entranced, he instructing the Dalai Lama precisely what the god Pehar who had taken possession of the Oracle wanted him to do. Explained Kundun long after the event:

To my astonishment, he shouted, "Go! Go! Tonight!" The medium, still in his trance, then staggered forward and, snatching up some paper and a pen, wrote down, quite clearly and explicitly, the route that I should take out of the Norbulingka, down to the last Tibetan town on the Indian border.... That done, the medium, a young monk named Lobsang Jigme, collapsed in a faint, signifying that [the god] had left his body. Just then, as if to reinforce the oracle's instructions, two mortar shells exploded ... outside.

Quoted in Craig, *Kundun*, 217.

† It is accurate to say that Phala was the primary planner and organizer of the Dalai Lama's exit from the Norbu Lingka and rendezvous with the Khampa soldier escort south of the river Tsangpo. The Kashag had granted full authority to him to do whatever he thought best to effect the safe departure of His Holiness from the Palace and from Lhasa itself. It is also accurate to say that Phala had the assistance of an old Japanese-made radio (which had to be wound up by hand) belonging to two Tibetan agents of the American secret service, Washington's Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), and by this means the party of His Holiness could inform the Americans of the situation on the ground by maintaining radio contact with the CIA through what was then East Pakistan (now Bangladesh). But it is not correct to assume from this, as Chris Mullin has implied and others have asserted, that the CIA had engineered the exit and escort of His Holiness to safety. Other Western writers have even gone so far as to assert that "the logistics of the operation were too complex" for the Tibetans to have executed the task by themselves. But these and other related claims on the CIA's role have been refuted by other writers and scholars. See the above-indicated end-note for further on this matter.

informed of the exit plan and "sworn to secrecy," assisted in making it possible for the Dalai Lama and his party to pass through the huge crowd undetected.⁷⁴ Then, under cover of what some have termed a *miraculously*-timed sandstorm,⁷⁵ they successfully made for the rebel-held territory south of the Tsangpo River, where they then turned southeast and wended their way in the direction of the Indian border east of Bhutan.

His Holiness indicated years afterwards that as soon as he and his entourage had left Lhasa, an "inner group" or committee of leaders among them was established, composed, he said, of "myself and eight other people." Its purpose was to discuss every important decision which was to be made during their trek south by southeast. "We would sit together and discuss the practical points each night," the "god-king" explained, adding that "originally our plan was to establish our headquarters in southern Tibet."⁷⁶ The Dalai Lama had hoped that somewhere within the Khampa-controlled area south of the river Tsangpo he might be able to set up his Government and commence to contact afresh and negotiate with Tibet's Chinese overlords, and that in the opinion of some in his party, the Communists might even ultimately request him to return to Lhasa. "There was still hope," His Holiness was to say later, "that the Chinese would see reason and respect the assurances [they had] given Tibetans. But the way the Chinese soldiers were let loose upon the innocent peace-loving Tibetans [at Lhasa after my departure] left me no alternative but to cross over to India which every Tibetan considers his second home."⁷⁷

At one point during the weeks-long journey south, the Chinese—upon learning of the spiritual ruler's successful departure from under their noses—suddenly announced that they had dissolved the Tibetan government. (Early on, they had assumed that the Dalai Lama had been killed in their senseless shelling and assault upon the Norbu Lingka Palace and upon the thousands of his supporters who had ringed the outside of the structure to protect him from being abducted to China by the Communists, as had been rumored.) "Of course," wrote his Holiness later, "they had no authority, legal or otherwise, to dissolve the Government." But in making that announcement, the spiritual monarch pointed out, the Chinese were now "breaking the only one of their promises in the Seventeen-Point Agreement" of 23 May 1951⁷⁸ "which had so far nominally remained unbroken: the promise not to alter my status"⁷⁹; for in the strictest sense of the word the Dalai Lama *was* the Government of Tibet!



What then transpired along the snowy mountainous area of southeastern Tibet, which at that moment was being traversed by the Dalai Lama and his government Ministers, actually served as the origin of the Tibet government-in-exile that just a few weeks later would find a home for itself in Mussoorie and still later in Dharamsala in the northwestern Indian Himalayan foothills. For the Grand Lama and his Ministers now believed that Tibetans in remote districts of the country might think the Chinese announcement had been made with the Tibetan ruler's acquiescence. To forestall such a danger developing, the inner group of leaders, while still traveling among the trackless wastes of Tibet, decided during one of their nightly discussion sessions "not simply to deny" the Dalai Lama's acquiescence in such a charade, but in fact "to create a new temporary Government" right on the spot. "And we

decided to do that,” His Holiness was to write later, “as soon as we came to Lhuntse Dzong,” the next stopping point on their trek southwards. That, in fact, would be the very next day.

At this large fortress community (located just 60 miles from the Indian border) and on the upper level of the *dzong*, the new temporary government of Tibet was first of all consecrated by a religious ceremony, to be followed immediately by a secular ceremony conducted on a lower level of the castle. At this latter function the young “god-king” and his Cabinet Ministers were present, along with a considerable assembly of local Tibetan citizens. Recalls the Dalai Lama of this event: “A proclamation of the establishment of the temporary government was read out” before the assemblage, and “I formally signed copies of it to be sent to various places all over Tibet.”⁸⁰ At this moment the area around the dzong was entirely free of Chinese control and peopled currently by many Khampas and Tibetan soldiers. Moreover, it was from here that the Dalai Lama’s Cabinet would soon seek to realize its original plan conveyed to Phala of conducting negotiations with the Red Chinese. His Holiness would later write that he now felt “positive” about Tibet’s future. The feeling, however, would be short-lived.⁸¹

It ought to be pointed out in passing that His Holiness would long afterwards reveal that the news of the establishment of a new Tibetan government, when shared with the Prime Minister of India by the Dalai Lama a month later at Mussoorie, caused a moment’s frightful consternation. For only four days earlier, the Indian ruler had publicly declared that the Dalai Lama, by that time on Indian soil and granted asylum, would be free to pursue religious activities but not to engage in any kind of Tibetan politics or take any steps which might embarrass the Indian government *vis-à-vis* China. This had apparently not intimidated the Tibetan ruler. “I mentioned to Pandit Nehru—I think on the 24th of April 1959,” recalled His Holiness accurately in an interview he gave some twenty years after the event, “that we had established a Tibetan temporary government, shifted from Lhasa to southern Tibet. I mentioned this casually to the Prime Minister. He was slightly agitated (laughter).” To which Nehru, once regaining his composure, flatly replied: “We are not going to recognize your government.” The Indian leader’s reaction would leave His Holiness somewhat surprised, if not bewildered, since, as he immediately explained to the interviewer, “this government had been formed [in March] while still in Tibet and I was already [by April] in India—”!⁸² But the young Dalai Lama could not at that time be expected to be conversant with the intricacies of Sino-Indian power politics as they were even at that moment being played out through a spate of crafty diplomatic maneuverings. It is of interest to note that the Indian Foreign Office Secretary, Subimal Dutt, who had accompanied the Prime Minister to the meeting, would report that “the Dalai Lama spoke calmly and showed no trace of bitterness against anybody despite the physical and the mental strain through which he had passed.” As for the Prime Minister, adds Dutt, the four-hour talk with the Dalai Lama “had a strange effect on Nehru for the rest of the day. He was in a reflective and reminiscent mood.” His Holiness would long afterwards write of “a profound feeling of disappointment” he had after the meeting. And as indicated earlier, he felt that Nehru was now displaying “signs of a guilty conscience” for having insisted that he return to Tibet back in 1957.^{82a}



Now it was decided at Lhuntse Dzong that the Dalai Lama should withdraw to a less conspicuous lamasery at Teulay two miles distant when news reached the party that Chinese troops were setting out from the Sikkimese frontier area in a grand sweep eastwards along the northern border of Bhutan. This bit of intelligence made it clear to all that the presence of the Lama-King in Loka would attract a concentrated Chinese attack that if launched would require a mobilization of many guerrillas to protect the Tibetan "god-king." This assessment of the situation now precipitated talk for the first time of his exiting Tibet altogether. "Exile in India," observed Michel Peissel, "was the obvious solution to the Khampas' problem." From there, he added, it was hoped that His Holiness "could rally the support of an apparently indifferent world and help the rebels more successfully than from Loka"; whereas to remain where he and his Khampa escort were could only lead, as the Dalai Lama himself would later say, "to more fighting and more deaths of the brave men who would try to defend me." Moreover, earlier news brought by runners from Lhasa which recited the barbarous and unmerciful attacks unleashed by the Chinese soldiery upon the mostly unarmed civilian population and the Tibetan holy places like the Jo-khang had convinced His Holiness by this time that the Chinese were not interested in new contacts and negotiations with him ("While I remained in Tibet," he had hoped throughout the journey, "the Chinese might see some advantage in coming to terms") nor that they could be trusted to respect the assurances they had repeatedly given the Tibetan people. "From that moment," he subsequently confided, "it was inevitable that I should leave my country. There was nothing more I could do for my people if I stayed."

At Teulay Monastery, then, was where, after a brief discussion, the decision was made that in the interest of all concerned the Lama-King of the Land of Snows should go to India. "This decision," Peissel noted, "was taken with the full agreement of both the Khampas and the Dalai Lama."⁸³ Even before this moment, it should be noted, the Dalai Lama's Court Chamberlain Phala, in one of his last acts prior to departing Lhasa, had taken the precaution of sending a lower-level Government official to the Indian Consul-General's office at the Tibetan capital notifying this individual, Major Chiba, that Tibet's Grand Lama was leaving Lhasa "to join the Khampa resistance fighters, ... might have to flee to India, and asked [the Consul-General] to inform Nehru and his officials ..." This Major Chiba agreed to do, dispatching an encoded message to this effect by telegraph. The Indian Prime Minister, to his credit, would promptly give assent to this request, if such might prove necessary, when subsequently approached in New Delhi by the Dalai Lama's older brother Gyalo Dhondup. Indeed India's Foreign Office Secretary Dutt sent a response telegram to the Consul-General on 19 March, two days after the Dalai Lama had left Lhasa, informing him that India would grant His Holiness asylum; but as it turned out, Major Chiba was unable to forward the message on to the escape party. Delhi, however, would be able to do so later by other means.⁸⁴

Continuing on their way, then, as rapidly as possible, and in a southeasterly direction, the Dalai Lama and his party were "providentially" able to stay one or two trekking stages

ahead of the pursuing Chinese. And thus they were able to escape the snare of elements of the People's Liberation Army—"which, informed sources say, had instructions to the effect that the Dalai Lama dead was better than the Dalai Lama alive in a foreign country." Indeed, in his most recent autobiographical account (1990) the Dalai Lama tells of the story which circulated that when Chairman Mao had received a report after the March Uprising which indicated that order had been restored, the senior Chinese Communist leader is said to have asked, "And what about the Dalai Lama?" When informed that he had escaped, Mao retorted, "In that case we have lost the battle."⁸⁵

During the two-week journey the outside world, gradually becoming aware only that something awful and tragic was unfolding in Lhasa, speculated greatly about the Tibetan ruler: Was he dead or was he still alive? And if the latter, where was he? And was he escaping through the Himalayan passes to India? The speculation was largely fed by the world's press as it combed the Himalayan foothills for any clue as to his whereabouts.⁸⁶ But by the end of March the entire world knew that the Fourteenth Dalai Lama had safely arrived over the border into India, where eighteen days later at Tezpur in Assam⁸⁷ he declared in a statement read out on his behalf to the world's press that he had come to India voluntarily and not that "Tibetan reactionaries" and "rebels from Lhasa" had taken him out of the country by force as was claimed by the Chinese in Beijing.⁸⁸



The Chinese made other claims, however, which greatly displeased the Indian government of Pandit Nehru, many of the members of his ruling Congress Party, and other political factions throughout the Indian subcontinent. These unwarranted claims and charges made over a lengthy period against India or against certain individuals or elements within India brought forth response after counter-response from spokesmen within the Indian government, including quite often the Prime Minister himself in Parliament. A general feeling of resentment if not outright anger and hostility began to develop against the Chinese action in Tibet. There was particular outrage voiced by the Indian Parliament against what its members viewed to be an unjustified interference in that deliberative body's sovereign right to engage in debate over any question it saw fit, including the Tibet issue—a matter which the Chinese Communist government, however, felt was its own internal affair. And incredible as it may seem, once again—as was the case in 1951 and 1956-7—both Kalimpong, Gergan Tharchin, and certain other members of the Tibetan community there were to intrude themselves in a prominent, if not central, way in the turmoil that burst forth upon national and international politics in India at this time.⁸⁹

Even before the Dalai Lama's feet had touched Indian soil on 31 March 1959 the New China News Agency had issued in Beijing on the 28th a lengthy official communiqué dealing with the rebellion in Tibet. Among its many statements and charges was one which declared that "Kalimpong [was] the center of the rebellious elements' activities abroad" and even more so, that the very "*commanding* center of the rebellion was in Kalimpong."⁹⁰ More

than likely taking its cue from the Chinese capital, the Secretariat of the National Council of the Communist Party of India (CPI) issued its own statement on Tibet to the Indian press three days later. In it was a repetition of these and other allegations against India emanating from both the Chinese government and the Chinese Communist Party. That part of the Secretariat's press release having to do specifically with Kalimpong, which was soon to be dubbed by the Western press as "India's window on Tibet,"⁹¹ read as follows:

The People's Government of China, with the full sense of responsibility, has drawn our attention to Kalimpong, which, according to it, has become the command center of the rebels. We all know that many shady happenings are taking place at Kalimpong and that a lot of doubtful foreigners are visiting this place. In the interest of both countries as well as the inviolability of our national soil, our Government should immediately investigate the affairs in Kalimpong and place the truth before the people.⁹²

It is difficult not to believe that the issuance of this statement had been orchestrated from Beijing. For on the same day as this CPI statement (31 March 1959), there appeared an even more strident attack by the Chinese against the hill station in an article in the *People's Daily* (Beijing's Chinese-language newspaper, *Renmin Ribao*). In it was leveled the charge that "the clique of reactionaries in Tibet"—who, it said, do not wish regional autonomy but seek "the so-called 'independence of Tibet'"—were "utilizing their position in the *Kashag*" and "utilizing Kalimpong, which is outside the country, as a center of collusion with imperialism, the Chiang Kai-shek bandits and foreign reactionaries ..."⁹³ A month later still found the *People's Daily* insisting that Kalimpong was a base for the Tibetan rebellion. "It is true," the newspaper observed, "that the traitors' activities in Kalimpong are sometimes open and sometimes secret. Our Indian friends may not be aware of it, but this does not warrant the conclusion that we, too, are surely not aware of it."⁹⁴

Still intent, if it could, on further blackening the reputation of Tharchin's hill town in the eyes of the watching world, the Chinese Communists would issue several months later a summary of the Tibetan Uprising that appeared in an important Beijing government monthly journal called *Hongqi* (meaning Red Flag). The article in the journal devoted to this summary chose to report the Uprising by chronicling day by day the events which had unfolded at Lhasa earlier that year. When it came to March 10th, the article's author showed little restraint in his hostile attack on the Indian hill station and many of its Tibetan residents: "At this juncture the gang of [Tibetan] traitors, clustered round Kalimpong in India and who had long been carrying on criminal activities in league with imperialist agents and the Indian expansionists, became frantically active; they turned Kalimpong into a center of activities to direct the rebellion."⁹⁵

Actually, all these allegations were reiterations, but now more strongly worded, of charges made eight months earlier in a five-point protest aimed specifically against Kalimpong and which was part of the text of a lengthy diplomatic note that had been presented in Beijing to the Counselor of India on 10 July 1958 by the Chinese Foreign Office. It was not released to the Indian public till 7 September 1959 when it was published in New Delhi by the Indian government's Ministry of External Affairs as part of a White Paper entitled, *Memoranda*

and Letters Exchanged and Agreements Signed between the Government of India and China 1954-1959.

It now was the turn of India to respond. On the 30th of March 1959 in Parliament's Lok Sabha, Prime Minister Nehru categorically rejected the charges against Kalimpong made by the Chinese two days earlier, although several days later (2 April) he did acknowledge in Parliament that Kalimpong had in fact been "a center of trouble," and constituted, he said, what "has often been described as a nest of spies," even admitting that he had been told by a knowledgeable resident of the town that "there were more spies in Kalimpong than the rest of the inhabitants put together"! These alien visitors to the hill town—who were engaged, noted Nehru, in "a complicated game of chess"—had gathered there from various nations and had taken upon themselves a variety of political colors and hues; yet all of them, he indicated, had been under surveillance at one time or another for the past few years.⁹⁶ Nehru had even personally confided to Chou En-lai during the latter's visit to India a couple of years earlier that the hill town "is a center of espionage, primarily American and British." (This confidence had been made known verbally and later published at Beijing by none other than Chairman Mao in his now famous secret speech, "On Contradictions," delivered before China's Supreme State Conference on 27 February 1957, and who had doubtless been informed by the Chinese Premier himself. In this same speech Mao had himself described Kalimpong as "a place in India where they specialize in sabotaging Tibet."⁹⁷) "But to imagine or say," reassured the Pandit in late April before the same Parliament House, "that a small group of persons sitting in Kalimpong organized a major upheaval in Tibet seems to me to make a large draft on imagination and to slur over obvious facts."⁹⁸ Moreover just a week earlier in Parliament he leveled a charge of his own when he declared that Chinese Communist intelligence agents were themselves in the Indian hill station.⁹⁹ The Indian leader no doubt had in mind here some of the personnel who manned the huge, fully staffed offices of the Chinese Trade Mission which had been established in Kalimpong in 1954 with, ironically, Nehru's blessing. It was well known that besides facilitating the shipment into Han-controlled Tibet of much-needed rice and various militarily strategic items such as kerosene and petrol (and even the crossing of soldiers from India into Tibet via Sikkim in attempts to attack the Khampas from the rear), this so-called Trade Mission or Agency had also provided an easy cover for conducting Chinese espionage activities in the hill town.†¹⁰⁰

* Despite Nehru's disclaimers, there was an element of truth to what the Chinese had been saying about Kalimpong. For an explanation, see the end-note here indicated.

† Elie Abel, foreign correspondent for the *New York Times*, in a dispatch from Tharchin's hill station datelined 3 April 1959, made the following observation: "There is not much doubt that Kalimpong pulses with undercover politics and espionage. It has a Tibetan Trade Agency, which flies the Red flag of Peking and keeps watch on the [Tibetan] exile Colony." At this time, wrote Abel, out of Kalimpong's total population of 15,000, Tibetans numbered 3000, the Chinese 500, and the rest consisted of Nepalese, Bhutanese and Sikkimese, as well as Indians from near and far. *Times*, 4 April 1959, p. 2.

There had basically been two very long, large and quite spacious buildings which had comprised the Chinese (or Tibetan) Trade Mission in Kalimpong that the Red Chinese had leased from none other than Yangpel Pangdatsang shortly after the signing of the so-called Panch Shila Treaty of 1954 between Mao's People's Republic of China (PRC) and Nehru's India, one of whose clauses had permitted the creation of the Mission on Indian territory and had further called for the transfer to the Chinese of the pre-existing Tibetan Trade Mission. It seems that Yangpel had always managed, somehow, to insinuate himself into all matters



Another charge brought against India by the Beijing government—and which was in reality a complaint expressed as Point Three of the diplomatic protest cited earlier—was the intolerable state of affairs (from the Chinese viewpoint) wherein the Nehru administration was allowing what the Chinese Foreign Office termed “a reactionary newspaper” to publish material “hostile to the Chinese Government and people.” In its complaint it made specific reference to Gergan Tharchin’s news journal, “the *Tibetan Mirror*” (*sic*), and declared that it was “openly published in Kalimpong.”¹⁰¹ This specific complaint had been revealed for

Chinese. And this case was apparently no exception; because in return for leasing or “loaning” these two spacious structures of his to the Chinese, the latter—through their Calcutta Consulate—had made Pangdatsang the Vice-Agent of their Trade Agency! (This *quid pro quo* arrangement is per the present writer’s interview with Gergan Tharchin’s knowledgeable Chinese friend and longtime hill station resident, F. M. Shen, Kalimpong, March 1991.) But it should be noted that Tsering Shakya has stated that Yangpel had been appointed not the Vice-Agent but the actual Chinese Trade Agent, which thus aided somewhat in reducing Tibetan opposition to the Treaty itself. See Shakya, *Dragon ...*, 119-20.

These no longer extant Pangdatsang structures had been situated on a hill slope that even today still descends from Tirpai Hill Road almost directly down from the Tibetan Buddhist gumpa known as Tharpa Chholing and, incidentally, located but a few minutes’ walk from Gergan Tharchin’s residential compound on K. D. Pradhan Road that feeds into the Tirpai Road. The main building of these two structures had housed the offices of the Mission while the second had provided resident space for what soon became an extraordinarily large staff. This latter structure, in fact, had been one of Yangpel Pangdatsang’s own residences on the hill slope prior to 1954; and the extensive level area adjacent to it, incidentally, had most likely served as the venue where the future secular lord of Tibet, General Chang Ching-wu, had been received and welcomed to Kalimpong on 4 July 1951 by Pangdatsang himself, other Tibetan dignitaries, Chinese community leaders, and members of India’s Communist Party. This according to Ven. Kusho Wangchuk of Tharpa Chholing, in an interview with the present writer in 1992. (Indeed, it may be recalled from Chapter 24 that it had in fact been Yangpel’s very vehicles which had transported the General and his large entourage up the road to Kalimpong from Baghdogra!)

Now on one of his many visits to the Tharchin home in the hill station the present writer was told by Gergan Tharchin’s grandson David that rumors—still rife even today among the townspeople—had for years circulated throughout Kalimpong during the 1950s and early ’60s to the effect that the Trade Mission’s office building had an underground level, undetectable from the structure’s exterior, and that it had become the center for untold clandestine activities conducted by the Chinese Communists on behalf of the Chinese government. David Tharchin, in company with Phurbu Tsering as interpreter, took the writer to see a local Tibetan resident from Kham and Lhasa, a Mr. Jorga. He had lived in Kalimpong since 1941 and during the 1950s had served as one of four executive committee members of Pacha (he would later become its President), an organization consisting of members who all represent various organizations within Kalimpong’s Tibetan community. In the interview which followed, Jorga confirmed the existence of the rumors but could not confirm the existence of the underground level; though on visiting the Trade Mission’s office one time and speaking to the Chinese staff there, the latter had happened to mention to him that there was an underground area, access to which, they said, was by means of steps leading down from a trapdoor located at one corner of the carpeted wooden floor on which they and Jorga were then standing. The Tibetan was never shown the trapdoor by these staff members, however. Interview with Mr. Jorga at his home in Hat Bazar, Kalimpong, December 1992.

It was the writer’s interview with Ven. Wangchuk the following day which confirmed the existence of the underground level, for the Venerable told the writer that the owner of the building, Pangdatsang, whom he had known well, had constructed the underground space at the time he had had the structure built long before and that Yangpel had probably used it for storing his and his family’s valuables. With the occupation of the buildings by the Chinese in 1954, the Venerable came to know many of the Trade Mission’s staff because of his frequent visits there and his apparent ability to relate to the Chinese due to his having been enrolled for sixteen years (1931-47), from the age of 12, at the Panchen Lama’s ecclesiastical seat of Trashilhunpo Gumpa where

the first time, incidentally, by India's Prime Minister himself in his speech before the Lok Sabha on 2 April 1959 as he was reviewing in some detail the contents of the aforementioned diplomatic note of 10 July 1958.¹⁰² Nehru had first noted the Chinese objection "to the reactionary views of a monthly called the *Tibetan Mirror* [*sic*], edited by an Indian national of Ladakhi origin." But the Prime Minister—inaccurate about Tharchin's ancestral roots—then went on to say that "as a matter of fact, we issued a warning to the editor"; nevertheless, "we pointed out to the Chinese that many newspapers in India were far more anti-Government, i.e., anti-Government of India; and we could not and did not," he added, "take any legal action against them."¹⁰³

It needs to be pointed out, however, that in his speech Nehru only touched upon Point Three in the briefest of terms. He apparently was disinclined to reveal any further what had been expressed in the Note of Response which the Indian Ministry of External Affairs had sent to the Chinese Embassy at New Delhi on 2 August 1958. It would have been highly impolitic on his part to have done so, since a full revelation would not have been too well received by a Parliament and nation whose sympathies towards the side of Tibet in the struggle with China were growing increasingly evident with each passing day. In short, it would have placed the Indian Prime Minister and his government in a bad light, given the

there had been a pronounced Chinese influence. (Kusho Wangchuk noted in the interview, by the way, that the Trade Mission's staff would annually invite him and his fellow monks at Tharpa Chholing to come down the hill to the Mission's Residence to celebrate with them the National Day of 1 October in honor of the PRC having been declared such on that day in 1949. "Some monks refused, others felt pressured to do so," the Venerable acknowledged; for the Chinese had sought continuously—and with much success, he added—to divide the Tibetan monks in Kalimpong, thus helping to nourish further the division of political loyalties among Tibetan monk refugees *vis-à-vis* Red China, just as China had attempted to do back in Tibet herself for decades if not centuries.)

In view of his frequent interaction with the Trade Mission's staff during its seven years of existence, said Kusho Wangchuk, he felt he was in a position to know and learn things from the Chinese and would therefore have come to discern if such undercover activity as had been bruited about the hill station for years had had any validity. He could state with near total certainty to the writer, however, that no clandestine intelligence-gathering enterprise had ever been centered or conducted by the Chinese in the underground quarters of their Trade Agency office. On the contrary, asserted the Venerable, this hidden area had been utilized for safely securing the Mission's valuables; those such as papers and documents related to the Mission, the now worthless (in the PRC) Chinese silver dollars bearing the defeated Chiang Kai-shek's image upon them (the Mission had "bags full of them!" he declared; see Chapter 22 for Red China's clever stratagem for using these dollars to Beijing's advantage), other metal currency, paper currency, etc. This and nothing more had been the purpose for which the underground space had been utilized. Interview with Ven. Wangchuk at Tharpa Chholing Gumpa and while walking together along Tirpai Hill Road, Kalimpong, 9 December 1992.

Yet it is difficult for this writer to accept the Venerable Lama's near certitude on this issue; simply because, given China's known alarm over Kalimpong's near fanatical anti-Red Chinese posture—at least among the Tibetan community there—the Chinese would have been extremely foolish not to have taken advantage of the easy cover which their Trade Agency had now provided for conducting espionage and other intelligence-collecting operations in the strategically placed hill station. But it would have been equally foolish on their part to have in any way divulged the existence of such an endeavor to anyone, especially to Tibetan monks and Lamas, and no matter how innocent or friendly they may have appeared to the alert Mission staff. Moreover, they would have been extremely careful not to allow their daily conduct and behavior to betray their clandestine activities, if at all possible. Furthermore, by his own admission the Venerable, like Jorga, was never shown the underground area by the Agency's staff. It is therefore this writer's opinion that the widespread rumors, the substance of which had frequently been reported by journalists and others on the scene in Kalimpong during this period, could very easily have a basis in fact.

current mood of the nation.

Now the text of the pertinent part of the Indian Note of Response is worth quoting here in its entirety for several reasons. On the one hand it indicates more fully the sensitivity the Indian government had, prior to the 1959 Tibetan uprising, towards not only Tharchin's newspaper but also other publications that were outspoken in their sympathy towards the cause of Tibet in her struggle against China. And it reveals on the other hand how important it was to Nehru and his Government to maintain at all costs a friendly relationship between India and China, regardless of what the latter might feel it could now with impunity freely inflict upon the Tibetan people without fear of reprisal from India. The full text of Point Seven of the *Indian* Note which addressed Point Three of *China's* Note reads as follows:

7. The Government of the People's Republic of China refer to a newspaper named the *Tibetan Mirror*. There is no daily or weekly newspaper of that name published in Kalimpong. A monthly periodical called the *Tibetan Mirror* is published there. The editor of this newspaper is not a Chinese [i.e., a Tibetan] but an Indian national. The Government of India have noted with displeasure that some of the articles published in this periodical are objectionable and calculated to affect the friendly relations between India and China. The law in India is, however, such that it is not easy to take executive or legal action against newspapers in India which severely criticize other friendly Governments. In fact, strong criticisms are voiced by some newspapers against the Government of India themselves. However, the Government of India are most anxious that an unimportant magazine like the *Tibetan Mirror* should not adversely affect the relations between our two friendly countries and are directing their local officers to administer a severe warning to this periodical. If it continues to create mischief, the Government of India will take whatever other action is feasible.¹⁰⁴

That was the policy and intent of the Indian government in 1958. Between that time and the Tibetan Uprising the following year, capped by the Dalai Lama's departure from Lhasa and eventual exile in India, there was no appreciable change in the editorial policy of the *Tibet Mirror*. It continued to take a strong stand with Tibet and against China. And in the meantime the political winds in the Indian subcontinent had so radically changed that Tharchin need not have feared any further reprisal towards him and his newspaper for continuing—if he in fact ever did—"to create mischief." Gergan Tharchin would not be intimidated, not even by the highest councils of Government.

Indeed, this very matter the Babu would reference in a letter he wrote several years afterwards to the Political Officer Sikkim. Dated 16 December 1963, it had been sent at a time when public opinion in India had definitely turned against China in the aftermath of the Sino-Indian Border War a year earlier. Reminding the P.O.S. of the *Tibet Mirror's* longstanding anti-Communist editorial posture that had continued even in spite of the Nehru government's warning of 1958, Babu Tharchin wrote as follows:

My paper has been an anti-Communist one since the beginning of the year 1950. Gradually the Chinese Communists tried to entice me by [offering to] pay Rs. 500/- monthly if I [would] change my anti-Communism, but I refused. Thereafter they started to ban the paper, but it went secretly into Tibet, and [as a result] the Tibetans' minds

were always kept against the Chinese Communists. The Red Chinese were so much against my paper [that] they even protested to our Government, and at last our Government had to serve me with a warning ordering me not to publish anything against the Government of China. It was not the intention [?wish?] of our Government [to do so], but by the pressure of the Chinese Government our Government had to serve the warning to me. *But still I carried on with the anti-Communist propaganda.* (emphasis added)¹⁰⁵

Though having been denigrated by Pandit Nehru's government as "an unimportant magazine," the publisher of the *Tibet Mirror*, despite having been administered "a severe warning," would not retreat from his long-held convictions on the issues of the day but would continue to present the news in a fearless manner and to print the editorial views of its courageous editor. In such troublous times as were now upon them, there dwelt on both sides of the border a Tibetan populace that, holding a far different estimate of "their" newspaper than did the government of the Indian Prime Minister, gladly welcomed without reservation each and every issue of this journalistic voice into their midst.



As was accurately portrayed in Point Seven of India's Note of Response, the *Tibet Mirror* was not alone in its excoriation of China and even criticism of Nehru's government. In fact, the Uprising of 1959 and its immediate aftermath made Tibet a *cause célèbre* among India's liberal intelligentsia—whether they have been newspaper editors, journalistic pundits, political thinkers, creative artists and writers, or politicians. Indeed, historian Bhabani Sen Gupta has pointed out that "a section of the Indian elite" had *never* been "reconciled" to the notion of "Tibet's being a part of the Chinese People's Republic." He went on to describe the temper of the times within the Subcontinent and among China's ruling circles at this critical juncture in Sino-Indian relations.

With respect to India, the press vehemently protested in anger and indignation over China's violent conduct during the Uprising, while influential Parliamentary voices "proclaimed the strangulation of Tibet by the Hans" and took to task the Indian Prime Minister "for all the faults and blunders of his China policy dating back to 1950." Cried out Opposition leader M. R. Masani, in the Lok Sabha debate of November 1959: "The story goes back to 1950. Ever since the Chinese Communist revolution a policy of sentimental misreading of history [a reference to the supposed 2000-year-old friendship between India and China touted by Nehru during the 1950s but convincingly disproven since then] has been inflicted on this country.... Communist history is always expansionist; it is always imperialist." Another well-respected Opposition leader, Jayaprakash Narayan, declared that India should now lead world opinion against the Chinese aggression in Tibet. Ashoka Mehta lectured Nehru and hoped that the latter would now realize that "the instinctive expansion of China has been further aggravated by the fact that China is today ruled by Communists, because it is the Communist power in that country that has made it possible for them to achieve the total

mobilization of the energies of the people....” And former Congress Party President U. N. Dhebar, in the same Parliamentary debate, declared that India was now confronted with a nation (China) which was “itself in the grip of a clique, most perfidious, most brutal and ruthless.” This last statement, observes Sen Gupta, “expressed the prevailing Indian perception of China” at that time.

Furthermore, continued this Indian historian, “these leaders were speaking no longer for themselves but for large sections of the Indian elite whose perceptions of China” would be “completely reversed after the 1962 border war.” After 1959 and especially following the border war, Indians, notes Sen Gupta, “looked upon China as an ungrateful power that paid for [Indian] friendship with treachery and aggression.”

As for Nehru himself, John Kenneth Knaus has summarized in a most insightful series of observations, what now confronted the Indian leader both personally and politically as a consequence of his “spontaneous and unqualified grant of asylum” to the Dalai Lama and of the latter’s arrival on Indian soil. Writes Knaus of the “embarrassing problem” posed for Pandit Nehru by the intensified Chinese presence in Tibet:

For nine years he had been juggling the harsh facts of an increasingly oppressive occupation in Tibet against his public advocacy of China as a worthy cosponsor of peaceful coexistence. Five years earlier he had tried to wash his hands of the messy problem of the Tibetans’ claim to independence by recognizing China’s sovereignty. But Tibet’s unwilling subjects refused to accept it. Their early resistance in the remote border regions could be ignored, but now the use of superior force by shelling an armed populace—right on the doorstep of the Indian consulate—and the Dalai Lama’s dramatic flight for his life were front-page news in the Indian and the international press.*

As a leader in India’s long and arduous struggle for its own independence against a foreign power, Nehru sympathized with the aspirations of subject peoples. While his country had finally been granted its independence in a peaceful turnover of authority, it had come only after decades of resistance and was accompanied by ugly internecine bloodletting. As a Kashmiri Brahman he had an additional sense of identity with remote and neighboring mountain people who had preserved their cultural integrity against alien invaders over the centuries (this had been demonstrated by his offer to Gyalo [Dhondup] back in 1949 to protect Tibet’s cultural treasures). He was also well aware of the significance of the world’s premier Buddhist coming to reside in the land of Buddha’s birth. He must also have felt some discomfort that it was he who had pushed the Dalai Lama back to his country two years before with assurances of the benevolence of his Chinese overlords, which had proven to be unfounded. He was also aware, however, of India’s limited capabilities should it want to provide any effective military assistance to its northern neighbor. He was presiding over an overpopulated, underfed, and undeveloped nation. Its military budget, which it could ill afford, was overwhelmingly devoted to preparing for a war with Pakistan, not China, particularly

* “In 1959, the international situation, although still very much under the influence of the Cold War, was uneventful. Tibet therefore stole the world’s headlines. Coming so soon after the Hungarian revolt [1956], the Tibetan conflict was quickly identified by the press as ‘another Hungary’ ... Tibet was treated as a *cause célèbre* in the media ...” Tsering Shakya, *Dragon ...*, 212.

not on behalf of legatee semi-dependents from whom India had been trying to divest any responsibility for the past twelve years.

Nehru had to find a way to defend himself against the inevitable domestic criticism of his past policies, which had accepted China's takeover of this long-established buffer and India's inability to do little more than provide hospitality to the prime casualty of the situation. He also had to handle this defense in a manner that would preserve his options with the Chinese, with whom he wanted and felt obliged to preserve at least the façade of peaceful coexistence. The Cold War had arrived on his doorstep in the person of the Dalai Lama. Although Nehru wriggled hard to keep aloof, the welcome provided to the Dalai Lama and his entourage, and the hospitality subsequently shown to the Tibetan refugees, reflected well on him and his people. His initial statements in Parliament on March 23 tried to play down what was happening in Lhasa as an internal affair. The U.S. embassy noted, however, that "by announcing that his government had put the Chinese on notice to safeguard Indian personnel and property in Lhasa and by expressing a pious hope for the safety of the Dalai Lama, Nehru had revealed some slight shift from his previous Pollyanna attitude."

[Indeed,] in a strong extemporaneous reply [to Beijing's criticism of India's stance regarding the then most recent events in Tibet], Nehru recalled that Zhou Enlai had already assured him that Tibet was not a province of China, "but was autonomous and the Chinese Communists intended that it remains so." Nehru then cited the geographic, economic, cultural, and religious ties between India and Tibet, and described the fighting in Lhasa, saying "Indian sympathies go out to the Tibetans." ... [Moreover, a few days later] the Prime Minister held a press conference at which the U.S. embassy felt he made it clear that his position concerning events in Tibet was based upon a "mixture of frustration, anger and prudence." His anger and frustration were evident in his questioning of Chinese charges that the Dalai Lama had fled his country under duress, and his pointed repetition of the statements Zhou Enlai had made to him two years earlier that China regarded Tibet as autonomous. The prudential element in his position was demonstrated by his reaffirmation of the great importance he placed on retaining friendly ties between India and China "even though they might differ greatly."

As for the Chinese Communists, on the other hand, their basic response to India's official statements and outbursts of Parliament leaders and others was quite simple and direct: a rebellion by reactionaries had erupted in an area of China's own territory, and they had the indisputable right to deal with it as they thought best, and it was therefore no one else's business. Nevertheless, writes Sen Gupta, Beijing did not object officially to India's grant of asylum to the Dalai Lama.¹⁰⁶ "What it did object to was the *political* importance India was giving the Dalai Lama and the rebellion in Tibet," and to what for the Chinese was the most disturbing aspect to it all, which was, in the words of Sen Gupta, the championing "by sections of the Indian elite of Tibet's right to independence and self-determination." Alarmed by the pressures then being brought to bear upon the Indian Prime Minister in Parliament and press and by several organized groups to raise the issue of Tibet at the United Nations, the Chinese, adds Sen Gupta, feared that "India was about to nullify the foundation of Sino-Indian friendship by interfering in China's internal affairs."

Additionally, Sen Gupta points out, almost immediately following the Dalai Lama's establishment of himself and his entourage at Mussoorie among the Himalayan foothills of Northwest India, the Chinese let it be known that they resented the way in which Nehru

was treating His Holiness, permitting the latter to meet newsmen, foreign diplomats, and Indian dignitaries. They likewise resented the fact that various statements by His Holiness were being issued through the Indian government's official Information Bureau and that the Kashag was being permitted to function in India. But the Chinese also attributed "to reactionary political pressure on Nehru the contradiction" between the Prime Minister's assurance that the Tibetan leader was not to function politically in India and the actual nature of the Dalai Lama's functioning, which to the Chinese still appeared to be quite political.

Nevertheless, sensing at this moment the need to cultivate friendship with India further, especially if her Prime Minister continued to maintain his policy of willfully ignoring almost completely the unfolding adverse events inside Tibet—as was evidenced by many of his statements and actions thus far in the current crisis—China's own Premier, Chou En-lai, issued the following statement on 18 April 1959: "We are grateful to India and the great and friendly Premier Nehru for issuing a statement that his country will not interfere in China's internal affairs, and that India will strengthen friendly Chinese-Indian relations though the Dalai Lama has been taken there by counter-revolutionary elements."*¹⁰⁷



Returning now to the unfolding developments surrounding this same, supposedly coerced and abducted, Dalai Lama, let it be asserted again that he had come to India voluntarily, where on the 3rd of April 1959 he was officially granted political asylum.¹⁰⁸ As a consequence of this, however, it could be said that His Holiness had, in effect, arrived in his countrymen's "second home"—the Land of Buddha's Birth—as a refugee. From this moment onwards, in fact, this was what, according to his oldest brother, he now "regarded himself" to be: "as only the first fugitive amongst his oppressed people."¹⁰⁹ Indeed, this personal identification with the Tibetan exiles as refugees is a refrain which the Dalai Lama many decades afterwards continued to employ when dictating the latest of his several autobiographies that was published in 1990 under the title, *Freedom in Exile* (see, for example, page 174, "For us Tibetan refugees ...")¹¹⁰

Although many Tibetans had already preceded him over the years since the Chinese invasion began in 1950, that exodus¹¹¹ was nothing compared to what would now follow. He was to be the vanguard, as it were, of countless of his countrymen who, upon learning of their esteemed leader's escape to freedom, were soon to follow his example and pour

* "For China, the growing rift with India was the most serious consequence of the Lhasa uprising. For the Indians, the revolt in Tibet had brought home the instability of the Himalayan plateau and the dangers that represented. Nehru's policy on Tibet remained, at best, confused. For many years he had been convinced that confrontation between the two giants of Asia could be avoided. [In 1942 Nehru wrote to his sister: "The future of which I dream is inextricably interwoven with close friendship and something almost *approaching union* with China."] Now, however, he began to accept that the widespread resistance in Tibet had irrevocably altered the course of Sino-Indian relations." Shakya, *Dragon ...*, 276, and the quote of Nehru's can be found on p. 505.

across the border themselves as refugees into India.¹¹² One reliable estimate has claimed that just between April and May 1959 alone there were over 7,000 Tibetans who crossed over and sought asylum in India.*

Although pockets of resistance to the Chinese continued in various areas of East and Central Tibet, the entire country would in the end come under the complete control of the PLA by 1960. The Communists had effectively used every means to put down the revolt but not before a reported 100,000 Tibetans had died and another estimated 60,000 to 80,000 had fled as refugees during the first few months immediately after the March 1959 revolt had erupted.¹¹³ And over the next few decades there would be many, many more Tibetans who would attempt to escape to India in safety, but a large number of them would never be successful; and even among those who were, many would not be able to survive an entirely different set of traumas which awaited them there. In a report cited earlier originally prepared for the United Nations Commission on Human Rights in 1984 but re-issued in a revised updated version in 1990, the Scientific Buddhist Association, a London-based human rights organization later known as OPTIMUS, gave a summary view of the traumatic events surrounding these refugees and their attempts to reach the freedom of the outside world before they might be overtaken either by the oppressive Chinese or by death—or both. As chief author of the Report, Paul Ingram sets forth a grim picture of what happened to these courageous Tibetans between 1959 and 1989:

It is not known how many died escaping the Tibetan holocaust during the last thirty years. Refugees who survived record seeing mountain passes covered with dead. Furthermore, very large parties, sometimes numbering tens of thousands, are reported as setting out from the southern and central provinces of Tibet, most of them never to be seen again, having either starved to death or been buried alive in avalanches or shot down by pursuing Chinese. Many Tibetans who actually reached India died of starvation, the heat or tropical diseases, to which they were (and still are) particularly susceptible, having come from high altitudes. Often forgotten is the fact that large numbers of the refugees attempting to walk from eastern to central regions of Tibet during the mid- and late 1950s (in order to be near the Dalai Lama) were either caught in bitter fighting, or machine-gunned both from the air and on the ground by the Chinese, or herded into labor camps where they disappeared. Of the many thousands who did reach Lhasa and camped outside the capital, large numbers were killed in the subsequent fighting. We can never know how many Tibetan refugees were killed but several hundred thousand seems a plausible enough figure given the length of the crisis and the extent of social dislocation, and there is no doubt that the number of

* Per Tsering Shakya, *Dragon ...*, 207. At first, adds this historian, the Indian government was “ambivalent” about the refugees crossing into its country in considerable numbers. *Ibid.*, 496 note 89. In fact, though, Nehru would soon let it be known that he was opposed to India having to accommodate such a large number of them, and wrote to Britain’s Prime Minister in early April of 1959 that efforts by Western governments to provide assistance to the refugees would not be “helpful” and “might serve to encourage Tibetans to leave their country.” *Ibid.*, 214. Furthermore, at about the same time, Nehru’s Foreign Office Secretary Dutt would be telling the British High Commissioner in India that his country cannot declare an “open door” for all Tibetan refugees. *Ibid.*, 496 note 7. As the refugee influx increased, however, there was not much Delhi could do to stem the flow and still retain a reputation for showing humanitarian compassion.

refugees killed forms a considerable proportion of the ... Tibetans who have died as a direct consequence of Chinese rule.¹¹⁴

Surely, Chinese Communist rule of Tibet has been one of the most oppressive regimes to have darkened the pages of human history in modern times. Indeed, in the opinion of Alexander Solzhenitsyn, himself no stranger to extraordinary cruelty at the hands of Communist persecutors, what was perpetrated in Tibet by the Chinese during this thirty-year period constituted one of the worst ever. Declared this celebrated survivor of Russian Communism in a speech he delivered at Tokyo in 1982: "The holocaust that happened in Tibet revealed Communist China as a cruel and inhumane executioner—more brutal and inhumane than any other Communist regime in the world."¹¹⁵

Despite these incredible odds, however, it is truly remarkable that within just a few years following the Dalai Lama's exodus, some 88,000 of Tibet's citizens and leaders were nonetheless able to come out from their national seclusion into India and Sikkim alone, with thousands more successfully fleeing and settling down in Nepal (15,000) and still more in other Buddhist areas such as Bhutan, and some 3000 scattered in western Europe and North America; making a total of an estimated 110,000 refugees.*¹¹⁶ Thousands of them, in particular, found their way to Kalimpong, some of whom permanently settled down in Gergan Tharchin's little hill station to begin their lives all over again.

Rev. Tharchin himself was later to view this refugee phenomenon as a situation which his God used to open that closed land's citizens to the gospel of Christ. Writing in the early 1970s, he was to observe that "God's hand is undoubtedly involved in the Tibetans' flight to India," and that "though geographic Tibet was more closed to the gospel than ever before, God has brought ... into India" this unparalleled wave of Tibetan citizenry where "national Christians and missionaries" are now "ministering to them.... For the first time these isolated people" are being "exposed to a culture other than their own.... And relative openness is being experienced, as the Christian nationals and missionaries laboring among them are happily finding.... Accustomed [earlier] to working with small numbers of Tibetans," missionaries "were electrified by the flood of refugees which accompanied the Dalai Lama's flight in 1959."¹¹⁷

Yet the condition of those tens of thousands of Tibetans who proved to be successful in escaping to safety across the border was appalling in the extreme, even as Ingram in the SBA Report has intimated. A mountain people had come into a tropical climate with diseases to which they had no immunity; in addition, they had arrived in the worst physical, material and psychological state imaginable: destitute, hungry, without country, home, relatives and livelihood, and speaking a language few understood. In short, it was human chaos magnified

* More recent figures issued by the Central Tibetan (Exile) Administration at its Northwest India headquarters of Dharamsala now indicate that more than 120,000 Tibetans are living in exile, with only 5000 of these living outside Central and South Asia. Furthermore, statistics now show that between 1959 and 1962 some 30,000 Tibetans fled across the Himalayas into Nepal, after which, "over a period," an exodus of Tibetan families from that country to India left "about 14,000 long-term settlers in Nepal." See Vyvyan Cayley's "Introduction: a Nation in Exile," in her book, *Children of Tibet* (Balmain, 1994), 11-12.

to the third power. In the face of such an emergency, what then followed was an extraordinary spate of Christian (and also non-Christian) social, medical, educational, economic, as well as evangelistic outreaches to a dislocated, confused and suffering people—all of which greatly helped to ease their plight as they made an effort to begin a new life abroad.*¹¹⁸ Concerning these many years of varied assistance towards the refugees the Kalimpong pastor was later to recall especially the evangelistic outreach, in certain aspects of which he doubtless took an active part himself:

When the Tibetans began to flee into North India, missionaries from several missions who had long evangelized around the nation converged on the refugee communities. They were joined by missionaries from new groups too ... These evangelicals sought to coordinate their work and witness with Tibetans through the Christian Service Council and with an annual conference and the interchange of information for prayer. As many as thirty-two Christian workers gathered together to discuss Tibetan radio programs, the revision of the Tibetan New Testament, the provision of evangelistic literature, the precautions necessary in overt evangelism due to [the then] Indian government restrictions, and all issues related to Tibetan evangelism.¹¹⁹



Meanwhile, upon his arrival at Mussoorie in Northwest India on the 21st of April (1959) the Dalai Lama had begun to establish both his residence and Tibet's government-in-exile at this old British-built hill-station resort situated about 7000 feet high some 130 miles northeast of Delhi above Dehra Dun in the Indian state of Uttar Pradesh. For he and those with him had been granted asylum by the Government of India since the exile government, already informed by the Nehru administration of the latter's refusal to recognize it, would pose no political embarrassment for India *vis-à-vis* Red China so long as it would simply serve as an emotional rallying point for the refugees. From the office of the Dalai Lama less than a year later Gergan Tharchin received a formal letter asking that he come over to Mussoorie for a meeting on how to deal with the education of Tibetan refugee children.¹²⁰

* One Tibetan who has given eloquent testimony to the assistance rendered him and his family during this dire period in their lives is the late Dawa Norbu (d. 2006). Very young when he escaped to India in late 1959, Norbu and his family eventually settled in Darjeeling Town the following year. Writing graciously of the help he received from various foreign volunteers, Norbu (in his *Red Star over Tibet*, p. 246) sounded the following positive note that nonetheless concludes with words of criticism towards his wealthy countrymen who had preceded him to India years before:

The volunteers came to my rescue. These strangers, who had no racial, religious or national affinities with us, only a common human bond, loved and cared for us when we most needed them. We children were skinny, pot-bellied, pale and yellow-complexioned through malnutrition. We had sores all over our bodies, due to unhygienic conditions, and an inability to adapt quickly to our new environment. But the foreigners treated and nursed us like real parents, without a patronizing air or any sign of revulsion at our unhealthy state; whereas our own kin, the sons and daughters of Tibetan aristocrats and wealthy Tibetans, studying in colleges or working around Darjeeling, did not come to help us. Perhaps they were ashamed of us.

It must be recalled how impossible it had previously been in Tibet for schools established along Western lines with the latter's more progressive curriculum to remain open for any length of time. For one thing, the Chinese, who had always feared undue British influence in Tibetan affairs, and who had always had its sympathizers within the Tibetan government who listened to them, were known to have brought pressure to have schools closed which had either been established by the British or else were modeled along British lines. China's main ally in this exclusionary bent towards outside influences had, of course, been the ecclesiastical element within the ruling circles of Tibet. The powerful Buddhist clergy had always had a monopoly on the education of the Tibetan young (whose schools had "primarily" been "for those marked as actual or potential elites") and were vehement, if not fanatical, in their unending opposition to foreign—that is to say, Western—influence intruding itself into this highly sensitive sector of Tibetan life and culture. Foremost among their concerns was the great fear the lamas had that the religion of the State would suffer irreparable harm at the hands of Westerners who by and large were Christian in their outlook. It was this fear, often inflamed by the Chinese, which in the end quickly closed down the few Western-type schools that had been fortunate enough to have been established. (See again Volume II, Chapter 14 of the present narrative for a discussion on Tibet's pre-1950 educational system and her fear of Western intrusion into the same.)

Nevertheless, the exigencies of Tibetan life had today been radically altered as the result of a decade of invasion, occupation, upheaval and war within the Land of the Lamas. And now in exile, the Dalai Lama, who while growing up had gradually become conversant with Western life and thought, was determined to pursue a different course when it came to the education of the young, though still not neglecting to preserve the primacy of the Buddhist faith and its religious culture in the educational curriculum. What he sought was simply a more balanced approach to education than had heretofore been adhered to in the homeland.

John F. Avedon, a close personal friend and biographer of His Holiness, has pointed out that although the Dalai Lama (and for that matter, those immediately around him in the exile government at Mussoorie) was not that much versed in modern education, two recently-arrived expatriates were very much so: one of them, Jigme Taring (1908-91), had been Gergan Tharchin's former pupil in his Gyantse school back in the 1920s; the other was Jigme's wife, Rinchen Dolma (Mary La). These two, it may be remembered, were among the first Tibetans to have been educated in India, and in Avedon's words were truly "a pioneering couple" who could be of inestimable assistance to His Holiness in helping to solve the serious education problem now confronting the exile government of Tibet. Because Jigme was a prince—the nephew of the Choegyal or Maharaja of Sikkim, and because Mary was the daughter of a long-ago senior *Kashag* minister under the Great Thirteenth as well as a descendant of Tibet's celebrated eighth-century physician Yuthok Yonten Gonpo, it was the opinion of Avedon that "with their background as security against criticism from Tibet's xenophobic establishment," the Tarings, as the "foremost proponents of modernization in their generation," represented in exile "an invaluable asset to the fledgling government." Indeed, it was into their very hands that the Dalai Lama had only recently fully entrusted the guidance and principalship of the Mussoorie School, an institution which His Holiness had himself founded in March of 1960 as the very first

Tibetan residential school for refugee children.¹²¹

That the confidence reposed in the Tarings by His Holiness was not misplaced is attested to by what Jigme himself wrote in a letter to Tharchin just six years into the school's existence, at the same time recognizing the Babu's own contribution in furthering the school's remarkable progress:

Sri Bhakt Darshan, [India's] Deputy Minister of Education, visited our school recently on 27.6.66 and he was very much impressed with our school. He even mentioned in his speech that it is a unique school of its kind, and he went on to say that all educationists would be learning a lot from this school if they could pay a visit, which was of course a great honor for us.

I think this is all due to your kind prayer when we first sat down in this very room where I am writing this letter and planned this existing school. I shall be sending you some photos in my next letter.... With kindest regards from us both with prayers.¹²²



But currently the exile-government ruler was in need of further advice and direction as to how to proceed with handling the education of many more children who with their parents were daily fleeing for refuge across the Indo-Tibetan frontier. And the Kalimpong educator, author and publisher, whom His Holiness had summoned to his Mussoorie headquarters in the spring of 1960, was one of those whom the Dalai Lama would look to for counsel. Just here, however, the text of an official report prepared and published a decade later by the Bureau of His Holiness at Dharamsala can provide some necessary information. In this report that dealt with ten years of rehabilitation among the Tibetan exiles in India, several lengthy sections were devoted to educational matters. The Bureau's authors wrote these sections on behalf of the original members of the Tibetan government-in-exile who had arrived at Mussoorie in April 1959. If anything, these portions of the report clearly reflect a much more progressive approach on the part of these heretofore conservative advisers of His Holiness than would probably have been the case back in Tibet.

The authors first of all noted that these government members "were faced with a serious problem" when they commenced devising plans for the education of the Tibetan children "along contemporary lines." They had wished from the very beginning to adopt as the educational policy of the exile government the need "to place equal emphasis on the study of various subjects in both the sciences and the humanities, and on the study of the many aspects of Tibetan culture—its history, religion, literature, etc." But the problem which immediately surfaced was the stark fact that there was a "complete absence of Tibetan textbooks for school-going children" to help implement this lofty and highly commendable policy.

The Dalai Lama had therefore suggested that this critical matter be discussed at a meeting to be convened by him at which the following persons were "invited to take part": the "members of the old Kashag" who had escaped from Lhasa with His Holiness or else

had preceded him to India prior to 1959; “the Principal of the Tibetan School at Mussoorie” (Jigme Taring);¹²³ “religious scholars from the four [major] sects” of Tibetan Buddhism; “Mr. Tharchin”; and “Mr. Lobsang Lhalungpa.” The latter was but two years younger than Tharchin, had entered Tibetan government service in 1911, and had at one time served as Secretary to the Kashag.¹²⁴ This nobleman, it may be recalled, was also the one to whom in 1947 Tibet’s Regent had given oversight responsibility over all Tibetan students studying in India, they numbering well over a hundred at this program’s zenith.* The specific purpose of the meeting was to “lay down the general principles and guidelines which should be followed in the preparation of such textbooks” for the future education of so many young Tibetans,†¹²⁵ of whom the Dalai Lama could report that there were alone over five thousand under sixteen years of age. “The children have been a special anxiety to me,” he wrote several years later.¹²⁶ His Holiness was intent upon doing everything possible to encourage the progress of literacy among his people.

Now since Tharchin’s advice had been solicited, he and his wife Margaret naturally traveled posthaste to the place which was now the Tibetan ruler’s new home.‡ And within a few days of their arrival, the educational advisory meeting which had brought Gergan Tharchin to Mussoorie was convened. According to Tharchin, it turned out that there were two Christians present. Most likely the other Christian was the former American Methodist missionary to India, Mrs. Frederick Fisher, wife of famed American Methodist Bishop in

* See again Volume II, Chapter 14, end-note 125, p. 449. Interestingly, Gergan Tharchin had claimed some credit for this very program having been established of educating young Tibetans in India. Writing in 1948 to Jesuit Fr. M. Wery at St. Alphonsus School in Kurseong (near Darjeeling), the Babu had declared: “I am glad that now so many Tibetan high officials’ sons are coming to school [in India] and mostly they are at [Darjeeling’s] St. Joseph’s College [where a special school for Tibetans had been created as a part of the College]. You may or may not believe me, but I think these are the results of my [newspaper] publication about the importance of education, and about which the Tibetan government sent me letters [in response to] the good advices that I have given them in various ways.” Tharchin to Wery, Kalimpong, 28 June 1948, ThPaK.

† Citing this very Committee meeting and the purpose for which it had been convened, American anthropologist Margaret Nowak made the following interesting comments when discussing in her book on Tibetan refugees (1984) various “pedagogical innovations” which had been inaugurated by the Tibetan exile government to meet the horrific challenges then confronting it. First declaring the results of this Committee’s work “the primary example” of these innovations, she went on to note that “the preparation of a series of textbooks that would gradually present instruction in Tibetan language, culture, history and religion to school-going children” had come about as a consequence of this meeting called by the Dalai Lama. “It is significant,” she added, “that the participants invited to this meeting included both religious and secular power holders: the members of the old Kashag . . . , monk scholars from each of the four Buddhist Sects, the Tibetan principal of the first (and only, at the time) Tibetan school, and two Tibetan lay scholars”—the latter obviously a reference to Gergan Tharchin and Lobsang Lhalungpa. See Nowak, *Tibetan Refugees: Youth and the New Generation of Meaning*, 65. Clearly, the decisions which Tharchin and the other participants were making in this Advisory Committee meeting held great significance for the future instruction and education of the then current generation of Tibetan youth and those generations which were to follow.

‡ It is known from documented evidence that the Tharchins were still in Kalimpong on 12 April 1960. For a signed office copy of a letter typed on Mirror Press stationery which the Babu had written on that date to Professor Shoju Inaba of Japan was found among the Tharchin Papers. The two must have therefore departed on that very day since it would have required 2-3 days’ travel time from their Northeast Indian hill station to reach Mussoorie in the far Northwest by the 14th of April, the known date of their arrival there (see a few pages hence).

India during the 1920s, F. B. Fisher. According to Mrs. Fisher in her book *To Light a Candle*, sometime during 1959-60 “the Dalai Lama ... appointed me official consultant on education to the Tibetans in India who went into exile when the Communists took over.”¹²⁷ Moreover, just a month or so before the convening of this educational advisory meeting at Mussoorie, Mrs. Fisher had concluded at Lucknow a month-long Teacher Training course she had organized for the benefit of Tibetans who would in turn go back as teachers among their own people in exile in India armed with a knowledge of the latest teaching methods.¹²⁸ One of her students in the course was none other than Mary La, who like her husband Jigme Taring, had escaped from Lhasa into Indian exile the year before. Ironically, these two ladies had first met each other in early 1925 at Calcutta; at the time Mary was only sixteen years old.¹²⁹

Now during the April 1960 advisory meeting at Mussoorie in which Tharchin served as a Committee participant and Mrs. Fisher most likely served as a consultant, four key decisions were made:

- (i) Up-to-date methods should be incorporated in the teaching of the Tibetan language with a view to facilitating its study by the children.
- (ii) The proposed Tibetan textbooks should include other subjects within the Tibetan context, e.g., Tibetan history, Tibetan literature, etc. These subjects would be introduced from the very beginning, gradually gaining depth with higher classes.
- (iii) For classes below Class VIII there would be one Tibetan textbook for each class and this would contain sections on all the subjects mentioned above. From Class VIII onwards there would be separate Tibetan textbooks for each of these subjects.
- (iv) A publications section should be started to bring out these books.

As a consequence of this meeting and its decisions, an *ad hoc* committee made up of the four religious scholars mentioned earlier was created to compile the desired textbooks for the Tibetan schools which were beginning to spring up everywhere in the Indian subcontinent. Commencing its work immediately, by 1963 this *ad hoc* group was able to produce a series of textbooks for Classes I to V of the various Tibetan schools. In later years other groups of experts were able to complete the set of textbook materials for the remainder of the Classes through the higher secondary school level and to revise the earlier works as necessary.¹³⁰

Although the Kalimpong publisher was not a member of any of these other groups of advisers and experts, it should nonetheless be observed that his contribution to their work was very significant in two particular ways. Firstly, it has been reported by one writer on Tibetan culture and who had interviewed Gergan Tharchin long afterwards, that the latter had contributed his expertise in creating some of the textbook materials these groups would in time produce, especially those used for the learning of the Tibetan language. Wrote Heather Stoddard of what she had learned from the Babu regarding this aspect of her interview with him:

Tharchin published numerous manuals and small pedagogical brochures for the study of the Tibetan language, which he had conceived during his teaching activity at the

[Guild] Mission's school [a reference to the SUM Institution at Kalimpong]. The latter ones seem to have served later as models to the Tibetan Government in exile, at the time of elaborating school manuals for the Tibetan refugee children in India.¹³¹

But secondly, it will shortly be seen that he was to play a vital role in helping to print at his Tibet Mirror Press some of the materials for use in the lower school levels of instruction. His efforts would serve to supplement the activities of those who, now to be trained in Delhi, would shortly thereafter be running a manually-operated printing machine soon to be acquired and set up at Lower Dharamsala later in 1960 by the newly established Publications Division of the Tibetan exile government. Ten years later, through the assistance of the Dalai Lama, an automatic press would be purchased which would speed up considerably the printing of needed materials.¹³²

After the educational advisory meeting's lengthy deliberations were concluded, a group photograph of its participants was taken. Surprisingly, Tharchin Babu was highly honored in that he had been given the central position in the group picture. His humble reaction about all this was: "I felt rather shy for getting such a prominent place" among so many noteworthy officials and other individuals of note.

The long-range consequence of this meeting and those of other educational groups was that the Tibetan ruler and his exile government began to establish various boarding schools in the surrounding Himalayan foothills for about a thousand children, and the preparations of enough additional schools began to be made for the rest of them. "All the refugee parents" were "eager to send their children to these schools," His Holiness could write, where they could "grow up healthy, and as true Tibetans." And thanks to the proper textbooks which were soon to roll off the presses at Dharamsala and Tharchin's own press at Kalimpong, they would be "taught Tibetan, religious knowledge, and Tibetan history as their main subjects; and also English, Hindi, mathematics, geography, world history, and science."¹³³ To this end, and as one of his textbook contributions to this broad educational program, Tharchin-la provided gratis hundreds of copies of his own very substantial *English-Tibetan-Hindi-Sanskrit Pocket Dictionary* printed at the Tibet Mirror Press in Kalimpong that when fully completed and published in 1967 would contain three sections consisting of a total of 625 pages. On the other hand, a far more popular dictionary precursory to this one, the Babu's *English-Tibetan-Hindi Pocket Dictionary* (1965; 2d Revised and Enlarged Edition, 1968), would likewise be distributed freely and widely among the increasing Tibetan refugee student population in India and elsewhere.*

The Dalai Lama, having received from the Babu an advance copy of this Dictionary's original edition of 1965, immediately recognized its usefulness for the refugee children and other exile Tibetans. "As a token of appreciation for your good work," wrote his Private Secretary on his behalf, "a sum of Rs. 100/- has been sent by Post, as instructed by His

* This is the same *Pocket Dictionary*, incidentally, which figured significantly in the skullduggery of the "Bad Mongolian Lama," Geshe Chodak, that was detailed in the present volume's Chapter 21. It also figures prominently in the Babu's ongoing philanthropic contribution to the educational and cultural needs of the Tibetan refugees within especially District Darjeeling but in other places, too, and which is discussed in some detail immediately below and again farther on in the present chapter.

Holiness.” Added the Secretary in his letter of 10 June 1965, “Despite your old age, your wisdom is still growing younger and you have brought out such a dictionary which is very useful according to the present [refugee] needs and for which His Holiness ... highly appreciates.” Shortly afterwards, the author-publisher dispatched a large shipment of these Dictionaries to the Tibetan Refugee School at Mussoorie which His Holiness had founded and had placed under the principalship of the Babu’s former Gyantse pupil Jigme Taring. Indeed, found among the Tharchin Papers is a letter of deep appreciation the Principal sent the Babu in which he wrote:

We are very happy to know that you are sending us 120 *English-Tibetan-Hindi Dictionary* [copies] for the students free of payment. It is really wonderful to receive such generous gifts through your kindness. We look forward to receive them and I am sure our children will find them most useful.... Our school is progressing year by year and I am sure you will be very pleased to hear all the great changes since your kind visit in 1960.¹³⁴

It has been pointed out by Roger Hicks, incidentally, that as a consequence of such a broad curriculum, especially in the area of languages, these refugee children would now—as is not uncommon in India—grow up to be tri-lingual—and in three languages which enjoy three different alphabets: Tibetan, Hindi and English.¹³⁵

Babu Tharchin would also extend his generosity towards those refugee students who were situated much closer to home—in Kalimpong itself. A former Refugee School principal in the early days of what would later become the hill station’s Central School for Tibetans, T. Lhawang La, applauded the Babu for his timely benefaction in having “often” given gratis considerable quantities of various educational books from his Press to Lhawang La’s school, which acts of charity were greatly appreciated by both Principal and students alike. In his interview with the present author, Lhawang La added that the Tibetan publisher would now and then pay visits to the school as well.¹³⁶

Indeed, a most informative passage about Tharchin’s schoolbook beneficence, also about Lhawang La and the new Tibetan Refugee School at Kalimpong, as well as about the Babu’s visit to it appears in a letter Tharchin had written at about this same time to the by now familiar well-wisher of Tibet, Mrs. Dorris Shelton Still. A part of the Tharchin Papers, it is dated 26 August 1966, and the pertinent passage reads as follows:

The printing work is going on. I have distributed 1000 copies of the English-Tibetan-Hindi Pocket Dictionary to the refugee schools. I was asked to send the books direct to the respective schools and the Dalai Lama’s office sent me the list of schools and number of students in each school....

One of the largest refugee schools has been started here at Kalimpong and there will be over one thousand children. The children are coming from various parts, and so far over 800 are already in the school and more are expected. They are all aged from 5 to 10 years and are so lovely. Some days ago the Principal of this local refugee school, who is also the Principal of the refugee school at Darjeeling [a reference to Lhawang La], came to see me and thanked me for the 100 copies of the [pocket] dictionary for the Darjeeling refugee school. I told him that I would present books for the Kalimpong

school too. He told me that he is going to Darjeeling and on his return he would inform me. Yesterday in the afternoon he phoned me and said he is back from Darjeeling, [and asked] if I am able to come to the [Kalimpong] school today, 26/8/66 at 9 a.m. and speak to the children. So we both [i.e., the Babu and his wife] are going today to see the children with books. I shall write again about our visit. It is only 20 minutes walk from our house.

Yet not only did Lhawang La thank the Press publisher verbally, he also sent him a letter of appreciation, on 16 July 1966, thanking the Babu “for the 100 [copies of the] excellent dictionary ... which you have been kind enough to supply to our Institution free of charge. These will be of great use to our students as well as staff and are being issued through the School Library as instructed.” Now it so happened that a copy of this letter was sent by the Principal to the Directors of two agencies within the Tibet exile government: the Council for Tibetan Education at Dharamsala and the Bureau of H.H. the Dalai Lama at New Delhi, as well as to the Secretary of the Tibetan Schools Society within the Indian government’s Ministry of Education at Delhi. And in partial response to this action, Tharchin received a few days later a very warm letter from T. N. Takla, Assistant Director (Education) within the Bureau. It read in part as follows:

I would like to thank you on behalf of the Council for Tibetan Education for your generous gift. As you yourself are aware, there is great need for an English-Tibetan dictionary, especially in the Tibetan Schools where the medium of instruction is English. I have no doubt that your dictionary will be of greatest practical utility to the children. With kindest regards ...

Interestingly, appended at the bottom of Lhawang La’s letter, the Principal had noted the following bit of intelligence: “Mr. Tharchin had been instructed by the Director, Council for Tibetan Education, to distribute the books to our different schools and are being accepted as such”—thus indicating that the Exile government’s Education officials had deemed Tharchin’s publication to be of acceptable quality in content.¹³⁷

But so, too, had the Principal of a prestigious private school at Mussoorie deemed his Dictionary to be of acceptable—nay, of better than average—quality. Upon request from the Principal of The Ockenden Centre’s School, the Mirror Press publisher had sent a copy of the Pocket Dictionary for review and payment shortly after the volume’s initial publication. So impressed was the Principal that he ordered additional copies and wrote to Tharchin in glowing terms about the Dictionary’s potential usefulness:

I was very happy to receive ... your new dictionary, which I really [believe] must prove invaluable to the numerous Tibetan children now learning English and Hindi, here in India. Since Sir Charles Bell’s dictionary was published little has been done in this field, which makes your present dictionary a most welcome contribution to the study of colloquial Tibetan.

The students of our school would find your dictionary very helpful and I should therefore be most grateful if you would send a further twenty-nine copies ... I shall send you a cheque on receipt of your invoice. I assure you of my very best wishes.¹³⁸

Now with respect to the very small children below school age, the Dalai Lama decided to set up a nursery and place it in the charge of his elder sister. Near his soon-to-be new home at Dharamsala (to where he was to move while Tharchin was still at Mussoorie) the young ruler would be lent “two disused bungalows” by the Indian government for this purpose. Quickly the number of tiny children in the nursery rose to 800. The Dalai Lama had to acknowledge, however, that in those days, because of a lack of funds, his sister and her voluntary helpers “had to improvise the barest necessities of life for this enormous family” and could not afford “to give these children the slightest luxury.” Yet they made sure that the youngsters were “loved and kept healthy and happy.” Furthermore, the rations received for them from the host Government and the assistance rendered by countless individuals and relief organizations helped greatly to ease the burden of responsibility. And as the nursery children grew older over the next few years, these were gradually able to be sent on to the schools which had already been established elsewhere; and now at Dharamsala, His Holiness could report (in 1962): “we have 300 children—all under seven” years of age.¹³⁹



Now it so happened that the arrival of the Tharchins at Mussoorie had occurred in the midst of the Easter season; in fact, they had arrived on Holy Thursday. And on that same day Tharchin had requested an interview with His Holiness. Ever since the establishment of the Dalai Lama’s headquarters here just a year before, people from all over the world had been making pilgrimages to Mussoorie to pray to him as their “god-king”; the Tharchins, however, had sought to see him this day not, obviously, for that purpose but, as they confided to a friend of theirs a few years afterwards, “to show their love to him” and, as events unfolded further, “to bring a Bible to him.” These simple yet loving gestures were the way they endeavored, on behalf of Christ, to serve this highest of Tibetan dignitaries, and not, as the Tharchins’ friend observed, to come to the Dalai Lama and say to him (as a one-time Hollywood actress had done): “If you do not convert, you will go to hell.” For the Tharchins to have acted in that fashion, their friend noted, would have been most uncharacteristic of them.¹⁴⁰

The Kalimpong pastor and his wife had selected the particular day of Holy Thursday for the interview because they had other plans for the weekend of Good Friday and Easter Sunday. They were intending to spend these days at nearby Landour with the Revs. Pierre Vittoz and Elijah Tsetan Phuntsog.¹⁴¹ A year before the Dalai Lama’s own arrival in the town, Mussoorie and the adjacent Christian conference center hill resort town of Landour had been selected by the Bible Society of India and Ceylon as the venue for the work of the Revision Committee of the Tibetan Bible charged with the responsibility of revising the Tibetan New Testament that “would take into account variations in the Tibetan language as spoken in the west, the central section around Lhasa, and the eastern provinces of Kham and Amdo.” And these two faithful Christian servants, as key members of that Revision Committee, had already come to Landour in October 1959 for that very purpose, and Rev.

Tharchin would himself subsequently be involved in these revision labors as well. Indeed, according to David Woodward, even while Tharchin was still in the Mussoorie area, the Kalimpong scholar had become engaged in discussions with these Committee members on "revisions to the Bible ..."¹⁴²

The requested interview with the Tibetan Pontiff did indeed take place on that Maundy Thursday, which fell on 14 April 1960. Just seven months earlier, in Delhi, a Western journalist and writer on Tibet was privileged to be granted his own private interview with the Dalai Lama and shortly thereafter set down his impressions of this remarkable young theocrat. These impressions, recorded by Francis Moraes in his historical study on Tibet's attempted revolt from the Chinese, provide some indication of the mood and outlook which now characterized the exiled Lama-King whom the Tharchins themselves were about to see. Wrote Moraes:

On September 8th [1959],... I was able to have an interview with the Dalai Lama ... His Holiness has an extremely affable and agreeable personality. He is, moreover, a perceptive and intelligent young man, well informed on certain matters and eager to know more on various topics. His manner is friendly, almost informal, and he asked me about as many questions as I asked him. What struck me most was the sense of loneliness, and nostalgia which he exuded and which made his conversation in a way pathetic and touching.... I left him with strangely mixed feelings, for the Dalai Lama, while he gives the impression of being acutely unhappy over his country's fate (which indeed he is), also conveys an impression of relief as of one momentarily rescued from oppressive burdens. The mixture of boyishness and maturity, of melancholy combined with an intrinsic gaiety of spirit and charm, is also noticeable.¹⁴³

Gergan and Margaret Tharchin were soon given an opportunity to notice some of these same traits in the Tibetan sovereign themselves. For the audience which they had had with him just two and a half years earlier in Kalimpong had been all too brief due, it may be recalled, to the tight and arbitrary strictures imposed upon His Holiness by Tibet's Chinese Communist masters. Today, however, would prove to be a totally different affair. Arriving at the appointed time, these two visitors were now to experience what Tharchin would describe later as "a memorable audience" with the Dalai Lama in his private apartments at his place of residence in Mussoorie called Birla House. It was a family home of Ghanshyam Das Birla, one of India's leading industrialists and former longtime host, incidentally, to Mahatma Gandhi whenever the latter had been in Delhi. This house the Indian government had immediately been able to requisition for the use of His Holiness while he and his exile colleagues could devise their long-range plans. For this audience occasion involving the Tharchins the spiritual ruler of Tibet was seated upon a raised platform in a beautifully decorated room. Mrs. Tharchin sat throughout the meeting in an attitude of prayer. For many months and years she had been interceding before her God for the Dalai Lama, even as she had humbly acknowledged to him upon their very first encounter in 1957. Today, though, she remained silent. Her husband alone talked with the twenty-four-year-old Lama-King, about whom Rev. Tharchin was to say years later that on this occasion "I was most impressed by his broad-mindedness and the sharpness of his intellect."¹⁴⁴ Both visitors were seated on a luxurious carpet in a lovely, immaculately spotless room.



At the outset of the interview, His Holiness remarked to Tharchin: "I have met you before." The visitor replied: "Yes, Sir, that was in the year 1957 in Kalimpong." To which His Holiness responded with, "No, even before that." The Fourteenth Dalai Lama may have had reference to the time of his own Installation in 1940 at Lhasa when Gergan Tharchin, like many others, had gone to the Potala Palace to pay his respects to the newly-discovered Boy-King of Tibet (see earlier in Chapter 22). This was the interpretation Tharchin himself gave to the Dalai Lama's unusual remark in testimony given many years afterwards when sharing his "memoirs." It will be recalled that in 1940 the newly-installed Tibetan ruler was not even five years old. It may also be recalled that Tharchin had taken particular notice of the fact that when he had moved forward during the Installation ceremony at the Potala to pay his respects to the new occupant of Tibet's Lion Throne, the little Dalai Lama, said Tharchin at the time, "had noted my presence in a very special way." "If having met me at such a young age," observed Tharchin in his "memoirs," "the Dalai Lama could much later at Mussoorie still remember my face, then His Holiness must possess a photographic memory of a very high order." "This," added the Lama-King's visitor, "is a gift of God."¹⁴⁵

Perhaps, however, what the Dalai Lama implied by his odd statement, as incomprehensible as it may be to the ordinary mind (but presenting no difficulty of belief to Tibetans or, for that matter, to modern-day spiritualists and other occultists), was, that this Vice Regent of Buddha had met the Kalimpongian in his earlier incarnation as the Great Thirteenth Dalai Lama, and was therefore making implicit reference here to the time long ago in Lhasa when in a private audience Tharchin had sat down and lengthily conversed with His Holiness at the Norbu Lingka back in 1927. In other words, the current Dalai Lama may have been linking his own identity with that of his predecessor.

Sir Frederick O'Connor, the Secretary and Interpreter to Colonel Younghusband during the latter's diplomatic-military mission to Tibet in 1904, explains out of his own experience in Tibet what has just been described. At the time of the Fourteenth Dalai Lama's Installation ceremony in early 1940, Sir Frederick had written a magazine article in honor of this significant event in Tibetan history, entitled "The New Dalai Lama." In it he made the following observations: "No doubt the fact of their exalted station is instilled into these children [the young Dalai Lamas] from the time they are able to understand anything. They undoubtedly grow up with the certainty of their own divinity and of their identity with their predecessors. The Tashi [Panchen] Lama, who is regarded by the Tibetans as no less holy than the Dalai Lama, informed me when I first met him [in late 1904] that in giving me a friendly reception he was merely carrying out his own policy—that is to say, the policy of his predecessors of over a century before."

What specifically O'Connor had alluded to here was much better and more fully explained by him in his book *Things Mortal* (London, 1940) and in two other articles he had written—one for the same magazine four years earlier that dealt with the Younghusband Mission of 1904, the other written in 1937 dealing with Tibet's place in the modern world. In them can be found what to most Western readers must seem to be rather bizarre passages (with the

bracketed material appearing below having been extracted from *Things Mortal* and from the later article):

When the Mission and the troops went back to India I remained behind ... The first thing I did was to travel down to the headquarters [at Shigatse] of the second of the two great Incarnate Lamas of Tibet, whom we call the Tashi Lama. He was then only about 21 and a man of gentle and saintly character. He received me with great kindness. At our very first interview he told me how glad he was to see a British officer come to call on him again, for he had a very pleasant recollection of the last two Britishers who had come to see him.

For a moment I couldn't imagine what he was talking about, ["as I knew, of course, that no British officers had ever visited this part of Tibet during his lifetime"]; and then I remembered that towards the end of the eighteenth century (that is, about 120 to 130 years before) the Governor General of India, Warren Hastings, had sent two missions to Tibet [one led by George Bogle in 1774 and the other by Captain Turner in 1783, "of which his monastic records contain full accounts"], both of which had reached Shigatse and had been very well received by the Tashi Lama of that day. And so, when the Lama ["being, as he and all the Tibetans believed, the same person as his predecessors only in a different bodily shape,"] said he liked British officers and had always been friendly with them, he was referring to *himself*, as he believed, in his earlier incarnation ["and that in receiving us so hospitably he was merely carrying on *his own* policy and traditions after a lapse of some 130 years"]. ["It was a rather startling, but quite logical, demonstration of the creed of reincarnation as accepted by Tibetan Buddhists."]

["Later when I met him again in the following year, he produced a box containing presents which had been sent to *him* by Warren Hastings, and we examined the contents together with great interest."] (emphasis O'Connor's)

Would it be too far off the mark, if at all, to say that something similar to what Sir Frederick had experienced with the Panchen Lama in 1904 was what Gergan Tharchin was himself now confronted with in the person of the present Lama-King of Tibet? Especially might this very well be the case when one recalls what was presented in a previous chapter about the oft-repeated observation by those who had witnessed the 1940 Installation ceremony for the new Dalai Lama, who at the time was a boy not even five years old. Typical of the comments which were made is the one which was voiced by Sir Basil John Gould, the British Representative who was present on this momentous occasion: "Those in close attendance on the Dalai Lama noted his preference for associates of the late Dalai Lama, his special kindness to the late Dalai Lama's servants, and [like his predecessor] his love of music and of animals and flowers." By these and other signs, Sir Basil noted, "all who saw him were convinced that he was the one and only true fourteenth Dalai Lama."

As further indication of the young Priest-Sovereign's prescient recognition of the associates of the Great Thirteenth is the true story that is told by Lowell Thomas, Jr., the son of the well-known American radio news commentator of the same name. Both had come to know His Holiness, the Fourteenth, fairly well, inasmuch as both had visited Lhasa together in 1949 just prior to the invasion by the Chinese. In one of his books on Tibet Thomas, Jr. narrates an unusual incident that involved the current Dalai Lama when he and his caravan were approaching Lhasa for the first time in his life. A boy of only four, he and his parents

had traveled all the way from the far-distant Kumbum area of East Tibet, and as they reached Nagchuka—a four- or five-day march northeast of the Tibetan capital—their extensive cavalcade was met by the “greeting party” sent out from Lhasa. The leader of this party, a member of the Kashag, approached the sedan chair in which rode the boy-heir to the Tibetan throne, carrying over his outstretched arms a long, rich white khata scarf that he ceremonially presented to the little Dalai Lama. The Child-King, said Thomas, Jr., accepted the khata “with grave dignity,” and then turned to his parents. “Mother,” he asked, “do you know these people?” “No, dear, I have never seen them,” she replied. “But I know them,” he said. “I know them all.” At that, recounted Thomas, Jr., “there was a gasp from the officials who overheard these words. They were so touched that, without exception, they wept.” With tears on their faces, more than two hundred officials, many if not most of them having been closely associated with the Great Thirteenth, passed by the palanquin to present their own khatas and other gifts. They, too, were certain that this young lad was indeed the one to succeed their late Lama-King on the Lion Throne of Tibet.

A similar but less dramatic incident was told by Hugh Richardson, British Mission head in Lhasa at that time, who also happened to be serving as a special correspondent for the *London Times*. The incident had occurred when the same caravan had later, on 6 October 1939, reached the outskirts of Lhasa itself, at the monastic site of Rigya (or Dögu thang) just two to three miles northeast of the capital. There on a plain at the base of some rocky foothills a large encampment had been spread out in a square formation, three lines deep around “a resplendent tent” that stood in a yellow-walled enclosure. It was about fifteen feet high and covered an area of some hundred square feet. This was the famed Peacock Tent, a name derived from the fact that on the roof-pole of the Tent were gilded figures, including peacocks. Outside as well as inside the satin Tent could be seen the bright color of yellow—a color used only for tents of the Dalai Lama. A temporary throne had been arranged inside the Peacock Tent for the use of the soon-to-be new occupant of the permanent Lion Throne which had lain vacant at Lhasa’s Potala Palace for many years.

Now as the central portion of the cavalcade from Kumbum bearing in a sedan chair the new Dalai Lama approached the Yellow Tent, the boyish Lama-King was carried inside and placed on the throne where he would presently receive divine homage from the crowd of Tibetan officials both ecclesiastical and lay, including the Regent Reting Rimpoche. But the future Priest-King of Tibet would receive respectful honor also from visiting dignitaries from other nations, including members of the British Mission who were at that time in Lhasa (one of whom was, of course, its head, Hugh Richardson). At this point in the account, Richardson, the *Times* special correspondent, began to describe the demeanor and conduct of the young “successor incarnation” of the Great Thirteenth in the following way:

The dignity and self-possession of the child impressed everyone. He looked about calmly, seeming unmoved by the magnificence and as if he were in familiar surroundings. Such behavior does not surprise the Tibetans, indeed they expect it, for in their view the Dalai Lama is revisiting scenes of his incarnation and performing long familiar duties. Although appearing to grow tired towards the end of the [one hour] ceremony he did not lose his composure. He never smiled, but maintained a placid, equable gaze.

Much of his attention was directed to a calm inspection of members of the British Mission as though he were trying to recall where he had seen such people before.

Furthermore, in Lhasa itself two days later (8 October), another remarkable evidence of the young “boy-god’s” prescient knowledge of those who had been associated with his predecessor presented itself for all to see and wonder at. When the royal caravan neared the entrance to the Holy Cathedral of Lhasa, the State Oracle called the Nechung—deep in trance and face in grotesque distortion—approached the Dalai Lama’s palanquin. This was the same High Oracle who had been in office during the latter part of the long reign of the Great Thirteenth. Thrusting his head inside the sedan chair and sprinkling the Child-King with rice, the possessed Oracle pressed his forehead against the child’s and offered the latter a ceremonial scarf. Yet even though nearby horses took fright of the Nechung’s alarming appearance, the tender-aged Dalai Lama appeared totally unperturbed; on the contrary, wrote Richardson, he had the presence of mind to place in response a khata of his own about the neck of the “menacing” intruder! Some of those who had witnessed this unusual scene remarked afterwards that it was as though the lad had known the State Oracle all his life.

With the completion of two days of ceremonies both at Rigya and at Lhasa in honor of the “return” of the Dalai Lama, *Times* correspondent Richardson noted that “his calm assurance during the exacting two days of his entry into Lhasa has been a source of wonder and delight to the people of Tibet and has confirmed their trust in the reincarnation.” Interestingly, the *Times* editors chose not to include the final words of Richardson’s submitted “Typed draft for approval. *Times*,” which had as this report’s concluding sentence the following: “Indeed, such calm assurance in so young a child seems to come from something more than mere schooling.”

Now from Gergan Tharchin’s viewpoint, the “something more” of what he experienced here at Mussoorie in the presence of His Holiness was the manifestation of a phenomenal photographic memory which the visitor from Kalimpong termed a gift from God. On the other hand, what other Tibetans might have viewed it as—and akin perhaps to Richardson’s “something more”—was merely the Fourteenth Dalai Lama’s identification with what they would term his earlier incarnation. But what Watchman Nee and other evangelical Christians might have deemed the “something more” to have been was a demonstration (as was discussed earlier in the present narrative’s first volume) of what Nee has called the release of “the latent power of the soul.”¹⁴⁶ Nevertheless, whichever of these interpretations having to do with the Dalai Lama’s remark to Rev. Tharchin is taken as the correct one, the implications of it must be considered extraordinary.¹⁴⁷



Now Gergan Tharchin and the Grand Lama first of all conversed on the recent happenings and events in Tibet. They discussed the manifold hardships through which the Tibetans

were passing as a result of the political upheaval in Tibet. To His Holiness Rev. Tharchin said: “God has protected you from all the dangers on the way and he has brought you safely to India. You have fooled the Chinese, so much so that they did not even know about your escape.” In one sense, he added, “it was humorous to learn of the Chinese searching for your body in the debris of the dead people gunned down by the Chinese artillery.”*¹⁴⁸

As if to purposefully swing the conversation away in another direction, the Dalai Lama immediately responded: “Politics is depressing. Let us not discuss these problems further. Rather, we may turn our attention to religious matters.” “And so we did,” reported the Tibetan Christian pastor years later. His Holiness had abruptly changed the talk to matters of religion because apparently “he must have been reading through a copy of the Tibetan Bible” he had ordered (from Tharchin himself) while the ruler had been at Yatung for six months in 1950-51.¹⁴⁹ The careful reading of the Holy Scriptures had created some questions in his mind about the Christian faith.

At one point His Holiness remarked, “According to Christianity you have three Gods. We Buddhists have also three gods. You know about our gods very well.” He was specifically referring to the Christian doctrine of the Trinity, which maintains of course that there are three distinct personalities in the *one* Godhead, namely, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit—with all three being equal in status, glory, power and holiness. The Tibetans, on the other hand, believe in Sangyay Buddha as god since he achieved the state of *Nirvana*, which is complete liberation of the soul from the cycles of rebirth. Because the doctrines and teachings of Buddha (comprising an understanding of all relative and absolute truth) are written down in a body of scriptures, these writings are likewise considered as god. And since without a preceptor or an ecclesiastical organization to help, the interpretation of the scriptures is difficult, therefore Sangha, too, is regarded as equivalent to god; that is to say, a lama or priest for the purpose of interpretation is included within this category of Sangha (the community or assembly of all who tread the path of enlightenment). And hence is derived the Buddhist conception of a trinity, and known among Tibetans as “the Three Holy Ones,” “the Three Precious Ones,” “the Three Jewels” or “the Triple Gem.” It is of interest to note here that Sundar Singh, in discussing various facets of life and culture among the Tibetans he observed along the Spiti border region of Himachal Pradesh in northwestern India, gave a description of a Buddhistic trinitarian concept he had found among them that was similar to this. In a letter he had penned at the time, he wrote as follows: “Concerning the true God these people know nothing, but in their religion they have a kind of Trinity which is called Sangi Kunchek or Buddha God; Lama Kunchek or Priest God; and Ghho Kunchek or Scripture God.”¹⁵⁰ The Tibetan term for this entire Buddhist trinity is *dkon mchog gsum*, the “three precious gems.” His Holiness thought that the Christian idea of God and the Buddhist idea of god were perhaps identical, which, of course, they are not.

* At the moment of their frantic search through the dead bodies, the Chinese still did not know that Tibet’s leader had departed Norbu Lingka and Lhasa itself. And as they picked their way through the piled-up corpses which lay around the Palace, the soldiers carefully examined each body, calling out as they did so, “Dalai Lama, Dalai Lama.” It was never made clear, however, whether the Chinese were intent on killing or capturing him! Craig, *Kundun*, 222.

To come to the point, the young religious ruler of Tibet then remarked, "I clearly understand the Father. He created the people. The Son loved the people and saved them." "There is no doubt," he continued, by which he meant there was no vagueness or uncertainty in his mind, "about these two personalities in the Godhead. But what about the Holy Spirit? This is not very clear to me." "I find it very difficult," he added, "to grasp the very idea of the Holy Spirit."

At this remark, the Christian minister later confessed, "I was dumbfounded," for, he acknowledged, "throughout my life as a Christian I had never given a thought as to what the Holy Spirit means."¹⁵¹ By which he meant that he had not given any thought as to how one could interpret or define to another person with little or no background what in Christian terms is indeed meant by the Holy Spirit. The Christian visitor from Kalimpong nonetheless tried to explain and clarify to the Dalai Lama as best he could the doctrine and Person of the Holy Spirit. * Rev. Tharchin further suggested to His Holiness, "Please read more and more from the Holy Bible and you will receive more light." Whereupon the High Lama remarked, "I do not have a copy of the Bible. The one I had I left in Tibet." So his Christian visitor offered to present him with another copy. Subsequently Tharchin obtained an extra copy of the Tibetan Bible from his host Elijah Phuntsog in Mussoorie, had it specially bound, and then presented it himself later to His Holiness.

Following their discussion concerning the Trinity, the Dalai Lama and Rev. Tharchin talked on general affairs. His Holiness referred to his visitor's planned program elsewhere on Good Friday and Easter Sunday. He inquired from Tharchin concerning the significance of these sacred days. "Christians believe," the pastor explained, "that according to the Bible Christ died on Friday and rose from the grave on the third day, that is, on Sunday. In fact, every Sunday reminds us of the resurrection of Christ from the dead. Every Sunday is an Easter day for us." His Holiness appeared pleased with this explanation.

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From the entire tenor of the conversation between this highest-ranking Tibetan Buddhist and the lowly Christian Tibetan pastor, one can obviously sense that the Dalai Lama exhibited more than a passing interest in his visitor's Christian faith. Moreover, there was certainly no attempt by His Holiness to re-convert, if he ever could have, his friend Tharchin back to his former Buddhist religion. This was quite a contrast to what he, in his youthful but innocent zeal and budding self-confidence, had attempted to do when, but fifteen years old, he had tried to convert the late Heinrich Harrer (d. 2006) to Tibetan Buddhism ten years before. During the months of 1950 in which the Austrian served as a private tutor to the Grand Lama of Tibet the two of them would have long discussions about religion. Harrer had later

* Interestingly, in a subsequent interview—the final one—between Gergan Tharchin and His Holiness, the latter was to refer once again to the Christian Trinity, and to the Holy Spirit in particular. This occurred in 1975 at Kalimpong. See Chapter 29 for details.

described this interesting sidelight to this tutorship, and its outcome, in the following way:

The hours I spent with my pupil were as instructive for me as they were for him. He taught me a great deal about the history of Tibet and the teachings of Buddha. He was a real authority on these subjects. We often used to argue for hours on religious subjects and he was convinced that he would succeed in converting me to Buddhism. He told me that he was making a study of books containing knowledge of the ancient mysteries by which the body and the soul could be separated. The history of Tibet is full of stories about saints whose spirits used to perform actions hundreds of miles away from their physical bodies. The Dalai Lama was convinced that by virtue of his faith and by performing the prescribed rites he would be able to make things happen in far-distant places like Samye [the first monastery established in Tibet]. When he had made sufficient progress, he said, he would send me there and direct me from Lhasa. I remember saying to him with a laugh: "All right, Kundun, when you can do that, I will become a Buddhist too." Unfortunately we never got as far as making this experiment. The beginning of our friendship was darkened by political clouds.¹⁵²

Needless to say, each of them remained exactly where, religiously, he had been at the beginning. Harrer nonetheless called the entire episode "a fascinating experience." The young Dalai Lama, he observed, "was so sure of his divinity that he found my scepticism hard to grasp. He could not quite understand my reluctance to worship him, and yet he seemed more amused than displeased."¹⁵³



In all, the Tharchins stayed for what was probably three weeks to a month in the Mussoorie area. During this period the visitor from Kalimpong had two more opportunities to meet with the spiritual head of Tibetan Buddhism, at one of which Rev. Tharchin was able to present the Dalai Lama with the specially bound copy of the Bible he had been able to secure from Elijah Phuntsog. As a matter of fact, this was not the first time he had given the Fourteenth Dalai Lama the Christian Scriptures. Indeed, there were at least three identifiable occasions in which Gergan Tharchin had been personally involved in the transmission of a Bible to His Holiness:

(i) It must be pointed out that the complete Tibetan Bible had been printed by the end of 1948, substantially aided by the longtime efforts of Joseph (Yoseb) Gergan.¹⁵⁴ When this Bible was in time reprinted in 1950, Tharchin had advertised it in his news journal, the *Tibet Mirror*. Upon seeing the advertisement, the Dalai Lama had ordered a copy and forwarded money to the newspaper publisher as payment. This reprint edition was the one the Grand Lama had alluded to in the lengthy audience he had granted Rev. Tharchin at Mussoorie on Holy Thursday. Now it so happened that His Holiness had ordered this particular edition of the Bible when he was at Yatung (in southeast Tibet, but near Kalimpong) at the time of his self-imposed absence from Lhasa during the months between December 1950 and July 1951. This could therefore have been the specific copy the Dalai Lama told Tharchin he

had left behind in Tibet at the time of his hasty departure from the Tibetan capital in March 1959 that had ultimately brought him to Mussoorie a month later. On the other hand, His Holiness could have been referring instead to another copy of the 1950 reprint that had been specially bound and then dispatched to Lhasa as a personal gift to the Dalai Lama from the British and Foreign Bible Society during the latter half of 1952.¹⁵⁵

But then, (ii) when the Grand Lama was on his visit to India during 1956-7 in connection with the Buddha Jayanti celebrations, Tharchin and his wife, as was learned earlier in the present chapter, had presented him with two Bibles—not only a Tibetan- but also an *English-language* edition of the Scriptures—as His Holiness was passing through Kalimpong on his return journey to Lhasa. (This incident was told both to Margaret Urban in 1964 and to the one with whom the Tibetan pastor shared his end-of-life “memoirs” some ten years later.) Yet this gift, too, the Dalai Lama regretfully told Tharchin, he no longer had in his possession. “Unfortunately,” explained His Holiness when soon presented at Mussoorie with a third Tibetan Bible by Tharchin, “I did not take it [the Tibetan-language one] back into Tibet, but left it behind. I have wondered what happened to it.” The Dalai Lama went on, however, to add, significantly: “I am told that it speaks of the great God who became a man and lived on earth. Of course, there are many such men in Tibet.”¹⁵⁶ “That is true about Jesus’ coming to this earth,” answered Rev. Tharchin, “but, more than that, it tells how He broke the bands of death and returned to heaven. He is now preparing a beautiful home where there will be no more suffering and death, but life evermore.” The humble Tibetan pastor then concluded by saying: “One day soon, Jesus will return to earth and end this terrible trouble.” To which the Great Lama of Tibet murmured in reply, “May He then come soon.”¹⁵⁷

This conversation concerning the Bible and Jesus, it needs again to be noted, took place between His Holiness and Gergan Tharchin when (iii) the latter had presented a third and specially-bound Bible to the Dalai Lama in Mussoorie sometime during April 1960. This unusual exchange between the highest religious authority of Tibet and the lowly Tibetan pastor from Kalimpong was made known by an Australian Adventist medical missionary, Allan Maberly by name, in his book *God Spoke Tibetan*. Most likely Maberly’s source for all these details had been none other than Gergan Tharchin himself or possibly his wife Margaret, both of whom had of course been at Mussoorie. This becomes clear when it is understood from the book that Maberly spent no less than eight years with his family at Kalimpong serving as a medical missionary among the many Tibetan refugees there and in the surrounding area. And hence, Maberly, in the preparation of his book published in 1971, had ample opportunity to glean from Tharchin an account of the conversation he had had with the Dalai Lama when the latter had received the third Tibetan Bible.

Now it will be of additional interest to know that the Adventist missionary also indicated in his volume that “on at least two occasions” the Dalai Lama had “promised actually to read the Bible.”¹⁵⁸ Most likely these “two occasions” were when Tharchin had personally presented both the Tibetan- and English-language Bibles to His Holiness at Kalimpong in 1957 and the instance at Mussoorie just now related concerning the presentation personally made by Tharchin of the Tibetan Bible he had obtained from E. T. Phuntsog. Interestingly enough, it should be added here that Rev. Phuntsog would himself have the privilege some ten years later of personally presenting to His Holiness a specially bound copy of the very

revised Tibetan New Testament which he and Rev. Vittoz were even then in 1960 working on at Landour. This would occur on 20 July 1971 at the Dalai Lama's subsequent headquarters in the hill station at Dharamsala. (It would require that many years to see the revision finished and printed, having finally been released from the press just two months earlier in May 1971.) Moreover, in line with the Tibetan Buddhist tradition of showing the highest respect for that which is deemed sacred, this fourteenth Pontiff of the Tibetan Buddhist Church, when presented a copy of this revised edition of the Christian New Testament Scriptures by Rev. Phuntsog, immediately placed it on his head and simultaneously remarked that he would read it until he had read completely the entire New Testament.¹⁵⁹ To round out the story still further, there should also be added here what Gergan Tharchin himself reported in an article he co-authored with David Woodward and published in 1975: "The Dalai Lama has been witnessed to by many people, and has been presented with many Bibles."* Furthermore, noted Tharchin, "It is said that he reads them from time to time. May God give him understanding and opening of heart with the reading."¹⁶⁰

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Shortly after Tharchin's several audiences with His Holiness, the Tibetan ruler and his Government-in-exile was prevailed upon to remove themselves still farther north in India to the city of Dharamsala located above Simla in the State of Himachal Pradesh, some 160 kilometers from the border with Tibet and some 250 miles north of Delhi. Here the Indian government had offered him a bungalow which he could use as long as necessary.¹⁶¹ One of the primary motivations for suggesting the move was a concern the Indian government felt for his security. The story has been told that once when the Dalai Lama was at his Mussoorie home in Birla House, the Indian guards claimed to have found a hand grenade hidden in the cloak of one of the Tibetan pilgrims. Dharamsala, it was hoped, would prove to be less accessible to those who might try to inflict harm on the Tibetan spiritual leader.†

* Indeed, Tharchin Babu's daughter-in-law Nini, in an interview with the present writer at the Tharchin compound in December 1993, relates how she often overheard the Babu say to visitors in his home that whenever any new English-language Bible came off one of the various Bible Society presses he would take the opportunity to send it to His Holiness, adding in his remarks to his visitors that "now the Dalai Lama can also read the Christian Scriptures in English." Still further testimony about the Dalai Lama receiving Tibetan Bibles comes from an Amdo Tibetan, Gyamtso Shempa, a converted Christian and friend of missionary Albert A. Carlsson of the Swedish Free Mission who had labored in the Christian gospel along the China side of Tibet and inside Amdo itself for a period of twelve years that ended in 1948 with the imminent fall of China to the Communists. Shempa had heard of the "Amdo sahib," as Carlsson was often called, before both of them would later, but separately, find their way to Kalimpong. There both would live for a long time thereafter, and on one occasion before the missionary's death in the early 1980s, he had told the Amdo Tibetan that he had personally presented a Tibetan Bible to His Holiness at Dharamsala in the 1970s. Interview with G. Shempa, January 1992.

† But there were equally important political and military considerations which prompted Prime Minister Nehru himself to move to have the Dalai Lama and his entourage relocate to Dharamsala. Explained John F. Burns in the *New York Times*: "... Nehru wanted a base for the Tibetans that was less accessible from Tibet, to discourage border problems with China; farther from the Indian capital, New Delhi, to minimize Tibetan influence on Indian politicians; and less in the Indian mainstream than Mussoorie, a favorite retreat for Indians fleeing the heat of the plains." Burns, "Where the Dalai Lama Muses, the Sinful Intrudes," *Times*, 21 March 1996, p. A4.

The move northward would now take place on the 29th of April 1960. At the time, Gergan Tharchin was still in the Landour-Mussoorie area and was a witness to the departure of His Holiness. On the day appointed for the Dalai Lama to actually leave, a special farewell party was arranged for His Holiness during the earlier part of the day. Many Indian government officials and respected local citizens were invited to the occasion. Sweets were distributed to the children. In the final send-off local people and the children lined both sides of the street and gave a large and tumultuous ovation to His Holiness as his motorcade "of eighty or so officials who comprised the Tibetan government-in-exile" passed by on its way to Dharamsala.¹⁶²

Within three years the exile government there would adopt a unique constitution—dated 10 March 1963, the fourth anniversary of the Tibetan National Uprising—that would call for a democratic theocracy in which all Government officers would be elected except the Dalai Lama himself. His Holiness had even insisted, "somewhat autocratically, perhaps," he would later acknowledge, that a clause be left in which he had himself proposed be included in the constitution which calls for the National Assembly to have the ability to remove an incumbent Dalai Lama from office if a two-thirds majority voted in favor. His rationale for making such a proposal was that he viewed this "as a principal means of formalizing the move away from theocracy to full democracy." Nevertheless, wrote His Holiness long afterwards, "the thought that the Dalai Lama could be deposed flabbergasted many Tibetans." "I had to explain," he added, "that democracy is very much in keeping with Buddhist principles"; and with that, the provision was retained in the draft constitution of 1963. A radical departure from the previous political system, this document was to remain in draft form until the time when the millions of Tibetans still living under the oppressive Chinese rule would have an opportunity to approve it.¹⁶³

As this volume goes to press, however, that momentous day still remains a hope unfulfilled; and meanwhile, further and dramatic developments have occurred along the way since those early years within the Tibetan exile community. For instance, in May of 1990 the Dalai Lama called a special congress of Tibetan people in exile, before which he announced that things would have to be changed: that democracy would have to be introduced in exile in advance of any return to Tibet as a means of providing testing and experience of this new form of Tibetan political arrangements. As a result, the Kashag and Assembly were both dissolved, with a new and expanded Assembly to be elected by the exiles in the next year, which body would in turn elect the Kashag members. The Dalai Lama also announced that the draft constitution needed to be revised, he calling for a draft guideline to be formulated for the refugee community—a constitution-in-exile, as it were. Said His Holiness later about these announcements: "Last May I thought it was time to put into practice democratic principles. I found that among Tibetans, there was a basic enthusiasm for democracy, but they needed to play a more active role, take more responsibility.... The Plan [i.e., the 1963 draft] was already there, and I thought it was time to implement it."¹⁶⁴

But, then, two years later (1992), the Dalai Lama issued a new set of guidelines relative to "Future Tibet's Polity and the Basic Features of Its Constitution." This His Holiness did, notes historian Warren Smith, as a way of refuting Chinese claims that Tibetan separatists were hoping, declared the Chinese, to reestablish a "Feudal Serf System." Interestingly,

Smith continued, Tibetans inside Tibet were likewise becoming aware of the need for a democratic constitutional governmental system for their country. This was made known to Tibetans both inside and outside Tibet by means of a manifesto that had been prepared and distributed in 1988 by a group of monks at Lhasa's Drepung Monastery that year. It was entitled, "The Meaning of the Precious Democratic Constitution of Tibet," whose contents included a reiteration of the principles to be found in the 1963 Constitution promoted by the Dalai Lama at Dharamsala that when implemented would create a democratic government "embodying both religious and secular principles" but which would *not* restore Tibet's previous system of government. Unfortunately for these Drepung monks, they were arrested and sentenced to prison for up to nineteen years for what was deemed by those in authority to have been a "counterrevolutionary crime."^{164a}



Soon after this shift of the exile Government to Dharamsala, Gergan and Margaret Tharchin returned to Kalimpong. Many changes had taken place in the town over the past twelve months. During the previous autumn (1959) a near panic had been created in the frontier hill station, noted George Patterson, because of Chinese activities which appeared threatening to its well-being. The barrage of Chinese propaganda which had been unleashed against India, and especially against Kalimpong, immediately after the Dalai Lama's secret departure from Lhasa, had continued throughout 1959. In addition, a buildup of Red military forces began to appear opposite Bhutan and Sikkim, the latter a mere sixteen miles from Tharchin's home town, and the Natu La only fifty. Concomitantly, a sustained drumbeat of propaganda from Beijing now called for imminent "liberation" of not only these areas but also of Darjeeling and Kalimpong! A chill spread throughout the entire District of Darjeeling. Murmurings surfaced among the Tibetan community that reprisals by the Indian government should be meted out against the Chinese Trade Agency in Kalimpong. This was the same Agency or Mission discussed a few pages earlier which by treaty in 1954 between New Delhi and Beijing had been authorized by the former to be established in the hill station by the latter. This Trade Mission had thus over time become the center of China's own activities in the area, possessing a staff, remarked Patterson, "out of all proportion to its importance." In response to the call for action against the Agency, the Government felt the wisest measure it could take was to place an armed guard on sentry duty around the Agency buildings. But what exacerbated matters even more for Kalimpong was the influx into its limited precincts of thousands of hapless refugees from Tibet, a phenomenon that was bound to increase the already tense atmosphere of the town that much more.

By December of 1959 the Indian government had decided to issue an order restricting the entry into Kalimpong. All foreigners would now be required to present passports down below at the Teesta Bridge; and if anyone wished to remain in the hill station beyond a seven-day stay a special permit would have to be secured. In the early months of 1960 a few Europeans and several Chinese were ordered to leave; and while intrigue still continued,

noted Patterson, "Kalimpong's usefulness and temporary fame as a 'nest of spies' was over."¹⁶⁵ Nevertheless, the Indian government felt compelled, by the new set of circumstances brought on by the hardened Chinese attitude, to go one step further. It made Kalimpong a "notified area," thus giving official recognition to the fact that the authorities deemed it to be the most important strategic point on the entire Himalayan frontier. There would be other spots so designated, but Kalimpong became the first.¹⁶⁶ Truly, Gergan Tharchin's home town had changed dramatically since the Dalai Lama's exile to India.



Tharchin, however, would remain as active as ever. He would continue to serve His Holiness in the capacity of an educational adviser to the exile government's Educational Council¹⁶⁷ that would soon have as its Director, Jigme Taring, Tharchin's former pupil back in Gyantse. As was noted earlier, one of the outgrowths of his involvement with the Council and the educational needs of the refugee school-age children was the role which his own Tibet Mirror Press was henceforth to play in providing textbooks and other classroom materials. Years later the Kalimpong editor-publisher took the occasion in two or three publications of his to describe the aid he was able to render in this regard. In the Preface to the first edition of his *English-Tibetan-Hindi Pocket Dictionary* (1965), for example, the Babu explained his primary motive for its publication, giving credit as well to two earlier published language works authored by other linguists and to those on his Press staff who had made this present work possible:

Since many years I had collected English, Tibetan & Hindi words for printing of a small dictionary, but till this year I was not able to bring it out. It is hoped that this small work may prove a practical handbook for the Tibetan refugee students as well as those Indians who wish to acquire the Tibetan language. I am proud to bring out this first edition on the auspicious occasion of our [India nation's] Republic Day.

In conclusion I must acknowledge my obligation to [credit] Sir C. A. Bell's Tibetan Colloquial Dictionary [*Manual of Colloquial Tibetan* (Calcutta, 1905)] and [Vincent C.] Henderson's Tibetan Manual [*Tibetan Manual* (Calcutta, 1903)] which gave me great help. Most of all my thanks are due to Sri Peter Thupten Rapgey, Sri Rinzing Wangpo and my son S. Gyamtsho Tharchin who have helped me to bring out this small book and also my thanks are due to my Press staff. May God bless this small work.

JAI HIND—JAI TIBET [Long Live India—Long Live Tibet].

G. Tharchin
Tibet Mirror Press
Kalimpong
26th January, 1965.

Three years later this educational adviser to His Holiness would be even more detailed regarding the aid his Press and certain of his friends in America had rendered and were continuing to render on behalf of the Tibetan refugee schoolchildren. This he would do in the

two Prefaces—one in English, the other in Tibetan—which appeared in the second revised and enlarged edition of this same *Pocket Dictionary* (Kalimpong: Tibet Mirror Press, 1968). In the English Preface he had this to say:

I am glad to bring out this revised and enlarged edition with thousands of new useful words [added]. I hope this edition will further enhance the usefulness of the book. I am also glad that I have been able to distribute [freely] about a thousand copies from the first edition to the Tibetan Refugee Schools, with the [financial] help received from friends in America, about whom I have mentioned in detail in the Tibetan Preface.

Since last year [1967] the first edition was out of print and, there still being a great demand, as well as 500 copies [more] still needing to be distributed to the Tibetan Refugee Schools, I [realized the need] to reprint it [in a revised and enlarged edition]....

In conclusion, I thank God [for] friends and workers ... [who have] enable[d] me in bringing out this second edition. May God bless and grant His wisdom to all those who use this dictionary.

G. Tharchin.

It is within the contents of the longer Tibetan Preface, however, that the reader of the *Pocket Dictionary's* second edition is told much more about the contributions which Tharchin the book publisher was enabled to render linguistically and educationally to the many thousands of displaced Tibetans—both older and younger—who were now living in India. And it is here, too, that he identifies in some detail who these American friends were who from afar so graciously came to the aid of the Tibetans. These friends—two of whom, mother and daughter, the Babu had come to know personally—were the surviving family members of the famed missionary to Kham in East Tibet during the first two decades of the twentieth century, Dr. Albert Shelton, whose life and work have previously been noted (see Volume I, pp. 518-19). In the midst of briefly narrating the life, career and murderous death of Dr. Shelton, Tharchin states the following (as translated by Phurbu Tsering for the present author and freely edited by the latter):

This three-lingual—English, Tibetan & Hindi—easy-to-carry dictionary was newly composed many years ago and first printed and brought out for sale in 1965.... After Dr. Shelton was robbed and killed, ... both his wife and their daughter lingered some years at Bathang [in Kham, East Tibet] and there Mrs. Shelton newly composed in the Tibetan language a world historical geography volume [, a hymnal,] as well as a story-book called *Fairy Annals* [or, *Tales*]. Both [geography and story-book] were later printed at Calcutta for the benefit of Tibetan children. Since many years ago, however, these have been out of print. So, some years ago I wrote Mrs. Shelton indicating that these works would greatly benefit the schools if they were reprinted. [At that time] I was not successful [in obtaining the necessary permission to reprint them].

In [spring] 1964 her daughter Mrs. [Dorris—*sic*] Still came to India for a short period. First she went to Dharamsala to meet H.H. the Dalai Lama, after which she came to Kalimpong ... to meet me and stayed [in my home] about a week, and I inquired of her whether she would [be interested in] reprinting these books her mother had earlier printed. She assured me that soon after she returned to America she would speak with her mother and other friends and try her best [to collect] the required funds to have these books reprinted [at my Press]. After talking with her mother, she reported the good news [to me] that Mr. Walter W. Ross, the Secretary of a pious religious

organization, Beta Sigma Phi, together with Mrs. Still herself, would bear the printing expenses [that would allow for] free distribution to refugee schools.*

Tharchin Babu went on to reveal his intention to make available his own educational works for free distribution, as follows:

Other books of educational benefit it is my desire to print for free distribution: more than 1000 copies of my three-lingual English, Tibetan & Hindi treasury of words (dictionary) called [sometimes] Precious Rosary. Due to the great demand for this dictionary and having a large number of Tibetan-language learners in India, I was only able to distribute 760 copies. With the intention to distribute 740 more copies from a second edition, I have printed ... this revised edition ... May this dictionary become the source of great benefit for the learners of language by both Indians and Tibetans ...

JAI HIND.

May H.H. the Dalai Lama live hundreds of years and may Tibet achieve freedom and independence soon.

Finally, a few months further into the year and in the Preface to the Fourth Revised Edition of his *Tibetan Second Book* which on 18 April 1968 he printed at the Tibet Mirror Press on his "seventy-ninth birthday" (Tibetan reckoning), Tharchin Babu wrote as follows:

By the kindness of our [Indian] Government many Tibetan refugee schools have been started. The textbooks in Tibetan are being published by the Council for the Tibetan Education Bureau of H.H. the Dalai Lama at Dharamsala.

I have great pleasure in mentioning here that by the help of kind friends in America

* Besides what has been said above already about these two children's works as well as what has been mentioned in Volume I of the present narrative, Jamyang Norbu has provided still further interesting information about them. He has done this in two writings of his: (a) in an article that appeared in *Lungta* (Winter 1998):24, entitled, "Missionary Books for Tibetan Children"; and (b) within the text of a five-part Internet Website essay, "Newspeak and New Tibet," Part III, unnumbered page, at www.TibetWrites.org. What follows is a composite rendering of his comments from both his writings about these two Shelton works:

When my mother was a little girl in Eastern Tibet, an occasional treat her parents allowed her, if she had done her lessons well, was to browse through a pictorial geographical encyclopedia. What distinguished this from other Western picture-books was the fact of it being in the Tibetan language. This was the book written by Mrs. (Flora Beal) Shelton and published in the 1920s by the Baptist Mission Press in Calcutta. A copy had made its way to her father, the Governor of Derge. According to older Tibetans who had come across this amazing book, it not only gave accounts and pictures of Eskimos and igloos, pygmies from "Darkest Africa" and so on, but even featured detailed descriptions of places in Tibet with photographs of the Potala and the great monasteries of Chamdo, Derge and Lithang [in Kham].

Another book that gave my mother much pleasure in her childhood was a collection of fairy tales translated and compiled by Mrs. Shelton, titled, appropriately enough, *Lhamoe Namthar* ("goddess stories"). She particularly enjoyed reading the story of "Rikki Tikki Tavi" from [Rudyard] Kipling's *Jungle Book*, which was also included in the Shelton book. Mrs. Shelton had written to Kipling, then living in Brattleboro, Vermont [USA], for permission to reprint the story. Kipling himself had written about Tibetans, for instance the lama in *Kim*, and kept a Tibetan pen-case on his desk in his house in England. So he must have been intrigued with the idea of a story of his being printed in Tibetan.

In the preface to the first edition (1922) of *Lhamoe Namthar*, Mrs. Shelton wrote: "To the boys and girls of Tibet this little book of stories [is] lovingly given with the hope that they may enjoy them as much as my own two little girls ... have." This book was later reprinted by the Tibet Mirror Press and many hundreds of free copies distributed by Gergan Tharchin to children at the Tibetan Refugee School in Kalimpong, on the Christmas Eve of 1964, if I recall the year correctly.

who love the Tibetans [a further reference to Mrs. Albert Shelton and other surviving members of this missionary family], I was able to print some educational books and distribute freely to the refugee schools. A world geography in Tibetan and other educational books are still being printed in my Press for free distribution.

This fourth edition of *The Tibetan Second Book*, incidentally, was itself one of the textbooks freely distributed among the refugee schools. Still highly respected and appreciated after half a century of usage in various school systems in North India, Sikkim and Bhutan, this Tibetan language reader of over 100 pages, it may be recalled, had originally been compiled by Tharchin back in 1917 while he was occupying his very first teaching post as a Kindergarten Teacher of Tibetan in the Scandinavian Alliance Mission Upper Primary School at Ghoom.*¹⁶⁸

One final volume—for sale at low cost if not for free distribution—should be mentioned here. It, too, had been prepared for a Tibetan readership by Mrs. Shelton, though this had been a new work which she had begun to compose during the early 1950s and perhaps a bit earlier. This work, when fully completed, was her *Tibetan Bible Concordance*, which Babu Tharchin had described, in its completed form, as a “most important book.” Most likely, the basis for the creation of this Bible-study reference tome has been intimated indirectly by Douglas Wissing in his recent biography of Albert Shelton. He writes that Mrs. Shelton had “never flagged in her work on Tibet. Decades after Albert’s death she was still at it, ... submitting hundreds of pages of English-Tibetan translations to biblical phrases to the Disciples of Christ [Church, the Christian denomination to which the Sheltons had belonged] ...”^{168a} Mrs. Shelton and her friends would underwrite the entire expense of printing the work at the Tibet Mirror Press. Back on 29 and 30 July 1951 she had written to Tharchin in the following terms:

About the Concordance ..., we [here] could take up only the New Testament [part of the] Concordance now.... [I] will send the New Testament Concordance when I hear from you again ... You would need a fine Tibetan scholar to help in the revision & spelling, I am sure. So let me know ... the price [i.e., the cost] of printing and for the teacher [she meant: scholar] doing the revision.... We [here] will [complete the] work now only on the New Testament Concordance ... [and] let me know as soon as you are ready [to receive it for printing] and the terms, & I’ll go out & get the money from my friends, putting in all I can from my Retirement Missionary Salary.

It is unclear when precisely the easier and shorter New Testament portion of the Shelton Bible Concordance was ultimately printed by the Mirror Press; but it is known that by late 1964 the complete Concordance of the Bible in Tibetan—both the Old Testament and New

* Some idea of the nature and content of this celebrated textbook is provided the reader at the conclusion of the present chapter. There the reader can find photocopies of this textbook’s Title, Dedication, and Contents pages, as well as the opening page of the First Lesson. Always seeking ways to make his religious faith known more widely among his ethnic brethren, the Indo-Tibetan educator and Christian pastor had ingeniously included in the reader at least a dozen reading lessons having to do with various moral and ethical truths, the Almighty God, and stories derived from the Christian Scriptures.

Testament portions together—was being readied for rolling off the Babu's Press. This is known from his letter to Mrs. Still of 9 December in which he declared: "...the Concordance is being made ready for the press. I have arranged for [staff] helpers to do this important work."

And interestingly enough, the ever resourceful Babu, in looking ahead to its soon publication, had cleverly envisaged a two-fold purpose in printing the *Concordance*: the first a near-term use, the other a long-term one. For in another letter to Mrs. Still some six months earlier the ever sanguine Christian pastor-publisher, in speaking about this practical Bible tool, had written: "I am sure the time will come that there will be a large Tibetan [Church] congregation in Tibet and it [the *Concordance*] will be useful." Until then, he added, with most likely a twinkle in his eye, "Tibetans will use it as a dictionary for learning English"!¹⁶⁹



But now the Kalimpong pastor and his wife were burdened for those refugees specifically who had settled down in their very own hill town. The latter had been greatly inundated by a floodtide of exiles from Tibet. Paul Grimes of the *New York Times* had reported from Kalimpong on Christmas Day 1959 that of the 3000 Tibetans dwelling at the hill station, 2000 of them (or one-seventh of Kalimpong's total population) were refugees, with more continuing to arrive almost daily.¹⁷⁰ Many exiled Tibetans had made it a cardinal point to avoid if at all possible the refugee centers created by the Indian government. This was because of the overcrowded and unsanitary conditions, as well as the overbearing heat, which often existed in them. The price of such avoidance was that literally tens of thousands of refugees joined the already rather large existing mendicant population of India, thereby living for months or years by begging and by receiving small amounts of food distributed daily or weekly by missionaries or relief organizations. The National Christian Council of India organized a special relief fund for the refugees. Food, and materials such as milk, rice and clothing, were also provided. Everything was distributed freely.

George Woodcock, at the time on the faculty of the University of British Columbia in Canada, tells of an incident which occurred while on a visit to Kalimpong in January 1962 that can give some idea of the number of people who were in such destitute straits. He relates how in Tharchin's home town there were "3390 refugees queued up" on the day on which he visited the hill station, "for a distribution of powdered milk—the only food available—by a Christian organization."¹⁷¹ And the compassionate Babu was himself at the forefront in leading and guiding this most timely distribution program. The testimony of the Buddhist Lama of Tharpa Chholing Gompa quoted from earlier in the chapter, Ven. Kusho Wangchuk, clearly confirms this assertion. "After 1959," he told the present writer, "the Tibetan refugees received so many helps from the Kalimpong Christian community, and one of the key people in charge of the distribution of necessities such as wheat, clothing, tin meats, and *especially* milk was our good friend Tharchin-La."¹⁷² Pastor Tharchin himself recalled how the refugees

used to say, “Yishui Homa”—which is to say, “Jesus’ Milk”! Despite the straitened condition of the refugees and their families, it was nonetheless a beautiful sight to witness the Tibetan children running together and crying out, “We are going to get Yishui Homa, Yishui Homa!”

When asked by a visiting European-Canadian missionary during this period whether over the years he had “actually altered the opinion of the Tibetans concerning Christianity,” the widely-experienced Tibetan pastor replied with the illustration of the “Jesus Milk” incidents then occurring daily in the Himalayan hill station:

Still before the First World War, as I was [on my way to] visit Tibet [with Sadhu Sundar Singh], the lamas would say, “Christianity takes you to the eternal hell! Even if the shadow of a Christian falls on someone, so he will go to the eternal hell.” [It was known] in Tibet itself that some of the lamas knew of Jesus, because they couldn’t escape the influence of the Moravian missionaries when they went on their pilgrimages to Ladakh, the region west of Tibet. From others they had heard of Jesus’ ascension into heaven. If someone took an interest in Jesus, the lamas said of him: “There again is one person to avoid!”—Now, however, they pay attention, at least to a limited degree, to this Jesus, especially in light of the great “milk-giving action” of the Christian Churches of the West. “Give us the Jesus milk!” cry the people.

The missionary-questioner, Margaret Urban, noted how deeply touched the Tibetan pastor appeared upon uttering this unusually worded phrase of the people. “Yes,” he added, “as food cartons and dry milk are being passed around, we play Christian songs on either the record player or tape player, and pass out portions of the Bible and tracts. And thus Christ’s name is becoming known and popular [among our Tibetan people] in the mountains of the Himalayas.”¹⁷³ Furthermore, and even though it was well known that Gergan Tharchin was a firm Christian, he was nonetheless sought out by both Hindu and Buddhist Government officials for his assistance in helping to meet the needs of the increasing refugee population. Invited, for example, by Buddhist Sikkim’s government officials, Tharchin gladly traveled up to Gangtok in 1961, going there on Tibetan refugee matters.¹⁷⁴ By 1970 Professor Woodcock, who also served at this time as President of the Tibetan Refugee Society of Vancouver (British Columbia), could report that the approximately 3000 Tibetan refugees who remained in the Darjeeling-Kalimpong area were gradually becoming assimilated into the local Tibetan-speaking community and were beginning to sustain themselves independent of relief.¹⁷⁵

But there was yet another avenue of service on behalf of the Tibetan refugees which, it has been said over and over again by Tibetans themselves, Babula Tharchin had uniquely provided throughout this critical period. One very prominent Tibetan, himself a refugee at one time, would recall long afterwards what this unique service was which the Babu had rendered repeatedly. This was none other than Dhardo Rimpoche, later the Founder-Headmaster of the Indo-Tibet Buddhist Culture Institute and School in Kalimpong, one of the sponsors of a series of annual Birth Anniversary Celebrations at Kalimpong in honor of Gergan Tharchin and the many contributions he had made to both the Tibetan and general communities. And on one of these annual occasions, the Rimpoche had offered up in his public address the following moving encomium:

Gergan Tharchin was a very important person in Kalimpong for the Tibetans, especially

because of the fact that without him they could not have survived when they came from Tibet. This is due to the reality that when we arrived we were totally ignorant of Indian affairs, regulations and practices. Upon our arrival in Kalimpong, therefore, we ran to his door for help and assistance of one kind and another. For example, we needed help in legal matters, in immigration regulations, in education for the Tibetan children. Because of our ignorance of Indian ways, we could only turn to him.

Jorga, a Tibetan from Kham who emigrated from Lhasa and came down to Kalimpong in 1941 and would much later rise to become President of the influential Tibetan organization in the hill station known as Pacha, gave the following tribute about Rev. Tharchin when interviewed by the present author in 1992: "Babu Tharchin was always available to help Tibetans, for upon arrival in our town from Tibet they faced a variety of problems: personal, family, business, or political in nature. Especially was this the case for Tibetans as a consequence of the refugee influx following the Uprising of 1959 in Tibet." And Rev. Peter Rapgey, at one time a young Tibetan monk who would eventually become a Christian himself and was appointed by the Babu to be his Mirror Press Manager, once recalled to the author how Tibetan refugee parents, learning of Rev. Tharchin's considerable influence, would come to him to request that he use his influence with Christian schools—those situated both within and without District Darjeeling—in securing scholarships for their children or else in simply gaining admission for them into these same schools. "And Rev. Tharchin would do so," noted Rev. Rapgey, "he having been most willing to be of help in this regard, if he could."¹⁷⁶



Meanwhile, along with the relief program of those early days, further Christian evangelistic activity was being carried forward in various ways. No opposition was voiced from any quarter against preaching the gospel, whatever the method and in whatever the context. For example, Allan Maberly, the Adventist medical missionary mentioned earlier and who was in Kalimpong for many years during the height of the refugee problem, tells of how as many as two hundred patients a day would sit waiting their turn to see the missionary medical officer, to each of whom he would give a portion of Scripture from the Tibetan Bible or would present the complete Bible to any Tibetan "who seemed especially interested."¹⁷⁷ And among those aiding the missionary medical officer in this evangelizing ministry among Tibetans were two American ladies of the World Mission Prayer League, Lillian Carlson and Dorothy Christianson.

These two missionaries, as was learned in the preceding volume of the present narrative (see its Chapter 19), had previously been stationed along the Sino-Tibetan border in the late 1940s but who had then been forced out of western China in 1949-50 by the Communists, the latter having been victorious over the Nationalists in the Chinese Civil War. They, along with other missionaries in similar straits, had shifted over to Kalimpong shortly afterwards. To better equip themselves for ministering among the ever-increasing Tibetan community

during the ensuing decade, these two ladies in particular had acquired the language services of the by now well-known Ladakhi Moslem trader in Kalimpong, Abdul Wahid Radhu, who had once more settled down for awhile in Tharchin's hill station. "To meet my expenses," wrote Radhu later, "I started giving ... spoken Tibetan lessons to English-speaking people. Among my students were some Americans belonging to a missionary organization." Miss Carlson has herself confirmed this, for upon returning to America long afterwards she, Miss Christianson, and another missionary, Margaret Miller, had subsequently published a volume on their missionary experience in China but especially the many years of service at Kalimpong by the first two of these three. "As soon as possible," Miss Carlson had noted, "we hired a teacher [of Tibetan], Abdul Whahid [*sic*], who came from Kashmir and had connection with a Tibetan trading family." In fact, when taking their second Tibetan language examination in September 1951, these two were tested under the supervision of Rev. Tharchin, David Macdonald, and a Tibetan lady of nobility, Lodey Puljar.¹⁷⁸

Now as opportunities afforded themselves—and whether at Charteris Hospital, in the Tibetan Mission dispensary, in the hill station's large Central School for (Refugee) Tibetans,¹⁷⁹ in home visitation, or in other avenues of service like clothing, food and blanket distribution—one or the other or both of these missionary ladies would faithfully and tactfully share the Christian gospel among the ever-growing community of Tibetans at Kalimpong. Indeed, one particular venue from among the above-mentioned institutional sites where missionary service was carried on was the Tibetan dispensary. It was here that especially Miss Christianson had many opportunities to minister to both the inward and outward needs of the refugee Tibetans. This was the medical service, it will be recalled, which had been inaugurated in 1930 by the Scots Mission missionary to the Tibetans, Rev. Dr. Robert Knox. Missionary Christianson has provided a written record of what it was like in those days and years to provide treatment to the hill station's numerous refugees and also minister to their spiritual needs. "We often felt," she wrote, "like the lad [mentioned in the New Testament Gospels] with the two loaves and five small fish, [and like Jesus' disciples, who said:] 'What are *these* among so *many*?' In many cases we did experience the Lord's multiplication, and *His* blessing made that vital difference between a ministry of life and a ministry of death."

The missionary had gone on to relate what her daily experience at the dispensary had involved:

The dispensary ... was a real blessing [previously as well as currently] to countless resident Tibetans. What a boon it was when the Tibetan refugees poured into the area from 1956 to 1959. Thousands of cases of tuberculosis were treated over those years as well as dysentery, leprosy and venereal diseases....

The building itself was very unpretentious—a low brown wooden structure with two rooms and a kitchen. By contrast the inside was very nice.

The larger room which I used for dispensing and treatment had a cement floor, plenty of shelf room, a built-in cupboard, a table with three chairs, and running water. The other room and kitchen were used by a Christian Tibetan caretaker family who were most helpful in many ways.

Outside the entrance was a picture poster of the Good Samaritan [see Luke's Gospel 10:25-37] done by a local artist. This was complete with a Bible verse and the announcement that the dispensary was for the people. The Good Samaritan's horse

was so prominent on this picture that many who could not read brought their animals for treatment.

Each day before we distributed medicines I gave a short gospel talk, using a Scripture verse or a poster. Prior to this time our spoken witness had consisted mostly of a word to individuals. Tracts in Tibetan, Hindi, and Nepali were available for those who read. Many of the patients were not only willing to tell all the symptoms of their diseases, but they eagerly poured out their family problems as well. Even in an illness of moderate severity they would ask, "Is death coming?" This gave an open door to speak of Him [Jesus] who has overcome death and is the Resurrection and the Life.¹⁸⁰

Thus, these two stalwart missionary ladies, each in her own way, along with other arriving missionaries who had a burden for the Tibetans, would find a grateful Pastor Tharchin to work alongside of in helping to meet not only the physical, educational, psychological and medical needs of these Tibetans but also their spiritual needs.

In commenting about the unparalleled evangelistic situation created by the incredible influx of refugees from across the border, Rev. Tharchin, as shepherd of the Tibetan flock in Kalimpong, had this to say: "I and my friends had plenty of opportunities to speak to the refugees about the gospel of Jesus Christ." A case in point is related by the same Adventist missionary, who had come to know Gergan Tharchin in the hill station. In his book *God Spoke Tibetan*, quoted from already in this chapter, Allan Maberly described for his readers a typical line of Christian activity that very often must have marked the refugee ministry of the well-known pastor of the Tibetan community at Kalimpong:

Each night the refugees sat before a screen and viewed full-color pictures of creation and the life of Christ. The Tibetan preacher [Rev. Tharchin] spoke fervently of the great God of heaven who sorrowed over His suffering children. He painted a word picture of the eternal home which could be theirs. No longer, he urged, need man believe in being bound to the wheel of life, revolving through countless rebirths to reach the tree of life. Jesus had opened a new and living way into the land of eternity. From the Tibetan Bible he read the words of life.¹⁸¹

Yet what was taking place on the streets, in the homes and at the refugee camps of Kalimpong and elsewhere was spilling over the border into the Land of Snows itself. On almost a daily basis Bibles or portions thereof were being presented to traders at the marketplaces and mule camps, "who promised to take them beyond the mountains into the forbidden land." These traders would then stop to engage in trade or to worship at the temples there, where they would then leave behind them these Christian materials. That this informal colporteur work was having an effective impact inside Tibet has been beautifully confirmed by the classic instance recorded in Maberly's book, and which is worth quoting in its entirety.

In the secret recess of a temple cell in the sacred city of Trashilhunpo [the ecclesiastical seat, it will be recalled, of the Panchen Lama, the foremost ranking Lama in Tibet after the Dalai Lama, and located at Shigatse], an old monk sat reading the Bible before a charcoal brazier. "Surely these are great words," he said to himself. "Never have I

heard such a story as this.”

Taking up his pen, he dipped it in black ink and wrote in beautiful flowing Tibetan:

Dear unknown friends, The book you have sent over the mountains has come to my lonely cell. My soul has been strangely stirred as I have read these words. Light has come to my poor darkened soul. Please send me more light.

A Tibetan trader carried the letter over the mountains and down to Kalimpong, where Christians [were giving] the Bible to all who would take it. As the missionary read the letter from the old lama, he thanked God again for the Book that could pass into the heart of the forbidden land and speak in temple cells. He pressed Tibetan [-language Christian] tracts on a trader and begged him to take them back to the old monk at Trashilhunpo. As he watched the Bible-laden mule climb over the pass, he prayed that God might permit their safe arrival.¹⁸²

Although for so many centuries the Enemy of men’s souls had erected what appeared to the Christian community to be an impenetrable wall of Darkness about the Closed Land of Tibet, shafts of Eternal Light by means of the printed Word of Christ were now breaking through, bringing enlightenment and life everlasting to open and needy hearts. And for this the humble Tibetan pastor of the Christian flock at Kalimpong must have bowed in praise and worship again and again to the One whom he believed is over all.

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 རྒྱལ་བ་བཞུགས་མོ།



THE TIBETAN SECOND BOOK
 (Revised Fourth Edition)

By

G. THARCHIN THE FORMER EDITOR & PUBLISHER
 OF THE TIBET MIRROR,
 AUTHOR OF

THE HINDI TIBETAN SELF TAUGHT, TIBETAN PRIMER
 OF CURRENT HAND-WRITING, THE ENGLISH
 TIBETAN SELF TAUGHT, TIBETAN GRAMMAR
 PART I & II & ENGLISH TIBETAN
 HINDI POCKET DICTIONARY.

Printed & Published by G. Tharchin
 at the Tibet Mirror Press,
 Kalimpong.

1968

Behold ! The fear of the Lord is the
 beginning of wisdom: and to depart
 from evil is understanding.

ཐོས་ཤིག།

ཉེ་དཀོན་མཚོ་གཡ་བཀ་བྱེད་བ་སྟེ།
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 ཡིག་རྒྱགས་དང་བོ།



ང་ཚོའི་དྲིན་ཅན་ཡབ་ཡུམ་གཉིས། །

། ང་ཚོའི་ཡབ་ཡུམ་གཉིས་ཀྱིས་ང་ཚོ་ལ་བྱས་པོ་གནང་
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The Remarkable Story of the Tibetan Bible and Tharchin's Role in Creating and Revising It

Every scripture is inspired of God, and ... the sacred writings ... are able to make thee wise unto salvation through faith which is in Christ Jesus.

Faith cometh by hearing, and hearing by the word of God.

2 Timothy 3:16a, 15; Romans 10:17 AV

VERY INTERESTING CIRCUMSTANCES brought about the coincidence that the same location—the hill resort area of Mussoorie—served as the site for both the residence of the Dalai Lama and the work of the Revision Committee of the Tibetan Bible. As mentioned in the previous chapter, the Revision Committee had already been at work for six months in Landour just outside Mussoorie prior to the arrival in the area of the Tibetan pastor from Kalimpong. By this happy coincidence Gergan Tharchin could have an audience with the Dalai Lama and could also secure from two key members of the Committee a suitable copy of the complete Tibetan Bible for presentation to His Holiness.

How, though, had this Bible come into existence in the first place? *That* is a story worth telling since its very existence represents, as one Moravian has described it, “an achievement of the first magnitude covering a very long period.” A ninety-year period, in fact! A recounting of how the Tibetan Bible came into being may therefore not be out of place here. At the same time that its retelling can inspire the reader, it can also provide some necessary background for better understanding how and why it came to involve both Pierre Vittoz and Eliyah Phuntsog—and later, Gergan Tharchin, too—in its revision, especially with respect to the New Testament and the Psalms.

*

From its inception the translation of the Bible into the Tibetan language had been the great work of both the German Moravian missionaries, whose evangelistic labors were detailed earlier, and their worthy Tibetan colleagues: the two ex-Lamas Gergan Sodnam Wangyal and Zodpa Gyaltsan (the latter having received the Christian name of Nathanael at his baptism). Interestingly enough, according to several of the *later* sources consulted, both these men, the first much older than the second, were declared to have been blood brothers. Yet the evidence to support this assertion beyond reasonable doubt does not exist: at best the evidence is highly circumstantial; at worst some of the sources contain serious contradictions.

Nevertheless, it can be said with a great degree of confidence that these two men, each of them born and raised at Lhasa, had definitely become learned Buddhist Lamas who earlier had been enrolled, at separate times, in one of the prestigious monasteries in and around Tibet's capital. Furthermore, reliable sources have indicated that the fathers of both these Lamas were well-respected Tibetan noblemen who each became a minister of state in the Government of their respective Dalai Lamas: Lama Gergan's father having served the Eleventh, and the father of Zodpa Gyaltsan having served the Twelfth. Ironically, however, both of these God-Kings had died not long after assuming the reins of power and authority in their own right. And specifically in the case of His Holiness the Eleventh Dalai Lama, when this young Priest-King died in early 1856 of a suspected act of regicide, almost immediately, assert the sources, various prominent individuals, both lay and clerical, apparently came under suspicion of having been involved in the premature demise of this Grand Lama of Tibet.

As noted elsewhere, the Dalai Lamas of Tibet, from the very inception of this line of Priest-Rulers, belonged and continue to belong to the reformist branch of Tibetan Buddhism, the Gelugpa or "Yellow-Hat" Sect founded by the Great Reformer Tsong Khapa. It had been the Gelugpas who had ingeniously devised a religio-political arrangement for the country that would endure up to the present time. As was discussed more fully in Chapter 22 of the present narrative, under the aegis of the Gelugpas the identity of the successive rulers of Tibet would be determined by successive discoveries of the presumed successive reincarnations of the first Dalai Lama who had long before been posthumously proclaimed to have been the incarnation of Tibet's patron deity Chenrezi, the god of compassion. And thus, notes Western anthropologist Margaret Nowak, each Dalai Lama since the first is deemed by Tibetans to be "at one and the same time a direct reincarnation of his immediate predecessor ... and an indirect incarnation of [Chenrezi] ..."

Now given their strict vows of celibacy, the Gelugpas, wrote one writer on Tibet, could scarcely have struck upon a more practical political device than this "if they were to survive as a viable force in Tibet." For "by making it impossible to predict precisely when, where, and in which body the next Dalai Lama would return,... they ensured against the political abuses attendant upon a system of *hereditary* succession."* Indeed, this "chance-discovered" system of reincarnations, asserts another authority on Tibet, safeguarded the country's governmental polity against the emergence in Lhasa of a ruling dynasty and was further strengthened by "a convention that, while granting property, honors and titles to the

* Jampei Chinlei, in his brief but excellent historical sketch of the various sects of Tibetan Buddhism, explains the matter further: "the pontiffs of the once powerful Sakya Sect had solved the problem of succession through marriage and family inheritance, those of the Kagyupa through the transmission of secret doctrines to chosen disciples. The Gelugpa sect, having adopted celibacy and given more prominence to rational thought and open teaching than to esoteric lore, would have found transmission of supreme authority from generation to generation a real problem, especially in a society unaccustomed to elections, had its leaders not relied on the idea of succession by reincarnation." Therefore, "a principle of great consequence for its future development came into operation shortly after the time of [the Gelugpa Reformer] Tsong Khapa; this was the *tulku*, 'living Buddha,' system..." J. Chinlei, "Tibetan Buddhism," in N. N. Jigmei et al., *Tibet*, 169.

Precisely how this ingenious system came about has been delineated by David Macdonald, who explained

family of a Dalai Lama, excluded them tacitly from administrative posts during the Lama's lifetime."²

Yet if the chief strength of such a system of reincarnating Dalai Lamas lay in the preclusion of nepotism, the design's main weakness, if not outright flaw, was to be found in the lengthy interregnum period of a Regency during which the new incarnation had to be discovered, reared and trained before he could assume the complete authority that was inherent in his position.³ It was this near fatal flaw in Tibet's centuries-old political tradition which, as improbable as it may seem for anyone to say, was about to play a significant, if indirect and distant, role in the early beginnings of Tibetan Bible translation, as the next few paragraphs will attempt to show.

Given this major weakness in the Gelugpa system of reincarnating Dalai Lamas, Lhasan palace politics in much of the nineteenth century, and even on into the twentieth, had, as might well have been expected, left much to be desired in terms of legitimate activity. For this weakness in the system had provided the opportunity to "the established strongmen" at the Tibetan capital to engage in "one long scramble for power" during the childhood and adolescence of nearly every Dalai Lama.⁴ But it also spawned something even more sinister, the telling of which forms one of the sorriest chapters in Tibet's politico-religious history. In her fascinating study on the Regents of Tibet, Indian historian Bina Roy Burman has made the quite startling observation that up until 1895 the supreme position in the Tibetan government had mostly been held by the Regents: those appointed from the ranks of the ecclesiastical order to rule in the place of the Dalai Lamas during their minority years.* It was in 1895 that the Great Thirteenth, upon reaching his majority (usually at or near age eighteen for the Dalai Lamas), had assumed as was his right the spiritual and temporal power over the life of the country, a power which did not cease for him till his death in 1933. According to Sir Charles Bell, in fact, no other Dalai Lama had ever previously exercised complete power

that the very theory of incarnation that was instituted in Tibet for this purpose is said to have been originated in the first half of the fifteenth century by the first Dalai Lama himself, Gedun Drubpa (nephew and disciple of Tsong Khapa), "who, as head of the Lamaist Reformed Church, ... declared that his soul would be reborn in the person of a child. The idea was carried further by his [much later] successor, the fifth Dalai Lama, who announced he was the incarnation of the Bodhisattva Avalokitesvara, tracing his godhead through King Songtsan Gampo, already revered as the incarnation of Chenrezi [the Tibetan name, of course, for Avalokitesvara]. All opposition to his ideas was stamped out by violence. Later, the other sects followed the example of the Yellow Caps with regard to succession by incarnation, and there arose all over the country numerous incarnations of the various forms of the Buddha and of early saints." Macdonald, "Tibet," *Asia* (Feb. 1929):103.

* "During the infancy of a Dalai Lama, Tibet was ruled by a Regent who was invariably the abbot of one of the great monasteries around Lhasa." Chris Mullin, "Preface," in Jigmei et al., *Tibet*, 14. Indeed, this system of selecting from among several Abbots of various Lhasa monasteries to serve as Regents of the country in alternating fashion during the youthful years of the Dalai Lamas had been established as a political practice following the death in 1757 of Dalai Lama VII; after 1789 the practice was formalized; and it would remain in effect for a century and more thereafter. G. Tuttle, "Review of *Le 9e Panchen Lama ...*," *Journal of the International Association of Tibetan Studies* (Aug. 2006):3. Interestingly, Reting Monastery some 60 miles north of Lhasa, though much smaller than the Big Three, has nonetheless provided a significant number of these Regents due to its prestige derived from ancient times when a disciple of the famed Indian Buddhist Guru Atisa had founded in 1056 at Reting the first monastic center of the Kadampa sect of Tibetan Buddhism. The Reting Abbot would in fact be the Regent during the minority of the Eleventh Dalai Lama.

like his throughout his entire adult life—not even the Great Fifth. Now if, noted Burman, one excludes the reign of the Thirteenth Dalai Lama, “then the Regents ruled 94% of the time” in Tibet! Especially had the Regents exerted an unusually long period of power and authority since the natural death in office of Dalai Lama VIII in 1804. For between that time and the birth in 1876 of the Great Thirteenth, the Dalai Lamas, observed Bell, had “always died young”: the Ninth born in 1806 had died when he was 9 or 10; the Tenth had died at age 20 or 21; the Eleventh, at age 17; and the Twelfth, at 20.⁵

Historians of Imperial China, which for long had more or less exerted quasi-suzerain authority over its western neighbor in a kind of patron-priest relationship, as well as historians of Tibet, have uncovered through their careful researches what had hitherto been suspected but never proven: that the Regents would sometimes have the lives of the budding God-Kings snuffed out before the latter could consolidate their power.⁶ The Regents obviously perpetrated these acts of violence against the legitimate rulers of Tibet in order to maintain their own artificially built-up authority in Lhasa rather than be compelled to retire meekly to their monasteries once these young Dalai Lamas had officially taken the reins of power for themselves. How true was the old Tibetan adage about their Regents, which ran: “Having eaten the mountain, there is no satiation; having drunk the ocean, there is no quenching of thirst.”⁷ Yet there was also uncovered the fact, wrote Sir Charles, that even some of the Imperial Ambans at Lhasa had been involved in a few of the early deaths of these young theocrats ever since the inception in Tibet centuries before of the institution of the Dalai Lama. This was because these representatives of the Emperor, observed Bell, had found that they “could impose their wills much more easily on a Regent than on a God-King ...”⁸ After all, writes Hugh Richardson, it was the duty of the Ambans “to keep watch on Tibetan affairs and seek to guide them along channels favorable to Chinese interests.”⁹

Now one of these premature deaths, as noted earlier, was that of the Eleventh Dalai Lama. Born on 18 October 1838 near the peasant village of Gathar in Kham, he became one of two candidates who in 1841 had been discovered, brought to Lhasa, put through the usual tests, and had then been considered for selection as the next spiritual ruler of Tibet, the reincarnation of the Tenth Dalai Lama. The latter had died in 1838 under extremely suspicious circumstances (later fairly well established to have been murder) as he was nearing the age at which he would have assumed personal control of the country’s Government.¹⁰ Given the name of Khendrup Gyamtsho by the Panchen Lama, the Gathar child’s name was in time drawn by lot from a golden urn. This was the selection system which had earlier been decreed by the Manchus but which was not always observed by the Tibetans despite the determination of the Ambans at Lhasa to introduce and maintain it.* In this instance of the

* “After 1792, when the [Manchu] emperor suspected that much of the trouble leading to the Gurkha War had been caused by the discovery of reincarnating lamas in influential families, it became theoretically one of the tasks of the Ambans to see that the names of suitable candidates should be drawn haphazard from a golden vase which the emperor presented for the purpose. In practice that arrangement was rarely followed and when it was, the circumstances suggest that the Tibetans had taken care to ensure that the name on which they had already decided came first out of the vase. In the make-believe world surrounding much of the relationship of the Ching [Manchu] dynasty with its ‘tributaries,’ face would be adequately preserved if the vase were merely seen or if it were mentioned in the dispatches of the Ambans.” H. E. Richardson, *High Peaks, Pure Earth*, 393-4.

Gathar child, though, the golden urn drawing apparently did take place on or about the 8th of September 1841. This was followed on the 29th by an Imperial decree calling for the enthronement of this three-and-a-half-year-old child in the Golden Throne Room of the Potala as the Eleventh Dalai Lama. And as decreed, this event occurred there eight months later on 25 May 1842 in the presence of the then ruling Regent.

Unlike his immediate predecessor, Khendrup Gyamtsho did achieve the seals of office and assume the ruling powers over the nation when having nearly reached full age he was installed by Imperial order upon the Golden Throne of Tibet on the first day of March 1855. He was, in fact, the first Dalai Lama in a very long while to have been able to enjoy, even if short-lived, a spell of real power and authority. As was called for, the Regent of that day resigned a month following the Installation and retired to his Reting Monastery four days' journey north of Lhasa; but only ten months later, he was back in the seat of power as a result of the untimely demise of the youthful Dalai Lama on the last day of January 1856.¹¹

Almost instantly panic appeared to have broken out everywhere throughout Lhasa and its immediate environs. In the wake of still another premature end of what seemed to be, in the present instance at least, a most promising reign of an able new Dalai Lama, no one among various secular and ecclesiastical circles "who had had contact with the 'great presence'" could expect to be immune from the agonizing effect of rumor and innuendo which with impunity spread rapidly throughout the streets, offices, monasteries and homes in this Vatican of Tibetan Buddhism. Not unmindful of what had happened a mere decade or so before when monks and ministers had clashed, when severe beatings had occurred causing the eventual death of a *Kashag* member, and when even a Regent had been banished for life by the Emperor, unmitigated fear now gripped the hearts of many at the Tibetan capital. Had the Dalai Lama indeed been murdered? If so, by what method? And by whom? Surely there would be a new official investigation, but what would be the outcome?¹² Tremors of dark foreboding were rife everywhere in the hearts of the Lhasan populace.



Given the political atmosphere at the Tibetan capital just described, it would not be too much to assume that a number of prominent individuals at Lhasa now came under suspicion of having been involved in the surprising death of Dalai Lama XI. And apparently one of those suspected was Lama Gergan Sodnam Wangyal. At this time he had been a close ecclesiastical adviser or councilor to the Eleventh Dalai Lama* as well as "a son of the

* Uncertainty has been expressed about whether or not at this time Lama Gergan (the latter word being a title in Tibetan—*dge-rgan*—that besides meaning teacher, tutor or preceptor can also mean councilor or adviser) had been a teacher/adviser of the Dalai Lama or of Tibet's second-highest ecclesiastic: the Panchen Lama at Trashilhunpo Monastery near Shigatse southwest of Lhasa. Noting that "according to family tradition" Sodnam Wangyal "had been a teacher of the Panchen Lama," John Bray went on to comment that his research into the matter had failed "to confirm this tradition from the Moravian records." See Bray, "Language, Tradition and the Tibetan Bible," *TJ* (Winter 1991):38, 55 note 31; see also Bray, "The Contribution of the

Treasurer to the Dalai Lama”—that is to say, one of this Tibetan Priest-King’s four Finance Ministers or *Tsipons*.¹³ Realizing that the outcome of an official investigation could very well mean persecution, imprisonment, banishment or worse for any of those under suspicion were the cause of death determined not to have been natural, Gergan, it would seem—as did others at Lhasa—preferred the life of a political refugee rather than face the risk of such an investigation. In fact, in their description of what happened to Sodnam Wangyal at the Tibetan capital, several sources consulted had employed such emotionally-charged statements as the following: he “fled to escape persecution as a result of some Lhasa political intrigue”; he “had to flee from ... Lhasa in the direction ... of the west”; “a Tibetan refugee called Gergan ... was hiding” in territory west of Tibet; and, “this man ... was suspected of being implicated ... [And so he] migrated from Tibet.”^{13a} In short, it may be said, Lama Gergan became a fugitive.



Now this son of one of the Tibetan God-King’s Treasurers, an eminent Lama of superior education and intellectual talent, went westward in the direction of Ladakh, traveling as the personal “attendant” of “a grand Tibetan Lama” who apparently was also making haste from Lhasa and for the very same reason. Indeed, Norman Driver (1907-65), a latter-day Moravian missionary of the West Himalaya Mission to the Tibetans in Ladakh, and who authored a four-part study on the spiritual legacy of Lama Gergan’s illustrious son Joseph, has described what this political refugee had experienced upon his having taken flight in secret from the Tibetan capital:

One night he silently slipped out of Lhasa, determined to put as many miles as he could between himself and that city in the shortest possible time. He traveled a circuitous way in case anyone might report him to his masters. His priestly shaven head and soft hands effectively spoilt any disguise, but no one would deny a lama hospitality. His hosts would always believe that they were ensuring present good fortune and future bliss for themselves by entertaining him. Some even lent him horses after he had made an amulet for them or exorcized a demon.

After some four years of such wandering and of making pilgrimage to various holy places, temples and monasteries, Lama Gergan ultimately settled down on land he had purchased near the Ladakhi village of Hundar (aka Hemdar) in the Nubra Valley some fifty miles north of Leh. The year was 1860; and here, Rev. Driver went on to explain, this fugitive Lama

Moravian Mission to Tibetan Language and Literature,” *Lungta* (Winter 1998):6; and Bray, “Towards a Tibetan Christianity?” in P. Kvaerne, ed., *Tibetan Studies*, 1:69; also cf. Norman Driver, “The Story of the Tibetan Bible,” *International Review of Missions* (Apr. 1951):197-8; and J.S.M. Hooper, *Bible Translation in India, Pakistan and Ceylon*, 2d ed. (Bombay, 1963), 140-141. Having combed through all the available literature which might have dealt with the subject, the present author readily concurs with Bray’s comment.

from Lhasa “was no longer on Tibetan soil but at an outpost of the British Empire.” And because the Ladakhi people were Tibetans who practiced the Lamaist religion of Tibet, Lama Gergan, notes Driver,

was able to make a living for himself. He did not dare to link himself to any monastery in Ladakh because of the close connections with Lhasa, but he joined with lamas when they performed ceremonies in private houses and shared the good food that they received. He also dispensed help and advice to those who sought it and soon became very well known and fairly prosperous.... Here, if the need arose, he could quickly slip into a nearby Mohammedan village where spies from Lhasa would be most unwelcome.¹⁴

Many years would pass before Lama Gergan would come into possession of some Moravian literature and subsequently make the acquaintance of the missionaries themselves, events which would change the course and direction of his life forever.

Meanwhile, in this same year of 1860 but back in Lhasa, the other and much younger of these two Lamas under discussion, Zodpa Gyaltsan (born ca. 1845), would now commence his clerical studies in earnest at one of the largest lamaseries in the Tibetan capital, whose total inmate population was said by Lama Zodpa later to have numbered three thousand.¹⁵ Here he engaged himself in seven long years of study from which he gained an unusually thorough acquaintance with the Buddhist religion and history. As a consequence, he, like Gergan Sodnam Wangyal, became a singularly gifted and learned lama in his own right. But also like Lama Gergan, Zodpa was himself, coincidentally, the son of “a man of high rank”—and, coincidentally again, “nothing less than [a] Treasurer to the Dalai Lama”¹⁶; although in this case the latter was the *Twelfth* Dalai Lama, who was born in 1856 and died as Tibet’s God-King in 1875 after reigning less than three years on Potala’s Golden Throne.

Upon completion of his years of disciplined study and training, Lama Zodpa, now a young man of 23, launched forth on a four-year pilgrimage in 1867. Associated as it was with many privations, this lengthy spiritual journey first took him south through Nepal. Here he doubtless visited the ancient Buddhist shrine that overlooks Kathmandu from atop the nearby wooded Swayambhunath Hill and which, with its reliquary tower that is painted with those mysterious eyes for which many Buddhist holy places are famous, looks far out over the plain of central Nepal. Gautama Buddha himself is believed by Buddhists to have visited here and to have delivered a sermon on the Doctrine before an assembled hilltop audience, thus giving Swayambhunath an even greater revered sanctity than that associated just with Lord Swayambhu. Zodpa then went on into India that he might see and visit the most holy places of Buddhism which were located along the sacred Ganges of the Hindus and elsewhere. Upon his return to Lhasa and his lamasery colleagues for a brief respite, the Lama then resumed his pilgrimage westward towards a far-distant sacred lake in Kunawar, a goal, he later said, of many pilgrims. It was situated near the Indo-Tibetan village of Shasso, a long one-day march (some 14 miles of rough terrain) down the Sutlej Valley from Gergan Tharchin’s home village. But while in the Shasso area he providentially met with a copy of St. Matthew’s Gospel which had found its way from Poo into a prosperous landowner’s home there. The reading of the Gospel here so deeply affected Zodpa that he

was induced to retrace his steps back up to Poo that he might “learn more of the truths it contained.”

Hastening to the Moravian station in July of 1871, this young lama from Lhasa so impressed Br. Pagell by his earnest desire for Christ and the rapid progress he made in the Christian faith that the Moravian felt confident in his Lord to baptize him after only seven months of association with him. One striking evidence of his spiritual transformation, among several which could be related, was what happened one day just a month or so following his arrival at Poo. Lately, reported the missionary, Zodpa had brought to him “three small pictures of Buddha, painted in gold upon a kind of black paper, which he once constantly carried about him; now, he says, he has no more confidence in their professed efficacy, adding that he had ceased to pray to anyone but Jesus.” It was truly a remarkable conversion, one of the earliest and certainly one of the most influential conversions to have occurred among the Moravians, and one which raised their hopes that all their previous arduous labors in Indian Tibet had not been in vain. A joyous and festive mood had attended Zodpa’s baptism, only the second Buddhist monk to receive this Christian rite in Indo-Tibet.* It took place at Poo on 18 February 1872, the ex-Lama now receiving the Christian name, as noted earlier, of Nathanael. This new Christian, who would shortly afterward serve as the first “native assistant” to Rev. Pagell at Poo and then to Rev. Heyde at Kyelang, went on to become both a Christian catechist and evangelist among the Tibetans throughout most of Indian Tibet. Moreover, by his continual assistance in Bible translation over many, many years (see later in the present chapter for the details), Nathanael proved to be, in the words of one Moravian Bishop, “one of the best helpers in Bible translating we have ever had.”

In the meantime Sodnam Wangyal had married a Ladakhi from the Nubra Valley, an area of Ladakh that was almost totally Tibetan in population and therefore Buddhist in religion.¹⁷ This particular valley had been abundantly blessed by Nature as one of Ladakh’s few fertile areas for excellent agricultural and horticultural pursuits. Indeed, the other name for Nubra, the Tibetan word *Ldum-ra*, literally and quite aptly means “garden of flowers.” One scholar on Ladakh has described in some detail the rich topography and strategic geography of Nubra, but also some of its potentially destructive aspects. He writes:

The Nubra valley is considered the most charming and beautiful in the whole of Ladakh. Because of its comparatively low altitude, the valley is able to grow a variety of fruits and there is an abundance of trees and flowers. A festival of flowers, *me tog ltad mo*, is held every spring. The people of Nubra are Buddhists and this festival provides an occasion for the celebration of their religious faith. They perform various dances and present flowers as offerings to the Buddha. Nubra also boasts some of the finest monasteries of Ladakh.

Enclosed within the Western Himalayan and Karakorum ranges, Nubra lies isolated during most of the long winter season. Because of this isolation Nubra is also called *Ldum ra lchags kyi sdon po* meaning “Iron Trunk.”...

Nubra used to have close political and trade links with its most immediate neighbour,

* The very first to be baptized a Christian was the Ladakhi, Sodnam Stobkyes. Formerly a monk at the Ladakhi monastery of Hemis, Sodnam, together with his son Joldan, were baptized together at Kyelang in 1865. For more on these two, see later in the present chapter.

Baltistan, which is now in Pakistan.... Since Nubra lay on the main trade route from Leh to Central Asia, it readily drew the attention of various explorers and travelers. Until recent times caravans from Yarkand, now in Xinjiang [Sinkiang] province of the People's Republic of China, crossed into Nubra carrying carpets, felt, shawl-wool, coarse cotton, borax, salt, gold and brocade and traded these for saffron and other goods from Kashmir and Punjab. Also, Moslems from Yarkand had to pass through Nubra on their way to Leh and thence to other places in India or on to Mecca for the pilgrimage.

There were two main caravan routes from Leh to Nubra. The first led across a high mountain pass, the Khardong-la, named after Khardong village, which now has the highest motorable road in the world (it reaches 18,380 feet).... The other caravan route involved a crossing of the Digar Pass via Sabu village. Both caravan routes led to Khalsar, which lies on the left bank of the Shayok River, and following the course of the river, entered the Nubra Valley from there.

Most villages in Nubra are situated on either side of the Nubra River. This river is a large tributary of the Shayok, originating from the Sasar Glaciers....

The source of the river Shayok lies in the Khomdan glaciers in the Karakorum mountains. The importance of the glaciers cannot be overestimated. Shayok floods often create havoc in Nubra, destroying large parts of villages and their fields. There are many old songs in Nubra which refer to the power of the Shayok. One example is a song of Lakjung village where miles of fertile land were turned into an infertile sandy desert. Much like the Indus, the Shayok is not normally a direct source of water for irrigation. It is more common to depend on narrow gorges, lungpas, which hold vast reservoirs of glacier water....

... William Moorcroft the English explorer [once] came to Nubra. Moorcroft seems to have been impressed with the landscape and its beauty. As already noted, the land of Nubra is fertile with numerous trees and plentiful flowers, including wild roses and wild irises. Moorcroft decided to visit Nubra after hearing about the hot springs in Panamik which are therapeutic for many complaints, especially rheumatism.... Later, other travelers visited Nubra and they too recorded the beauty and grandeur of its landscape.¹⁸

It is not at all surprising, then, that aside from its value as a place for hiding oneself from possible Lhasan spies, this delightful and generally hospitable locale of Ladakh was the place where Lama Gergan decided to plant his roots and begin his life anew and where, except for a brief period at Leh, he would dwell for the rest of his earthly days with his wife and family. Having been "a lama of the red sect" of Tibetan Buddhism "allowing marriage,"¹⁹ Lama Gergan had thus been free to marry. This freedom to marry was in sharp contrast to the celibate rules which, discussed earlier, obtained in the sect that was in the greatest majority among Tibetan Buddhists—the reformist "Yellow Hat" or Gelugpa branch of the Tibetan Church, and whose lamaseries were in the greatest preponderance by far of all Tibetan Buddhist religious houses to be found in the Nubra Valley.²⁰ Indeed, some of the most noteworthy Lamas of West Tibet (an area, as noted before, that for the longest time had included Ladakh) have come from Nubra itself and have played no mean role in Tibetan ecclesiastical history.²¹ Gergan soon became a prosperous farmer and landowner in the Valley, was eventually made the *gopa* or magistrate of his own village of Hundar (Hemdar), one of Nubra's largest, and sired a number of children (at least four) by his Ladakhi wife.

Unbeknown to these two Lamas, of course, was the fact that both of them were now

living within only 300 miles of each other (the distance between Kyelang and Hundar, and a journey of some fourteen days). Nor could they have realized at the time that both of them—by 1873 in Nathanael's case at Kyelang and much later in the case of Sodnam Wangyal at Leh—would eventually be assisting the Moravians in their language study, in their labors involved with Bible and other Christian literary translation efforts, and in their mission station schools as teachers.



It would not be till the summer of 1875 that Nathanael would finally have the opportunity of meeting his fellow countryman. This would take place at Leh, but only because Gergan had literally come to the Ladakhi capital in hot pursuit of the Moravian missionary Heyde. This older of these two Lhasan ex-Lamas had already acquired an extreme interest in the Christian faith during previous years from having read some of the Christian literature published at Kyelang which had fallen into his hands; but just recently at Hundar Heyde, though exhibiting deep interest in Gergan whom he met there for the first time, had also expressed profound caution towards him. Here is what happened. While Nathanael was preaching Christ effectively in the Leh bazaar that summer, Heyde had been on a gospel tour into the Nubra Valley and elsewhere in Ladakh after a lapse of fourteen years since his very first journey into those same parts. And when Gergan, now no longer a lama, heard that the missionary was in his home village, he himself took the initiative by going instantly to Heyde's tent and begging the Moravian to allow him to go immediately to Kyelang that he might learn more about Christ (there being no station or church at Leh yet). Explained the ex-Lama: "I have read your books and am convinced that Christ is the true Helper; for the sake of my soul I wish to become a Christian." Heyde's response, extremely cautious at this point, perhaps too much so, was as follows:

I could not find a trace of any unworthy motive influencing him in his desire to go at once to Kyelang, leaving his wife and children to follow, after having disposed of his property here. I told him that I could not take him with me to Kyelang, but directed him to the living Saviour, who would nourish the spiritual life in his soul here in his native village, exhorting him to be diligent in prayer and study of the word of God; adding that he could come with his family to Kyelang after a while. This decision only half-satisfied him. The following morning he accompanied me to the next village; I gave him more books, had further conversation with him, and heartily commended him to the guidance of the Spirit, who leads us into all truth.²²

That was on the 9th and 10th days of July. Returning to Leh some two weeks later, Rev. Heyde found Nathanael in the bazaar still continuing to address large audiences on the Christian faith. "I feel happy when publicly confessing Christ before my countrymen, not anxious at all," he told his missionary friend; "and I feel my faith is strengthened by these means." It was the young ex-Lama's intention to remain at the Ladakhi capital till September

when he, like Heyde would soon be doing just a few days hence, would himself return to Kyelang. But just before the missionary's departure from Leh, who should unexpectedly appear at the Moravian's tent but ex-Lama Gergan from Nubra! He had come all that distance via the arduous high mountain passes, Heyde was to write afterwards, "to hear me as to when he might come with his family to Kyelang"!! It seemed, however, that the Government appointment as gopa of his village stood in the way of his leaving Nubra. In somewhat of a quandary about how he might best comfort and reassure this insistent inquirer after the truth which is in Christ, the faithful but obviously perplexed Moravian now turned for help in the situation to his young ex-Lama convert from Kyelang.

Not realizing at this moment how Providence was about to use him to bring these two fellow countrymen together, Rev. Heyde took Gergan down to the bazaar and introduced these two Lhasan Tibetans to each other. It was this latter bit of knowledge, in fact, which had most likely impelled Br. Heyde into thinking that Nathanael could render Christian comfort to Gergan. And to make this more concretely possible, the Moravian would now give these two an opportunity to spend a little while together and thus gain some time for himself to determine what to do about this earnest truth-seeker.

According to the missionary, he "gave instructions to Nathanael to show him [Gergan] every attention," with the understanding that the converted ex-Lama was to go with Gergan to the latter's estate in Nubra, to where indeed Nathanael went and "remained in his house for a fortnight," telling his countryman more about Christ. What a most interesting time that must have been for these two and what a meaningful spiritual turn their conversation must have taken once they had updated one another about their personal lives and fortune. For as missionary Heyde was wont to comment, after noticing the adamancy of Sodnam Wangyal's interest in the Christian faith that was so evident in his determination to go to Kyelang with his family and become Christians: "This inquirer's resolution was unaltered, and his wife quite approved of it. We shall see what the issue will be in the providence of God."²³



Most of the religious writers and historians who have commented at all on the life of Lama Gergan—whether they be missionaries or not—have declared that he never became a Christian, and if not that declaration, they have at least made the point that he was never baptized into the Christian faith.²⁴ One notable exception to this litany of doubters was Moravian missionary Driver, mentioned earlier, who came very close to asserting that Sodnam Wangyal had become a Christian; for in 1954 the Moravian was wont to comment that this former "close companion of the High Lama" of Tibet "was a Christian at heart," but that he "never could accept baptism because that would mean his losing the respect and veneration of his fellow countrymen."^{24a}

It can be stated here, however, and without the slightest equivocation, that in the providence of God which Heyde spoke about, this wonderful man did, in fact, become a Christian even though during the remaining fifteen or so years of his life he was what could most graciously

be termed an *open* “secret disciple.” For, despite the fact that he had indeed never openly declared his faith in Christ by means of the public rite of Christian baptism, Gergan Sodnam Wangyal was nonetheless known throughout the entire Buddhist-oriented Nubra Valley as a believer in Christ and was one who identified himself with the Christian community. Once, when Rev. Heyde and his Kyelang companions went to see the ex-Lama but learned he was absent on business as magistrate of the village, “his neighbours,” wrote the missionary, “assured us that he *continued* to regard himself as belonging to us” (emphasis added). That was in 1879, four years after there had already been established a relationship between Gergan and Nathanael on the one hand and the missionary and Gergan on the other.

A year later (1880), another Moravian worker, Br. Frederick Redslob, who would soon be based at Leh and no longer at Kyelang, received while on a missionary tour during June and July a visit at the Ladakhi capital from the ex-Lama of Nubra and subsequently reported that he was one “who by reading our [Christian] books has been roused to an earnest search after truth” and that “the work of God’s Spirit in his heart is unmistakable.” Moreover, this man whom he had just met at Leh, wrote Redslob in late September, “is nearer to the kingdom of God than many others, and whom, we hope, the Lord is going to make a true disciple. Thus far he has been reading our books with an upright heart, and tries to order his walk according to the knowledge he has gained.” Furthermore, Gergan had intimated to the missionary his intention to resign the office of Hundar magistrate which the *Wazir* (Governor) of Ladakh, the Indian-born Englishman W. H. Johnson, had appointed him to years before, so that he might be free to fulfill his long-held desire to go to Kyelang.

Another significant and quite related reason Gergan gave for wishing to resign from office, as explained by Rev. Redslob, was as follows: “as headman (*gopa*) of one of the largest villages in Nubra, enjoying a position of considerable dignity in influence, he has anxiously striven to regulate his private life and official dealings in accordance with the new [i.e., Christian] ideas he had acquired. The latter aim has proved too difficult to be reached, and he had now come to Leh to resign his office.” In a nutshell, Sodnam Wangyal had come face to face with a decision between politics and ethics, and because he found he could not live up to the latter as dictated by his understanding of the Christian faith, he opted to drop out of the former. Surely, this was further evidence of ex-Lama Gergan’s earnest quest after the truth, power and way of life that is in Christ Jesus.

For whatever reason, however, the missionary did not yield to the entreaties of the ex-Lama. “He begged me,” Redslob was to recall, “to induce Mr. Johnson to permit him to pay a visit at Kyelang, as he was most desirous to see our Christian people, and especially his countryman, Nathanael. I gave him those books of which he as yet had no copy, and he was soon engaged in studying them, evidently with the deepest interest.”²⁵

Fortunately or unfortunately, only Heaven knows, ex-Lama Gergan never did get to Kyelang nor, apparently, did he ever again see his younger fellow Lhasan (who sometime thereafter adopted a wandering lifestyle that—still remaining a Christian though not always consistently so in practice—took him to such distant places as Lahore, Sikkim and Simla);²⁶ even so, Gergan had unquestionably received Christ into his heart as his Savior, if one can accept as credible the bedside statements he uttered in the presence of his dear friend, Rev. Redslob, as he lay dying of a fever in Nubra. This was in early 1880, and his deleterious

condition had most likely been brought on by an epidemic of influenza which swept through the region that year and which had been exacerbated by an extremely cold winter. The missionary, having been summoned by the dying man to come quickly, was at his Leh station fifty miles away.

But just exactly what kind of man was this whom the ex-Lama had so urgently beckoned to his bedside? A most interesting and laudable sketch of Br. Redslob has been provided by Mrs. John (Isabella Bird) Bishop.²⁷ She had traveled in much of Indian Tibet in 1889 and had spent a considerable amount of time with the Moravians, including Redslob, who several years before this had moved permanently from Kyelang to Leh. The latter, in fact, had served as Mrs. Bishop's escort, guide and interpreter on a three-week journey through northern Ladakh that took her for a few days to the very home and estate of Sodnam Wangyal himself. Now in her travel book, *Among the Tibetans*, Mrs. Bishop speaks in the warmest terms of this missionary, who would himself die, but at Leh, just a year after Gergan's own passing in Nubra:

He [Redslob] was a man of great height and strong voice, with a cheery manner, a face beaming with kindness, and speaking excellent English.... Right hearty was the welcome [he received wherever he went among the Tibetans]. Mr. Redslob loved, and therefore was loved. The Tibetans to him were not "natives," but brothers. He drew the best out of them. Their superstitions and beliefs were not to him "rubbish," but subjects for minute investigation and study. His courtesy to all was frank and dignified. In his dealings he was scrupulously just. He was intensely interested in their interests. His Tibetan scholarship and knowledge of Tibetan sacred literature gave him almost the standing of an abbot among them, and his medical skill and knowledge, joyfully used for their benefit on [numerous] occasions, had won their regard.... For twenty-five years Mr. Redslob, a man of noble physique and intellect, a scholar and linguist, an expert botanist and an admirable artist, devoted himself to the welfare of the Tibetans, and though his great aim was to Christianize them, he gained their confidence so thoroughly by his virtues, kindness, profound Tibetan scholarship, and manliness, that he was loved and welcomed everywhere, and is now mourned for as the best and truest friend the people ever had.... For during [his] dangerous illness..., anxious faces thronged his humble doorway as early as break of day, and the stream of friendly inquiries never ceased till sunset; and when he died the people of Ladakh and Nubra wept and "made a great mourning for him," as for their truest friend.²⁸

In fact, missionary Redslob had been so appreciated, loved and respected by Tibetans everywhere for his many noble and praiseworthy qualities that the Lamas in the region, long after his death due to typhus in 1891, could still be heard speaking of him "as an avatar, or incarnation of the deity!"²⁹

Such, then, was the man who had now been summoned to Gergan Sodnam Wangyal's bedside. The latter knew that if anyone would come and come quickly to him, it would be this dear man. Redslob did indeed respond, and immediately, even though he was in a weakened physical state himself: he ironically suffering from, of all things, an infirmity in his legs!³⁰ What selflessness and sacrificial love! After negotiating the 18,000-foot Kardong Pass in the dead of winter, he arrived in time to see the ex-Lama before he passed away.

These two men had labored together in Bible translation at Leh during the last few years, and Gergan had even served as schoolmaster in the prestigious Moravian school at the Ladakhi capital under Mission Superintendent Redslob's personal direction. He had also served as the latter's *munshi* or language teacher.^{30a} And hence a bond of deep friendship, trust and respect had developed between them which only their mutual love and appreciation for Christ and the Christian Scriptures could have forged, or could have ever explained what was now to happen.

The account of what occurred can be found in two different works authored by the deeply respected and honored Principal of the Srinagar CMS Mission School for boys, the Rev. Canon Cecil Earle Tyndale-Biscoe (1863-1949), who doubtless heard the story later from the Moravians at Leh and/or Gergan's surviving son. In the last moments of his life this former distinguished Buddhist Lama from Lhasa told his beloved Moravian friend that many years earlier he had "heard the gospel of Christ through the preaching of the missionaries," that he "believed His teaching was true" and that he "believed in Christ as his Saviour," but that he "had not been bold enough to confess openly [presumably by baptism], on account of the persecution which would follow." Now, though, he added with great resolution of heart, inasmuch as he "had failed to do the first thing" he "would now do the second, and that was, to give my son to the missionaries that he might become a real Christian."³¹ And having uttered these momentous words, Sodnam Wangyal handed over his dearly beloved son to Br. Redslob. And shortly afterwards, Dr. Karl Marx of the Moravian Medical Mission at Leh would be compelled to write in his medical report that year (1890) that "unfortunately, our old faithful, devoted Gergan, the Tibetan teacher, succumbed to the winter cold."³²



As it developed, Gergan's son, Tsertan by name (Tibetan: *Tshe-brtan*), did become a Christian—a *real* Christian; in fact, he became a very *devout* one, and in a variety of ways would eminently follow in his father's footsteps. Born in 1878 of this highly moral man from Lhasa, Tsertan was the youngest of the ex-Lama's two or three sons. Already much impressed by his father's devoted translation endeavors with Rev. Redslob, young Tsertan, as soon as he was capable of doing so, himself began to read the very Book which these two, seated as they were on the floor, so diligently pored over day after day and which they evidently so much loved. Even earlier, one day, when he was but seven years old, he managed to find in his father's library a copy of John's Gospel in Tibetan, read it through carefully, and, in a most touching childlike moment of determination, resolved in his heart to become a Christian. This decision, however, he kept from his father until 1888, which was three years later and but two years before Gergan's death. At that time (which would have been late October-early November 1888), now ten years old, he had gone with his father to Leh, and, as he would testify later, upon hearing some Gospel stories, "my soul sought refuge in them ..." Young Tsertan subsequently told his father about this, but the latter "did not say,"

reported the son long afterwards, "whether it was right or wrong for me to accept Christianity." Instead, the boy's father wisely instructed him "to act as he thought best." Yet the young lad had begun to be conscious of the fact that his father had already long forsaken the reciting of Buddhist scripture texts and was instead thanking and praising the God of the Christians at meal times.

Two years later, upon Sodnam Wangyal's death at his home in the Nubra Valley, this bright and promising twelve-year-old youth, in willing and gladsome obedience to his father's dying request, was brought by Br. Redslob to the Leh Mission. Shortly thereafter he went straight to the missionaries one day and "begged to be allowed to become a Christian" like them.³³ Eight months later, in the fall of 1890, Tsertan was indeed permitted to declare himself so; for upon confession of Christ, followed by some instruction, this young lad, the son of one of the most prominent Ladakhi families, linked himself quite openly with the missionaries and the other believers at Leh by being baptized in the name of Christ and receiving the Christian name Joseph (Yoseb) by which he was ever afterwards to be known.³⁴ (Later, incidentally, he would adopt as his own surname his father's title of Gergan.) It would appear, however, that his adolescent understanding of the Christian faith was still mostly nominal and subjectively somewhat superficial despite his years of exposure to its teachings and fellowship at both Leh and Srinagar. For in a paper he composed many years afterwards and entitled "The Spectacle of the Human Soul," Joseph reflected upon his Christian baptism as follows:

At that time, in answer to the question, "Do you believe?," I replied before the members of the church, "I believe," but, not knowing the meaning of the question, I answered like a parrot.³⁵

Nevertheless, in spite of the paucity of his intellectual and experiential grasp of his adopted faith at this time, Joseph Gergan was determined, after further reflection, to launch a personal inquiry into the other possible religious paths which were open to him, as a means of assuring himself that he was pursuing the correct one for his life in having embraced Christianity. Though he dismissed the Moslem faith after only three years of inquiry, Joseph's careful study of Buddhism, Tibetan literature and his own Ladakhi history would last a good many more—a by-product of which was that he gained a respectful reputation as a competent scholar in Tibetan studies. And as a consequence of his studious exercise in comparative religion, his earlier tentative conclusion that the Christian faith provided the best hope of salvation was decisively confirmed. This was because, from his perspective, Christianity provided the clearest insight into the God of love.³⁶ From that point forward young Joseph would not be dissuaded from following Christ. In the words of a later Moravian Mission Superintendent at Leh and one who knew him well, "Yoseb was one of the few Tibetan Christians who adopted Christianity as a way of life from sheer conviction."

For the next several years Joseph would remain within the loving care and nurture of the Moravians at the Leh mission. Within that wholesome context he would at school learn and acquire the regular academic subjects and skills, as well as in the fellowship of the church imbibe more of Christ and of the Christian faith. Within a year of his confirmation in the

Moravian Church (November 1894) and in recognition of his talents, he, along with Tarnyed Ali (the future guide and interpreter for Sundar Singh in Tibet), was sent 200 miles away to complete his secondary education at the famed Biscoe School for Boys in Srinagar, Kashmir.³⁷ Both these boys were about the same age at this time (autumn 1895): eighteen years old. And when, upon graduation two years later, it was time for Joseph to return to Leh, it was said of him in reference to this period by the Principal, Canon Biscoe, that even before he left school Joseph had become “the most respected and, I might say, popular boy in the school.” Moreover, in 1946 it was claimed by Rev. Hermann Kunick, a former colleague of Joseph’s, that “to this day his name ranks first, as the best boy the [Biscoe] school has had.”

Surely Joseph could now become almost anything in the world he wanted to be. But when asked by the Principal in his final interview with his star pupil which line of professional service among several now open to him he might wish to choose—any one of which carried with it power, influence and riches—the answer came without hesitation and in these direct and uncompromising words: “I do not want riches or power. All I desire is to return to Ladakh and teach my people about Jesus Christ. I would prefer to be a missionary.” And this he did indeed become and do, but a whole lot more, too.

He first of all developed into a highly gifted teacher at the Moravian school in Leh where, noted Principal Biscoe, he trained his own countrymen and preached Christ to them “by life as well as by words.” But he also in course of time became the school’s headmaster, a post he held for many years thereafter. But then he also developed into an effective evangelist throughout much of Indo-Tibet, not only in Ladakh but likewise in Lahul. And by 1920 Joseph, together with Br. Dewazung on the same day in the same ceremony, were ordained to the Christian ministry by the Moravian Bishop Arthur Ward as the first indigenous Tibetan pastors in the history of the Protestant Christian Church. But the most important role Joseph Gergan was to play and the greatest contribution he would make to all Tibetans everywhere was to serve as a translator of the sacred Christian Scriptures into the Tibetan language. As a matter of fact, he would go on to become one of the most illustrious Tibetan Bible translators of them all, the extraordinary and fascinating story of which waits to be told later in this present chapter.³⁸



It is time now, though, to turn more specifically to the story of the other and earlier giant in Tibetan Bible translation endeavors. On the evening of 10 March 1857 the two Moravian missionaries, Heyde and Pagell, were encamped in tents within a lovely glade of a Himalayan forest near Kotgarh. They had come to this spot for the purpose of meeting and welcoming to the Himalaya Mission their new colleague in the work from Germany who would also be the Superintendent of the station at Keylang which they had just founded a few months earlier. Though begun during the previous summer, this first Himalayan mission station of the Moravians had not even seen the main house completed before winter had overtaken

them, forcing the two missionaries to repair to their original base at Kotgarh till spring would make it possible to return to Kyelang to resume their building labors.

Now Hyde and Pagell had themselves only arrived in the Himalayas three short years before and were therefore only too glad to see another colleague come into the work and to escort this newcomer the long distance back to Lahul and the unfinished station. Several times during the day the two of them had ridden their ponies out along a certain section of the now familiar Hindustan-Tibet Road by which they knew their guest must certainly come from Simla. But in vain did they look for him, and darkness inevitably descended on their campsite; and so they retired to their tents to rest. Barely had they closed their eyes, however, when suddenly the stillness of the night, and their sleep as well, was broken by a voice which rang out with the strains of a German chorale, “Wir woll’n uns gerne wagen.” This particular hymn had been written a century earlier by one of the early illustrious leaders of the Moravians, Count von Zinzendorf. Freely rendered in translation, its spirit and meter were as follows:

Brethren, let us be daring,
Ourselves not sparing,
For future toil preparing,
Our task is set;
A cheerful aspect wearing,
Our ease forswearing,
And our part gladly bearing
To win Tibet.*

Such was the unusual greeting which Heinrich August Jaeschke—“perhaps the most brilliant of a series of Moravian linguists to work in the Himalayan region”^{38a}—extended to his companions in toil for the peoples of the Great Closed Land. Yet how perfectly apt the words of the chorale were in encapsulating in one brief stanza the measure of the man who thereafter proved to be “so worthy a colleague and so able a helper to the two pioneers of the Mission” of the Moravians to Tibet. He, like his two brethren, was self-sacrifice incarnate both in his life as a missionary and in his literary labors as a translator: all for the purpose to win Tibet and Tibetans for Christ. The next morning would find these three soldiers of the Cross making their way together on the route to Kyelang and to all which awaited this new servant of the Lord on the mission field.³⁹

Jaeschke had been a lineal descendant of Michael Jaeschke, one of the original Moravian emigrants to Herrnhut, the Christian community near Dresden, Saxony, in Germany, which

* John Bray has provided a necessary corrective with regard to this reference to Tibet. He notes that Jaeschke had sung out to his two companions a century-old hymn that ever since its composition had been frequently sung in German congregations and thus was well known to all three men. Though Tibet was certainly what Jaeschke at this moment had in mind, adds Bray, “the explicit reference to Tibet looks like a later elaboration.” Email, Bray to the author, Kargil Ladakh, 26 June 2008. For although Zinzendorf had unquestionably waxed prophetic in some of his hymnody—e.g., he had made predictive references to the coming of the Christian gospel to such Asian peoples as the Persians and Mongols (see Vol. I of the present narrative, p. 51, and its end-note 22)—the people of Tibet are not known to have figured among such references.

had been created in 1722 at the invitation and on the estate of Count Zinzendorf. Born there on 17 May 1817, the boy experienced a somewhat difficult though happy childhood in the poor but godly home of his parents who were animated by a truly Christian spirit. Soon he displayed extraordinary abilities at school and made rapid progress in every branch of study, but especially in languages and music. Gifted with so fine an ear, for example, Heinrich was able to distinguish the slightest differences of sounds, an ability which would serve him well in the linguistic researches which lay ahead of him. He also excelled in singing, piano and organ, had some proficiency with the violin, played the clarinet in concert, and was thoroughly acquainted with the theory of music. (These interests would not die on the mission field, inasmuch as he put them to good use by playing the harmonium in the Kyelang chapel and by producing in translation a Tibetan hymnbook.) In addition, the young man soon displayed an enthusiasm for mathematics and the natural sciences, and his knowledge of botany proved to be extensive, so much so that in diligently pursuing this branch of learning in the Himalayas, Jaeschke in time classified a species of primrose which hitherto unknown now bears his name: *Primula Jaeschkiana*.

But it was this young man's remarkable linguistic abilities which would truly shape his future course. One of his former French pupils later said of his master that the latter's "talent for the rapid acquisition of languages was only equaled by his zeal in utilizing every opportunity for learning them." For by the time the British Province's Directing Board of the Moravian Church had tapped him to join Heyde and Pagell in Indian Tibet, Heinrich Jaeschke had already become fluent in seven European languages. Besides his native German these were Latin, Greek, Polish, Danish, Swedish and Hungarian. (He would later add English to this list of Western languages.) After some time he also gained a working knowledge in several others, including Czech, French, Bohemian, Hebrew, Sanskrit, Persian and Arabic. His knowledge of the latter three Asian languages subsequently enabled Jaeschke to acquire Hindustani and Urdu with little or no difficulty. As evidence of just how thorough his knowledge was of the European languages acquired, the private diary which this unusually talented man kept throughout his life and which was found among his papers after his death reveals the fact that its pages were written in eight different languages! Little wonder, then, that Jaeschke, after spending some nineteen years teaching in various Moravian schools, had risen to become the co-director of the Classical College of the Moravian Church in Germany—the paedagogium at Niesky; a post from which, however, he would soon resign that he, too, might share in gospel labors in the regions beyond.⁴⁰

This, then, was the man who in early 1856 readily agreed to the divine summons "to devote himself, his knowledge and his powers" to the West Himalaya Mission only recently established in Indian Tibet. "His consecrated talents," noted Jaeschke's former French pupil, "and the singular simplicity of his habits and wants alike fitted him for the self-denying calling."



Now because of his preeminent linguistic abilities, Jaeschke had been commissioned

by the Moravian Directing Board to devote himself, as rapidly as possible, to the task of translating the Bible into Tibetan. But in order to begin to fulfill such a commission it would naturally require him, first of all, to acquire a thorough grasp of this new foreign language. This proved to be a much harder task than had been the case in the mastery of the other languages in his linguistic repertoire. This was because at the beginning of his stay at Kyelang he was seldom able to meet with any local villager who was sufficiently intelligent enough to serve him as his *munshi* (language teacher). Though he did later on have the help of the ex-Lama, Zodpa Gyaltzan, it was the fortunate circumstance of making the acquaintance at Kyelang of Sodnam Stobkyes which provided the real opportunity for making serious study of the language—undistracted, remarked Jaeschke, by “the disturbance connected with building” the newly-founded mission station.⁴¹

Sodnam, who hailed from Ladakh, had, together with his son Joldan, spent more than a year at Kotgarh employed by the missionaries there in translating tracts into Tibetan. Father and son had then come to Kyelang where Sodnam would soon be employed by Heyde and Pagell in the same kind of work and in rendering assistance in the Mission’s printing operations. When Sodnam expressed a desire to pay a visit for some months to his home in Ladakh during the summer of 1857, “he readily agreed,” wrote Jaeschke in one of his letters, “to let me accompany him, and to give me board and lodging in his house at Stok, promising to afford me every aid in his power in acquiring the Tibetan language, and in procuring me such books as might be useful.” Having been a former monk at famed Hemis Monastery nearby, Sodnam would not find this difficult to do. Needing no further inducement, Jaeschke quickly gathered his few belongings and departed Kyelang in company with his future host.

The village of Stok was located some five miles south of the Indus River opposite to the Ladakhi capital of Leh. This town was celebrated as the site of a castle—half monastery, half palace—in which since 1842 have resided the descendants of what had once been a great line of Ladakhi kings and where the current descendant of this line of sovereigns even then was living. Now, though, he was nothing more than a state pensioner; nevertheless, he still bore the courtesy title and was the owner of the fief on which the ancient castle still stood.⁴² Here at Stok, then, amidst a totally Tibetan-speaking population, the future giant of Bible translation for the Tibetans secluded himself away in the simple home of Sodnam Stobkyes where, he acknowledged, his food consisted of oatmeal, porridge and the one egg which the only hen of his hostess obligingly laid every day! From his oddly-shaped bedroom Jaeschke was forced to climb up to his study by means of five irregular stone steps. He would enter this upper-story chamber daily, and there with only a rickety table and a rough-hewn stool for furniture, he would pursue his studies undisturbed. In such primitive surroundings as these, this talented linguist was at last able to get a firm handle on one of the most difficult languages in the world. This is because Tibet at that time was basically a country of dialects, even as one of its oft-repeated proverbs has asserted: “Every district its own dialect, every lama his own doctrine.” Indeed, Tibetan was a language that, with its esoteric Buddhist literature, is spoken with various dialectal differences all the way from Kashmir on the west to the north of Assam on the east, but whose Lhasan Tibetan was in those days “taken as the standard both of classical and vernacular speech.”⁴³ In one sense this cultured European could not have been more happy doing what he loved best despite

such meager surroundings as were his at Stok; in another sense, it was but the fulfilling of one aspect of that self-denying call to which he had so willingly responded.⁴⁴



Returning to Kyelang at the end of the first summer since his arrival on the field, Jaeschke would soon be able, after further Tibetan studies and researches, to commence, with the help of his colleagues, upon a course of linguistic labors which over the next twelve years would produce a literary and scholastic output that must be termed nothing short of phenomenal. Upon settling down at the Lahuli mission station for good, he “made this little village a home of learning.” There this mighty linguist sat, day after day, translating into popular Tibetan a number of very useful books, much of the work done with the efficient assistance of Nathanael. Here appeared Dr. Barth’s (Old Testament) Bible Stories, a Harmony of the Gospels, a Liturgy, a Hymn Book (a revised version of which is even today used in the Leh congregation), a Catechism, a Geography, a Book of Fables, a Church History, an Arithmetic book,⁴⁵ various school readers, tracts and pamphlets (an example of the latter: “The Most Important Christian Teachings in Questions and Answers”), and even excerpts from Martin Luther’s Sermons! All these, incredible as it may seem, came issuing forth from the small hand-operated lithographic press that with “its appurtenances” had required thirty coolies, engaged by the missionaries, to bring to Kyelang from Simla in 1859.⁴⁶

Eventually, Jaeschke prepared a 60-page Tibetan-English grammar, lithographically reproduced from his manuscript copy in its first edition in 1865 at Kyelang, and entitled *A Short Practical Grammar of the Tibetan Language, with Special Reference to the Spoken Dialects*.⁴⁷ Still more important as an aid to Bible translation was his Tibetan dictionary. This was because the earlier aids to translation had been extremely limited. John Bray has pointed out that there were really only two or three such aids then currently available to the future Bible translator: “a Tibetan-English dictionary prepared by the Hungarian Csoma de Kőrös in 1834⁴⁸ and a German adaptation of the same work by I. J. Schmidt of St. Petersburg (also a Moravian missionary),” and, as Jaeschke himself mentioned, F. C. G. Schroeter’s *Dictionary of the Bhotanta, or Bouton Language* (Serampore, 1826).⁴⁹ From now on, therefore, it would be Jaeschke’s task to study Tibetan even more thoroughly than previously if he were ever to be able to translate the Bible in an effective manner. “His great commission to make preparations for, and commence the translation of, the Holy

* For an excellent, detailed, scholarly monograph on the creation of the Schroeter dictionary, see John Bray’s “Missionaries, Officials and the Making of the 1826 *Dictionary of the Bhotanta, or Bouton Language*,” soon to be published in *Zentralasiatische Studien*. It should be pointed out, incidentally, that on p. 35 of an advance copy of the monograph (kindly provided the present writer by Mr. Bray), the author indicates that Schmidt “drew heavily on Csoma, without adequate acknowledgement” and that Schmidt “was totally dismissive” of the Schroeter dictionary, declaring that the latter “‘crawls’ with mistakes and misconceptions.” Bray notes, however, that Jaeschke, in the preface to his own dictionary of 1881 (see shortly in the Text above) provides “a more judicious assessment” of Schroeter’s lexicographical effort.

Scriptures into Tibetan,” explained his biographer, the former French pupil, “necessitated a thorough investigation of the full sense, exact range and living powers of the words and expressions to be used.” This task he diligently performed during the nearly twelve years he resided among the Tibetans of Indo-Tibet, embracing as he did, added his biographer, “every opportunity to trace these through the rich literature of their ancient language down to their modern equivalents in the present provincial dialects of native tribes.”

At first the Kyelang press produced in auto-lithographic form a concise Tibetan-English dictionary in 1866 under the rather long and unwieldy title of *A Romanized Phonetic Tibetan and English Dictionary, Each Word Being Produced in the Tibetan As Well As in the Roman Characters*. This was an interim work pending the completion, and publication in 1881, of his classic *Tibetan-English Dictionary* (see below).⁵⁰ In the meantime, however, a rather thorough Tibetan-German dictionary of his, entitled *Handwörterbuch der Tibetischen Sprach* (Gnadau: Unitätsbuchhandlung, 1871), was lithographed at various times between the years 1871 and 1876 at Gnadau, Magdeburg and Herrnhut back in Germany after Jaeschke's return home. This was subsequently translated and thoroughly revised in a new English quarto edition of 671 pages that was first published by the Routledge, Kegan and Paul publishers at the request and expense of the Secretary of State for India. Entitled *A Tibetan-English Dictionary with Special Reference to the Prevailing Dialects; to Which Is Added an English-Tibetan Vocabulary*, it bore the date of “London 1881” but was printed by the Unger brothers for Th. Grimm at Berlin.

Here at Berlin these printers, having acquired some skill in manipulating Tibetan type, were able to use some “new and very clear Tibetan type” that had been “cut under Jaeschke's direction.” This same type, with some variation, would be used by the Berlin printers some two to four years later to produce the entire New Testament. The original specimen of letters for the type face used at Berlin, incidentally, had been made by a Tibetan scribe from the Zangskar district near Leh (whose religious tradition had been the same as that of Sangye Phuntsog, the Tibetan teacher of Csoma de Kőrös); and according to the authors of one history of the Tibetan Bible, this creation of the Zangskar scribe was “still a source of pleasure to the Tibetans.”⁵¹ As its title would perhaps indicate, the particular importance of the *Tibetan-English Dictionary* is the fact that it distinguishes between different dialects; it also differentiates between periods and includes numerous examples; and hence it still is valuable for scholars, especially students of classical Tibetan. Even as recently as 2003 it was still being reprinted in an unabridged edition.* It is no surprise, then, that John Bray should have called it Jaeschke's linguistic masterpiece.

Both these works—the Grammar and the Dictionary—became almost instant classics: “a mine of information,” observed Moravian Walter Asboe, “for which all the missionaries who followed him are devoutly thankful.” Without the Dictionary, this longtime West Himalaya Mission worker added, “we might as well [have spent] a lifetime in a fruitless struggle to understand the Tibetan Bible, written, as it is, in the classical language.”⁵² These grammatical and lexicographical achievements of Jaeschke's had, without question, a decided bearing on the first and foremost of all his literary exertions: his chief commission, the translation of the

* Mineola NY: Dover Publications Inc., 2003.

Scriptures into Tibetan. And the very first fruit of his labors in this direction, as was alluded to earlier, was the *Harmony of the Gospels*, which came forth from the Kyelang press in 1860. This would be followed by the printing of other portions of Scripture translated into Tibetan by this great linguist and scholar.



Now the two main principles which seemed to have guided Jaeschke and his contemporary Moravians with respect to Bible translation work on the one hand and colporteur publications *about* the Biblical faith on the other were probably no better enunciated and summarized than by what was succinctly written on the subject by Dr. Karl R. Marx of the Moravian Medical Mission at Leh. Although his main missionary focus had obviously been medical in nature, Dr. Marx had also briefly dabbled in translation work himself. For instance, he had translated into popular Tibetan the first half of John Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress* before his untimely death in 1891. In a letter written from Leh in February 1887, Marx wrote in part as follows:

The knowledge of the [local] Tibetan dialect is not sufficient for all purposes. The [Jaeschke] New Testament is translated into the most refined literary language, and this must be so, as the people would think the holy words desecrated by translation into their everyday language. But when it is a question of making the people acquainted with the contents of the New Testament, it would be a mistake to make use of the literary language: in such a case a compromise between the two dialects [colloquial and literary] is necessary.⁵³

Jaeschke obviously subscribed unhesitatingly to Marx's first principle, in part for the reason given by Marx. But a far more important reason for Jaeschke's preference of the classical or book language over any of the numerous local colloquial dialects of western Tibet was the fact that this literary language, in the words of Moravian Samuel Ribbach, was the one language which was "fairly well comprehended by the educated in all parts of Tibet from East to West"; whereas "the dialects [varied] greatly, even in neighboring valleys, and were not understood by tribes living far apart."⁵⁴ Furthermore, none of the local dialects had as yet been reduced to writing. In addition, John Bray has critically observed that a text like the New Testament, if translated into the *chos skad*—the Tibetan religious literary language—would more likely be taken seriously; whereas a text translated into the colloquial *phal skad* "risked being mocked as a rustic curiosity." A further consideration for choosing classical Tibetan, as Bray has also observed, was the fact that it "permitted greater precision in the expression of theological terms," although even in classical Tibetan, he notes, it was sometimes difficult to find "appropriate words for expressing Christian thought" in a literary language that had been "developed for the exposition of Buddhist philosophy."⁵⁵

*This challenge, Bray observes, had applied even to the word for "God." Pointing out that the term *Lha*, employed for a local deity, was "obviously inappropriate," Jaeschke had opted to use the phrase *dkon mchog*, signifying "the precious one." Even so, explains Bray, this was "normally associated" with the term *dkon mchog gsum*, the "three precious gems"—i.e., the so-called Buddhist trinity of Buddha, Dharma and Sangha.

Apparently these were some of the conclusions Jaeschke had come to after a lengthy stay in early 1865 near the Tibetan border in Northeast India for the purpose of improving his knowledge of the Lhasa dialect and thoroughly examining Tibetan literature (his favorite work proving to be, incidentally, the 100,000 Songs of Milarepa—the “poet laureate” of Tibet). In January and February of that year he had first spent five long weeks at Calcutta during which he had consumed most of his time rummaging through the Museum Library of the Royal Asiatic Society. There, wrote the Moravian, he had obtained “some very useful and interesting data with reference to the Tibetan language and Buddhism.” Moreover, the German scholar was able to bring back with him to Kyelang for further study several important books from the Society’s Library which, instead of having to laboriously copy entirely while in Calcutta, were most kindly presented to him as gifts by that institution’s President and Secretary.

From the Bengal capital Jaeschke next made his way up to Darjeeling where his intent was to penetrate farther into Sikkim and to make one of its oldest monasteries (Pema-yangtse, the official center of religion in the country) his temporary dwelling place where he could engage the services of some learned lama as would be recommended to him by Tschebu Lama, the Vizier of Sikkim, who at this time happened to be staying in Darjeeling. But Jaeschke was foiled in this desire, in part by the war then being waged in neighboring Bhutan between that country and the British who dissuaded him from such a purpose. Instead, the Tibetan Bible translator decided to stay at Darjeeling where he now hoped, he declared in one of his letters, to “make far more advance in thorough acquaintance with the Tibetan language here than in the western provinces” of Indo-Tibet.

Consequently, for the next two months Jaeschke remained at the Himalayan hill station learning as much as he could about the Tibetan language and culture from such authorities as Tschebu Lama and others. Only in late May did he finally tear himself away from this endeavor and depart for Simla and Kotgarh and on back to Kyelang, which he reached by the end of June 1865. He returned to his western Tibetan mission station from his sojourn near “the eastern provinces” imbued with an even greater determination to “keep clear,” in the words of his close colleague of a later day, Frederick Redslob, “of differences in provincial dialects and try our utmost to render the translation in the book language of Tibet.” For Jaeschke had come to realize, if he had not done so before, that the Tibetan language is spoken in a much purer dialect in Central and East Tibet than in the neighborhood of Kyelang.⁵⁶

Even so, the old classical language of the sacred Buddhist writings differed so much from the colloquial, noted Ribbach, that it seemed to the simple Tibetan of that day almost like a foreign tongue. As Julius Weber, the German Moravian stationed at Poo, whimsically explained: “the colloquial is as widely different from the literary language as the dialect of a Black Forest peasant from pure High German”; little wonder, then, that the literary Tibetan could not be so easily understood by the uneducated.⁵⁷ A more definitive idea of what Jaeschke and his colleagues were up against can perhaps be ascertained from a passage written by William McGovern. He was the American Tibetologist and scholar of Tibetan Buddhism who in 1922 and 1923 would travel in disguise through much of Central Tibet and

Nevertheless, adds Bray, it had been the hope of this German linguist that “the Christian sense of the word would become generally accepted with time and frequent usage.” Bray, “The Contribution of the Moravian Mission in Tibetan Language and Literature,” *Lungta* (Winter 1998):5.

even stay for nearly two months at Lhasa. Concerning the multiplicity of dialects he encountered in the Land of Mountains and Monks, McGovern wrote the following observations in a volume published a year afterwards which recounted his adventures:

Dialects are very common in Tibet; nearly every village has verbal variations peculiar to itself. This was, of course, one of the chief reasons that I got through undetected, for I could always put accentual errors down to some outlying dialect. These variations of Tibetan speech can be grouped under three or four main headings.

In the first place, the two main types of Tibetan population, the nomads and the town-dwellers, have each tended to develop linguistically along lines of their own, though for the most part the two types are able to understand each other. Among the settled communities of Central Tibet, the Tsang dialect as spoken in Shigatse and the U dialect as spoken in Lhasa hold the field. There are probably as many people who speak the one as the other, though at present the greater political preponderance of Lhasa tends to make the U dialect the official language of the upper classes all over the country.

Outside of the central provinces, the principal Tibetan dialects, some of them very far removed one from the other, are Ladakhi, spoken in the far west of Tibet, and Khampa, spoken in the great Kham province, which lies between Tibet proper and China. Finally the Bhutanese, the Sikkimese and the Sherpa, or the Tibetan inhabitants of Nepal, have each a specially developed Tibetan dialect of their own. The Mongolians and the Chinese who have taken the trouble to learn Tibetan (and many Mongolians, particularly, speak Tibetan very well) seem, in nearly all cases, to have acquired a Kham accent.⁵⁸

In the face of such a monumental challenge, Jaeschke and his colleagues, confronted with the problem of which variety of Tibetan would be most appropriate for the Holy Scriptures, did their very best to resolve the language dilemma by casting their Tibetan translation of the New Testament into what Joseph Gergan of a later day termed “a simple semi-classical tongue,” an adaptation of the purely classical and literary Tibetan which, it was hoped, again quoting Joseph, “could be understood easily by all classes and readers.”⁵⁹ Indeed, after weighing all difficulties which faced the Moravian missionaries at this time, it is John Bray’s considered judgment that in spite of certain well-recognized disadvantages in having done so, “there can be little doubt that Jaeschke was right to choose the ... book language” of classical Tibetan in a simplified adaptational form, rather than any common tongue variant, as the basis for his Tibetan New Testament translation endeavors.⁶⁰ Nevertheless, despite the compromise, as described by Joseph, between the two extremes of literary and colloquial Tibetan, the result—which still possessed a predominant classical character to it—would become a thorny issue that would challenge the wisdom, ability and patience of the most gifted and capable Tibetan Bible translators for the next one hundred years.⁶¹

Yet given Jaeschke’s penchant for classical Tibetan, it may nonetheless come as a surprise to some to learn that he strongly embraced as well the second principle enunciated by Marx. For Jaeschke believed that gospel words in Tibetan dealing with the contents of the Bible, the Christian faith, and other related matters ought to be as close to the vernacular of the people as possible so that Tibetan readers might be able to understand clearly the Biblical message. In the Preface to his monumental Tibetan dictionary, for example, he wrote:

It seemed to me that, if Buddhist readers were to be brought into contact with Biblical and Christian ideas, the introduction to so foreign and strange a train of thought, and one making the largest demands upon the character and the imagination, had best be made through the medium of a phraseology and dictation as simple, as clear, and as popular as possible. My instrument must be ... not a technical, but the vulgar tongue. Thus, ... it became my duty to embrace every opportunity, with which my presence on the spot favored me, to trace the living powers of words and of expressions through their consecutive historical applications, till I reached their last signification in their modern equivalents, as these are embodied in the provincial dialects of the native tribes of our own time.⁶²

To this second principle Jaeschke did indeed diligently apply himself when it came to productions of school textbooks as well as various tracts and pamphlets aimed at enlightening both children and adults about the contents of the Christian faith. To this end Jaeschke had set about translating the Moravian Holy Week readings into the Ladakhi dialect and, together with his colleagues, printing a series of Tibetan hymn books, liturgies and tracts—the latter having even included several of Martin Luther's sermons.⁶³



With the exception of Hebrews and Revelation, this eminent scholar was able to translate the entire New Testament prior to his premature return to Europe in late 1868 due to his ill-health, caused by severe rheumatism, and the breakdown of his wife's physical constitution. Tortured though he was by frequent and severe headaches, Jaeschke still pursued his work quietly at his own home. At the same time he was able to keep in touch with his successor in the work on the field until his death at Herrnhut in late September of 1883. In all these labors of his extending over his twelve years on the mission field—and whether that have been the translation of the New Testament itself into Tibetan or the translation of the many ancillary literary and scholastic works mentioned earlier—Jaeschke had been greatly aided by several gifted indigenous informants of his own. These included not only the converted and highly talented Buddhist priest from Lhasa, Nathanael Zodpa Gyaltsan, but also two other native speakers of Tibetan who had found their way to Kyelang along the well-traveled pilgrimage and trade route between Tibet and Ladakh: an unidentified Lhasan monk who had wandered for several years in western Tibet, and still another monk, Chosphele by name, who had hailed from Trashilhunpo Monastery at Shigatse.^{63a}

Without question, Heinrich Jaeschke had been a man to whose labors was owed one of the great advances in the study of the Tibetan language. "This scholarly linguist," declared the judicious eleventh edition of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* in 1911, "did not confine himself to the classical period like Csoma [de Körös of Hungary before him], but extended his investigations to the language as a whole, and provided Europeans for the first time with the means of making a practical study of modern Tibetan and the speech of the people."⁶⁴ In his chronicle of Moravian Missions around the world J. E. Hutton wrote in 1923 that on the value of this giant of Tibetan studies "two great scholars passed judgment. Dr. Müller, of

Oxford, declared that in due time his work would have important results; and the real truth of the matter is that Jaeschke's work in Tibetan may, without exaggeration, be compared to that of Liddell and Scott in Greek, or Lewis and Short in Latin."⁶⁵ And John Bray, in a more recent scholarly study on the Tibetan Bible (1991), has written that though Jaeschke's "painstaking pursuit of perfection" was "never reached to his complete satisfaction," his "fastidiousness is the mark of a great scholar." And though his work, added Bray, did ultimately have to be revised, the great Moravian linguist and scholar had nonetheless "laid the foundations on which all subsequent Tibetan Bible translation was built." Therefore, "the scale of his achievement should not be underestimated."⁶⁶

It must be observed, however, that these achievements, though undeniably great, cannot hide the fact that the labors by which these achievements were attained had as their motive not the praise of men in having made noteworthy contributions to linguistic science but the "well done" of his Lord in having provided the means for effecting more easily the communication of the Christian gospel to a needy Tibetan populace. As this great linguist had himself confessed in the Preface to his scholarly Tibetan dictionary, "The chief motive of all our exertions lay always in the desire to facilitate and to hasten the spread of the Christian religion ... among the millions of Buddhists who inhabit Central Asia, and who speak and read in Tibetan idioms."⁶⁷ And certainly no task of Jaeschke's could have furthered that aim more effectually than the one to which he had so sacrificially applied all his linguistic talents: the creation of the Tibetan Bible. Surely for this he must have indeed received the "well done" of Heaven. As an epitaph for his tombstone, in fact, the Moravians at Herrnhut selected two short sentences in Tibetan—a quotation from Jaeschke's New Testament translation: "Well done thou good and faithful servant. Enter into the joy of thy Lord."

Now, though, Jaeschke's passing from the scene had removed a linguist and translator of the first rank: "a man as talented and diligent as he was humble and retiring," noted his former French pupil, "an earnest Christian of quiet devotion, extraordinarily tender conscience, and rare faithfulness." His linguistic accomplishments, particularly as they pertained to the New Testament translation, were still highly valued some seventy years later by members of a translation team that even then were contemplating a third revision of the New Testament. For example, one of its team members, Pierre Vittoz, who was the last Moravian missionary from Europe to labor in the Himalaya, was moved to comment that Jaeschke "was a genius, a true linguistic genius, as we here and there discover with a smile after we have battled in vain around a verse when we find how simply he solved his problem." It would be a long time before the world would again see the likes of a Heinrich Jaeschke, whose monumental talents and abilities towered so decisively over all others of his contemporaries on the Tibetan mission field. Said the Moravian Tibetan Mission superintendent of a later day, Walter Asboe, "When one thinks of Jaeschke's tremendous work as a lexicographer and translator, one is irresistibly reminded of Goldsmith's lines, which are so fitting as applied to that good and scholarly translator:

‘And still they gazed, and still the wonder grew,
That one small head should carry all he knew.’⁶⁸



Within a few years after Jaeschke's return to Europe, however, another Moravian missionary, by the name of Frederick Adolphus Redslob, and his wife, arrived on "the translation scene" in 1872. It may be recalled that this couple were to become the key founders of the Leh mission station in 1885 and for two years just prior to that would be stationed at Poo. He would at this moment, though, become the successor to Jaeschke in heading up the Bible translation work.⁶⁹ This giant of a missionary, together with his Tibetan colleague Nathanael, would now supply the two heretofore untranslated New Testament books of Hebrews and Revelation; they together would also revise one last time all the other New Testament books previously translated by Jaeschke; so that at Berlin between 1883 and 1885 the entire Tibetan New Testament was finally able to be printed, the complete cost of which was sustained by the London-based British and Foreign Bible Society.⁷⁰

Although the "father" of the Tibetan New Testament did not himself live to see it printed, he did have the joy of correcting the proofs until his growing infirmity in 1882 had required him to request that they be forwarded to Redslob for completion. Moreover, with Jaeschke's death, two brethren in Germany, pupils of his, who had given him assistance earlier with the Tibetan-German Dictionary, were engaged to read the final proofs as the first edition of five thousand copies was being carried through the press at Berlin. The New Testament was produced, incidentally, in two volumes: volume one contained the four Gospels, printed "in the square shape common to Tibetan books"; and volume two contained the rest of the New Testament, printed in the ordinary book form. The first copies printed of both volumes reached Leh in 1885, to where the Moravian Mission would soon thereafter move its headquarters from Kyelang. Leh would now become the new center in which to set up the West Himalaya Mission's printing press as a focal point from which to begin distribution of their New Testament far and wide, although Kyelang's lithographic press would continue to produce its own publications well into the 1920s.⁷¹

Redslob and Nathanael next undertook the Old Testament for translation. They, together with Br. Heyde, soon completed Genesis and Exodus—both of which were published at Kyelang in 1881; and in the later stages both the missionary and the ex-Lama convert completed the entire Pentateuch (the first five books of the Old Testament). (In fact, it was Redslob who would translate most of the books from Genesis to Joshua.)⁷² The Moravian Mission's lithographic hand press at Kyelang could once more speedily send forth these first two books of the Holy Scriptures too. The Psalms was the next project Redslob undertook, which turned out to be his last before he died at Leh in 1891.⁷³ He was assisted in this translation effort by one of his dear Tibetan friends, the ex-Lama Gergan, who himself, it will be recalled, died in 1890, the very year Gergan Tharchin was born at Poo. Of interest is the fact that this book was done in metrical form: in meter which was familiar in classical Tibetan. It was eventually printed at Calcutta. Once again, the Bible Society, as on former occasions, bore the cost for the printing of all the above-named books of the Bible.⁷⁴



As the old century was drawing to a close, however, the “great linguistic controversy” alluded to earlier now surfaced in earnest as a matter to be dealt with. It will be remembered that Jaeschke’s New Testament, although cast in an adaptational form, had nonetheless basically used the written or book language of Tibet; that is to say, the “classical” or Lhasan Tibetan. Yet, as explained earlier, the Land of Snows, like many mountainous states, was a country of numerous dialects, with people of one district or valley—even of one village!—unable to understand the dialect of another. And hence, even though the classical was indeed common throughout Tibet, it was intelligible to only a minority: the educated. Especially was the marked difference in language a thorny problem in understanding between western or Indian Tibet—where the Moravians were at work—and the various regions to the east where missionaries of other mission bands were working along the Sino-Tibetan border and at Darjeeling/Ghoom. Over the years since the publication of the Jaeschke New Testament, these latter workers had become increasingly critical of the choice of the classical language as the basis for the Bible translation. They were also critical of the publication because of printer’s mistakes to be found in its pages. This, together with a request to the British and Foreign Bible Society from the Moravian Mission in 1896 that a new edition of the same Jaeschke New Testament be reprinted, served as a catalyst to impel many—especially the Scandinavian Alliance Mission workers—to demand that a *revision* of the Tibetan New Testament be made which would more fully satisfy all those concerned with the communication of the Christian gospel to the people of the Great Closed Land living within and without its borders. For it was their contention that the Jaeschke version presented more than a little difficulty to those ordinary Tibetan folk with whom they dealt and that furthermore it was their view that a great deal of it was either incorrect or else leaned too heavily towards the western Tibetan dialect. These Christian workers in the Ghoom/Darjeeling area therefore felt there was good reason to have a new version of the New Testament.

In one sense this development was actually in line with a change of view which had occurred in the thinking of Dr. Marx at Leh at the time after 1887 when he had begun to uphold the principle of classical literary purity in the translation of the Bible. For in the last letter to his brother before his death just four years later, Marx expressed his “hope that a translation of the Scriptures in vernacular Tibetan would be blessed to a wider dissemination of Divine Truth than the present books [of the Bible being] issued in Lamaistic Tibetan [i.e., refined literary Tibetan], which is not the spoken tongue of the people.” The demand for a New Testament revision was also in keeping with the stated belief, expressed by Br. Redslob himself, that “in later years . . . when the Tibetan language is more thoroughly known than it is at present [1882], many emendations will be made...”⁷⁵ This was doubtless reflective of Jaeschke’s sentiments as well, since (a) Redslob had first studied the Tibetan language under his tutelage back in Europe sometime between 1869 and 1872 just prior to coming to Kyelang⁷⁶ and (b) Jaeschke had emphasized on several occasions himself that, as John Bray has summarized the words of the great Moravian, “his own translation could only be tentative and that it would need to be revised, preferably by an educated native Tibetan-

speaker with a deep understanding of Christianity,” and noting further that because it would require at least one generation before such Tibetan-speakers could be raised up, “the first translations were bound to be imperfect.”⁷⁷ Modest in his own assessment of his work, Jaeschke had viewed his role as simply that of a pioneer laying a basis for the emergence of a new and more enlightened generation of Tibetan believers who could carry on the work of translation.⁷⁸ The making of Redslob’s “emendations” and more would now begin to come to pass; for as a consequence of the convincing case which was presented the Bible Society representative in Calcutta by the Darjeeling area missionaries that a revision of the New Testament be inaugurated, a small Committee representing differing viewpoints was established in 1897 by the Society and began to meet at Ghoom in 1898.

This hill station was chosen for its location near the Tibetan frontier and near in addition to representatives of the Bible Society in India, as well as for the fact that many of the inhabitants in and around Ghoom itself were of ethnic Tibetan stock. Moreover, all but one of the Committee members appointed were based in the district of Darjeeling. As sponsor the Bible Society had agreed to finance the venture and provide for the publication of the results emerging from the Committee, whose primary task was “to suit, as much as possible, the book language of Jaeschke’s translation of the Bible to the Tibetan of everyday conversation.” Indeed, it was said some four decades afterwards that one of the Committee’s members, the Eurasian David Macdonald, had shared the view that it had been his intention in these revision endeavors to employ “such language as an average Tibetan would be able to understand.”⁷⁹

The Revision Committee consisted of people whose names for the most part should by this time be familiar to the reader. It would have as its Chief Reviser the Rev. A. W. Heyde, who having had nearly forty-five years experience on the northwestern Indo-Tibetan frontier had been associated with the then New Testament version from its very beginning. He whose head was “as hoary as the snow peaks amid which he had toiled so long” would now be transferred from Kyelang to Ghoom “on temporary loan” to the Bible Society for the purpose of heading up the Revision Committee’s work.⁸⁰ Like Heyde, the other members were experts in the Tibetan language and a few of them were also veteran missionaries who had been working with the Tibetan peoples. These other members, who were to serve on the Committee as representatives of *eastern* Tibetan, were at one time or another the following: (a) the future British Trade Agent at Gyantse in Tibet, David Macdonald (who at this time was still stationed as a Bengal civil servant in the Ghoom/Darjeeling area,⁸¹ he not going to Tibet as Trade Agent till 1905); (b) Edward Amundsen who, with his wife, were mentioned in Volume I, Chapter 5 of the present narrative as having left their work as members of the “Tibetan Band” of the China Inland Mission along the Sino-Tibetan frontier when driven out in 1900 by the Boxer Rebellion and having soon thereafter joined the Scandinavian Alliance Mission (SAM) in its work at Ghoom; (c) Rev. John F. Fredrickson, leader of the same Ghoom-based SAM, who upon his death in late 1900 was replaced on the Committee by Amundsen; (d) Rev. Evan Mackenzie from Kalimpong, who, it will be recalled, had been the primary founder of the Christian work among the Tibetans in and around that hill station and who later was succeeded in the work by Gergan Tharchin himself; and (e) Rev. Dr. Graham Sandberg, Anglican Chaplain of the Darjeeling hill station⁸² and a Tibetan

scholar of vast repute, who, though not an official member of the Committee, nonetheless made himself available to its members for advice and consultation.*⁸³

A. W. Young, the then Acting Secretary of the Calcutta Auxiliary of the British and Foreign Bible Society, has provided some insight into this Committee's deliberations—at least in the later stages of its revision labors, which were to last into late 1902. Rev. Young had an opportunity in late 1901 to visit the Committee at work in Br. and Sr. Heyde's home that was located either within or very near the same "strong stone building" of Evelyn Cottage so well known later to Gergan Tharchin and with which by now the reader must be quite familiar. At this time the Cottage constituted the central structure of SAM's headquarters. It may be recalled that by 1898 the Mission's Tibetan Press, a gift of Fredrik Franson, had been put into operation. It occupied a room within Evelyn Cottage where by 1901 it would be producing sections of the Revised New Testament on almost a daily basis and by 1903 the entire New Testament itself.

After visiting awhile with the Heydes, Young was on that same day joined in their home by David Macdonald and Amundsen. Immediately the Committee got down to one of their working sessions, the Bible Society representative describing what then took place:

... We enter upon serious discussion of methods and plans for printing the Tibetan New Testament. Proof sheets in the fine Tibetan character are handed round, and questions of type and other technical details considered; from that it was a short step to the nice question as to how far dialects should be represented, and whether or not two distinct Bibles will be required in the future for the people of the Eastern and Western Himalayas respectively.

From problems of production we pass on to distribution, and Mr. Amundsen has to describe long tours undertaken, and [Gospel portions of the revised Scriptures] sold to Tibetan traders on the frontier, who, returning to their own jealously guarded land, carry the priceless treasure with them, and unconsciously become sowers of the Word and instruments in God's hand for carrying forward the message of salvation and peace.

* It may be of interest to note that there was yet another member of the Committee whose name has never, to this author's knowledge, ever appeared in any account of the history of the creation of the Tibetan Bible. The present author only came across this individual's name when while engaged in his research in Kalimpong he stumbled across a copy of an extraordinary piece of scholarship dealing in part with Christian missionary activity among Tibetan/Bhutia-speaking peoples in the eastern Himalayas. This scholarly publication by Dr. Cindy L. Perry, published in 1997, mentions in several places the name of Kjenrab, "a former Tibetan monk from Lhasa who had converted to Christianity" in the early 1890s through the encouragement of SAM and Finnish Alliance Mission missionaries. He then served as a fellow worker in the Christian gospel with various missionaries at such places as Lachen in North Sikkim, Buxa Duar in British Bhutan near the Bhutan border, and with two lady missionaries traveling for six weeks through Nepal on an evangelistic tour up to very near the Tibetan border. Then, in 1901, Kjenrab "returned to Ghoom where he assisted in the revision of the Tibetan Bible into the Lhasa dialect" during the latter stages of this work. Totally, writes Perry, "the revising of the New Testament took ten years and the translation known as 'the Ghoom Bible' was highly appreciated among language experts." See Perry, *Nepali around the World*, 107, 129 note 141, 138, 422, 424, 425. See especially 424 where Kjenrab is listed among the names of other individuals who comprised the New Testament Revision Committee headed by Moravian missionary Heyde. This is all according to retired missionary of the Free Church of Finland Himalayan Mission, Miss Vappu Rautamaki, whose unpublished Finnish-language account, translated into English under the title of "The Free Church of Finland Himalayan Mission and the Nepalese," appears in Perry's volume as Appendix F, 420-42.

While still alive, Rev. Fredrickson had been engaged in correcting the proofs and printing those separate portions of the revision which were ready for final printing and distribution. But with the death of SAM's Ghoom Director in September 1900 the superintendence of the printing was handed over to Mr. Amundsen who carefully continued the work of supplying the separately printed revised Gospels for distribution, which according to the British Bible Society "were very quickly sold."

When the work of the Revision Committee was finally concluded, the Bible Society issued its first complete edition in 1903, which was brought out in 17 fascicles at Ghoom. Soon after, however, the Scandinavian Alliance Tibetan Mission Press at Ghoom would issue a one-volume edition of the entire New Testament which would be the one used by Gergan Tharchin, when a teen-ager, in his devotions and Bible study. In 1913 a complete single-bound volume edition of this same New Testament, which had separate pagination for each of the original 17 fascicles, was reset and reprinted, with some minor corrections incorporated into it, at Shanghai that resulted in it sometimes being referred to as "the Shanghai version." This same edition was reprinted a decade later at Shanghai.

With the end of the Committee's devoted labors in 1902, its President Rev. Heyde was honored by the Bible Society in London for his work on the Tibetan New Testament revision: he was made an Honorary Foreign Member of the Society. By the end of May the Heydes themselves were back at Herrnhut in Germany after an uninterrupted fifty-year absence!



Despite the laudable efforts of President Heyde and his Committee colleagues, however, the "great linguistic controversy" would not go away as most had initially hoped and expected would be the outcome of these revision efforts. For one thing there was a deep division among the Committee's membership as to what fundamental direction to take in their labors. In a letter he wrote in 1912 to the Bible Society in London, A. H. Francke hinted at what President Heyde had had to contend with in his dealings with the Committee:

The Revision Committee would have completed its work in less time if they had taken Jaeschke's translation as a basis. Instead of using it, they started afresh and were on the best way of making a new translation which was a "Ballhorn" version of the first, as we say in German. "Ballhorn" means "making matters worse by trying to improve them." As soon as Ballhorn came in sight Heyde rose and led them back to Jaeschke. Mr. Heyde never allowed me to tell other people what he had to go through with the Revision Committee, and I am not *telling* you about it, I am only hinting at it.⁸⁴

For another thing the work at Ghoom had actually resulted in merely a *partial* revision since only the four Gospels and Acts had been thoroughly dealt with by the Committee. Consequently, the New Testament revision hammered out at Ghoom which, in the words of Cecil Polhill, had been "revised into colloquial Lhasa," failed to be totally acceptable to the Christians in Indo-Tibet to the west. For instance, August Francke, writing in 1910, felt that the Scandinavian Alliance missionaries at Ghoom had undervalued the achievements of Jaeschke because in

his view they possessed a limited knowledge of Tibetan and had misunderstood the purpose of the Moravian New Testament which had been to provide an accessible classical Tibetan version rather than one cast in ordinary spoken Tibetan. Earlier, in June of 1902, at near the conclusion of the Ghoom revisers' labors, Francke had even asserted that the Scandinavian missionaries "ought to have asked the Bible Society to let them start a new translation in the common dialect of Lhasa and Darjeeling, which could perhaps be made a literary language by such means." Instead, the Ghoom revision had become a mixture of classical Tibetan and dialect that though easier to understand in some Tibetan-speaking areas, did not, in Francke's mind, constitute any substantial improvement on the work of Jaeschke.

Then, too, Joseph Gergan would later complain, while in the midst of his own translation labors, that "before printing the sixty-six books of the Bible a careful correction and revision of the whole is very necessary. In some passages the Darjeeling revisers [of 1903] spoil the New Testament." A month later he voiced another concern, as he looked ahead to what he felt would be the need for a more encompassing revision committee: "Before the whole Bible is printed in Tibetan, it is very important to have the whole of it revised by a committee of Tibetans from western, eastern, and central Tibet, together with a scholar who knows Hebrew and Greek." At least from this Tibetan Bible translator's perspective, the Ghoom revisers' efforts—as laudable as they most certainly were—to achieve wider acceptance of the results of their labors by opting, in the spirit of compromise, to *colloquialize* the Lhasan language of the educated Tibetans rather than to overturn the classical Tibetan in its entirety, had nevertheless not solved the problem.

It soon became clear that as a general rule, the Christians living in the Indo-Tibetan area of the Western Himalayas still preferred Jaeschke's original translation. (For the present reader's interest, of course, there was at least one very notable exception to this general preference: Gergan Tharchin, who while living during his teen years at Poo, Simla and Delhi had used the new revision in his daily devotions. Furthermore, the reader will recall from Volume I, Chapter 4 of the present work that it was this very version which in fact figured so decisively in bringing this young man to Ghoom in 1912.) Lamentably, it may be observed, Ladakhi Christians soon felt compelled to consult the *Urdu* New Testament as a help in understanding what the Ghoom revision meant!⁸⁵ It was evident from Rev. Young's report of late 1901 that the Committee members were themselves aware that their revision efforts might still not find among Tibetans everywhere a sufficient degree of acceptance. Indeed, they had even mused quite openly and seriously about the very real possibility that two distinct Bible versions might be necessary in the future to meet the language needs of Tibetans living in the eastern and western Himalayas, respectively. At this point, though, only a few outside the Committee—for example, Francke—could bring themselves to voice such a sentiment; instead, successive efforts, at least with regard to the New Testament, would be made to avoid that eventuality if at all possible. Indeed, nearly a half century would go by before the Ghoom New Testament would be replaced by the publication in 1948 of the first entire Tibetan Bible. As a matter of fact, up to this very day since 1948 the Ghoom New Testament has continued to have its defenders.⁸⁶



Meanwhile, attention would now be focused on completing the translation into Tibetan of all the Old Testament. With the death of Redslob in 1891, the mantle of responsibility would fall upon others. Early into the twentieth century, recently-arrived Moravians from Europe to the West Himalaya Mission stations would pick up where others had left off and continue the translation of the Old Testament books. As early as 1900 a committee of these Moravians had been formed for the purpose of preparing Redslob's manuscripts for eventual publication and for translating additional Old Testament books. This committee consisted of the Brn. Schréve of Poo, Ribbach of Leh, Fichtner of Simla, and the committee's greatest scholar, A. H. Francke of Leh, Khalatse and Kyelang (who would also, incidentally, create translated versions of the New Testament Gospel of St. Mark in Ladakhi and in the Lahuli dialects of Bunan, Tinan and Manchad). These members would subsequently be joined by Dr. F. E. Shawe of Leh, and the committee itself would be assisted by at least three prominent Christian Ladakhi converts (all of whom have been mentioned at one time or another already in the present narrative and/or its End-Notes): Paulu Jor Phuntsog, Samuel Joldan (son of Sodnam Stobkyes), and Chomphel.⁸⁷

Before proceeding further, a few words need to be interjected here concerning this committee's preeminent Moravian member, August Hermann Francke (1870-1930). He was named after famed Halle University Professor, August Hermann Francke, under whose care and training Count Zinzendorf himself had been placed when a student back in the early eighteenth century. The younger Francke received his earliest education in his native town of Gnadenfrei in Silesia, after which he enrolled in the Moravian teacher training college at Niesky. And between 1891 and early 1895 Francke taught at a Moravian boarding school in Kleinwelka (near Bautzen). One of Francke's pupils, Hans-Wildeckinde Jannasch, has provided a portrait of his teacher in which, notes John Bray, "it is easy to recognize the future Himalayan traveler and enthusiast for Ladakh's history, language and epics." Paraphrasing the portrait by Jannasch, Bray has remarked as follows:

Francke won the boys' hearts because of the way he was able to identify with them and enter into their lives, while also educating them by involving them in his own varied interests. Francke made a point of learning the language of the Sorbs (a Slav minority in eastern Germany)—while also embarking on the study of Sanskrit. On one of his holidays he traveled to Scotland where he visited castles, drew sketches and collected folk songs.

From the Kleinwelka boarding school Francke would now travel to Fairfield in Derbyshire, England, where he enrolled as a student in the Moravian College, studying, among other subjects, both Greek and Hebrew. But because of this meager level of attainment, this language study would assist him little in his later Bible translation endeavors. For his study at the College was cut short by the call he received in November of 1895 to mission service in India. Ordained a deacon in March of the following year, he departed for Ladakh the next month, where he arrived in Leh two months later.

Having been called as a missionary to the West Himalaya Mission, Francke, like his other Moravian confreres, would work and wait for an opening into the Closed Land of Snows. Here he would remain off and on for the next twenty or so years, only twelve of which, however, were actually spent by Francke as a resident West Himalaya missionary. This was due primarily to: (a) the necessity of having to return to Europe more frequently than otherwise because of the ill-health of his wife Dora, and (b) the outbreak of war between Germany and Great Britain in 1914 (see below). He soon became recognized as one of the outstanding Tibetan scholars of the first rank, in recognition of which, for example, the University of Breslau had in 1911 awarded him an honorary doctorate.⁸⁸ A further indication of his high standing among the learned circles of his day is what J. Ph. Vogel had to say three years later in his introduction to Francke's most memorable work of scholarship, his two-volume opus, *Antiquities of Indian Tibet* (Calcutta, 1914, 1926), whose first volume contains the results of his research travels throughout Kunawar and Ladakh investigating historical monuments, and the second comprising a selection of historical documents with translations and notes:

It was on the strong recommendation of Dr. J. H. Marshall, CIE, Director General of Archaeology in India, that the Government of India applied to the Moravian Mission Board for the loan of the services of Dr. A. H. Francke with a view to his carrying out an archaeological survey of the districts which once formed the kingdom of western Tibet. These mountainous regions, now belonging to the Indian Empire and therefore here indicated as "Indian Tibet," have never been explored by any scholar combining a knowledge of local history and antiquities with a thorough acquaintance of Tibetan. These rare accomplishments Dr. Francke had acquired in the course of his many years' sojourn in Ladakh and Lahul, the fruits whereof had been made known to the learned world through a series of valuable publications, among which was his *History of Western Tibet* [London, 1907]. Dr. Francke was therefore singularly fitted for the proposed task, whilst his previous wanderings in the mountains in Indian Tibet had trained him to endure the severe privations and hardships which must always attend a journey through so inhospitable a country. We therefore owe a great debt of gratitude to Bishop B. LaTrobe and the Moravian Mission Board for placing the services of so great an explorer at the disposal of the Government of India.

In citing Vogel's encomium of Francke's linguistic and scholarly attainments, one modern-day Western scholar on Tibet has taken the liberty of making what the present writer feels is an unjustified contrast between the attitude of Francke and that of the other and earlier brilliant linguist and scholar Jaeschke as to each's approach to research in the Tibetan language. Writes former Episcopalian minister-now Buddhist author Dr. Gary Houston: "Both Jaeschke and Francke were Moravian missionaries, but Jaeschke seems to have been led by the desire 'to convert,' whereas Francke comes across more as a detached scholar"—with Jaeschke appearing to be "more typical of a 'missionary'." A more than casual reading of the vast quantity of extant Moravian literature, however, would, in the present writer's opinion, belie this assessment of Francke when comparing the latter to Jaeschke. Both men's lives and careers were preeminently marked by a missionary zeal to share the Christian gospel by the spoken and written word among the Tibetan-speaking

peoples; and whatever intellectual talents and abilities they might possess were deemed by them both as that which could contribute to fulfilling further the burden of their hearts of making known “the unsearchable riches of Christ”—especially by means of the printed page. But to facilitate this, each of them realized, needful academic inquiry and research into the Tibetan language, history and culture were required if the Christian Scriptures were to be made understandable to the Tibetan-speaking peoples in their own language. Therefore, they both gave themselves over to these preparatory scholarly undertakings, taking advantage as they did of every such opportunity which was offered them to do so.

With respect to Francke, in particular, the missionary and scholar aspects of his life have most fully been laid out in John Bray’s published study that appeared in 1999, too late to benefit Houston in his considerations. Utilizing especially Francke’s letters sent from Ladakh during his most creative period in the West Himalaya region (1896-1906) and which had never been used in any previous study, Bray sought to explore “the links between [Francke’s] dual vocation as a missionary and a researcher.” These letters, added Bray, “offer an insight into his personal concerns and aspirations which is not available from any other source.” Bray’s study reflects not only upon Francke’s linguistic, historical and Ladakhi cultural researches (the latter, e.g., being the Kesar Saga and other folk stories, folk songs, and folk festivals) but also upon his devotion to the strictly missionary side to his calling. Replete with instance upon instance of Francke’s activities of this latter kind, Bray’s paper presents him as local preacher, mission schoolteacher, personal and traveling evangelist, translator of Bible stories into the Ladakhi dialect, collector of other stories for putting together a reader, preparer of a Ladakhi grammar, student of Buddhism, preparer of Christian tracts and school texts, and, of course, Bible translator. And when at one point his superiors had questioned him by letter whether so much time should be spent on researching and collecting folk songs, stories and other kinds of Ladakhi oral literature instead of concentrating his energies and talents on more specifically missionary and evangelistic work such as preaching, teaching and Bible translation, Francke replied that his various researches complemented his translation endeavor in that they broadened his vocabulary, provided insight into local religious beliefs and were a necessary means to comprehending the language and culture of the Ladakhi Tibetans. Lacking such comprehension, Francke pointed out, it would be impossible to communicate effectively. In this respect, then, Francke was not one whit different from Jaeschke, who himself had declared in the preface to his Dictionary that the one “definite object” which has “influenced my own personal linguistic researches” was “to make preparations for the translation of the Holy Scriptures into the Tibetan Speech.”

Now at the request of the Moravian Mission, the British and Foreign Bible Society made a contribution towards Dr. Francke’s salary; and in 1914 he left Europe again and traveled to India by way of Russia and Chinese Turkestan to carry out scientific investigations on behalf of the Royal Ethnological Museum of Munich. His hope had been to visit not only the western Indo-Tibetan frontier (where he had previously been stationed with his Moravian colleagues at Leh, Khalatse and Kyelang) but also the eastern Sino-Tibetan frontier, as well as travel to Darjeeling for the study there of the Lhasa dialect, and to confer with David Macdonald stationed at Gyantse about the Old Testament translation with which the British Trade Agent had also become involved. He had hoped to try to resolve with Macdonald

face-to-face the various linguistic problems and outright controversies which had by this time emerged between the two of them as a consequence of Macdonald's checking the translation drafts sent him by Francke for review (see further on this below).

Because of the outbreak of war in Europe, however, the German missionary-scholar, once crossing the Karakoram Pass into Ladakh, was not permitted to proceed to Darjeeling. Instead, he was at first permitted to stay with the Leh Mission Moravians for three weeks to continue his archaeological researches. During this time he was accommodated with the Moravian Drs. Heber and Heber, husband and wife, which thus gave the latter an opportunity to get to know Francke quite well. In a letter to a British friend, for example, Kathleen Heber described him as "such a dear, a real absent-minded linguist and scholar, always poking about in weird chortens and 'mane' walls and coming in late for meals but quite a quiet humorist and really lovable." But as in the case of other German missionaries, this Moravian was interned during the Great War years (in his case in a camp at Ahmednagar, India, for all of 1915 and where, incidentally, he learned Sanskrit), after which he was repatriated to his homeland via Holland in 1916. The second half of the War found him serving as an interpreter in a prisoner-of-war camp for Indians in Romania, but he was subsequently captured and interned again in Serbia in 1918. Many more years of active life and Christian ministry remained to Francke before his death in 1930, facets of which are related below at their appropriate places in the present narrative.⁸⁹

Now the Moravian committee's eminent scholar Francke was the one in its membership who would have the most involvement with the actual translation of the remaining books of the Old Testament. Beginning to translate portions of it as early as 1900, Francke commenced his labors with the First Book of Samuel, but he soon found it to be slow work. For he reported at the time, in one of his letters to his superiors back in Europe, that it would sometimes require an entire hour just to translate one sentence!⁹⁰ But there were others, too, who took an active role in the creation of the Tibetan Bible from this time forward. Numbered among them would be the Revs. F. E. Peter and Norman Driver of Leh, and Joseph Gergan, also of Leh, the converted son of ex-lama Gergan. In addition, Gergan Tharchin's friend of many years, David Macdonald, would also be involved in the preparation of the rest of the Old Testament, but chiefly as a reviewer of the work of others. It was about Macdonald, incidentally, that Sir Charles Bell, already a recognized authority on the Tibetan language by the first decade of the twentieth century, had said the following in the preface to his *Manual of Colloquial Tibetan* (Calcutta, 1905), vi: "Most of all my thanks are due to Mr. David Macdonald, who has reviewed this book throughout, and to whose unrivaled knowledge of both colloquial and literary Tibetan are largely due whatever merits the work may possess."

Here it should be acknowledged that over the ensuing decades Macdonald's involvement as well as that of others in their capacity as reviewers of the translation work came about because of the knotty problems which had arisen over the east-west "linguistic controversy" surrounding the revision of the New Testament. Bent on ensuring that the Old Testament would be acceptable in the eastern Tibetan-speaking areas and not just in Ladakh and the rest of Indian Tibet, the Bible Society agreed to an offer made in 1912 by British Trade Agent Macdonald (residing at that time at Yatung in Tibet) to read through the draft of

Francke's version that was based on the tentative drafts of his Moravian missionary colleagues.⁹¹ (All of these Moravian colleagues, it should be noted, but especially Francke, had held in very high regard Jaeschke's New Testament translation into a simple classical Tibetan and had wished to translate the Old Testament in a similar style.⁹²) According to John Bray, who has had access to the Bible Society's archives now housed in the Cambridge University Library, Francke

agreed to this arrangement but was not altogether satisfied with it because, although he recognized Macdonald's knowledge of colloquial Tibetan, he insisted that his was to be a classical Tibetan version and ... believed that Macdonald had been partly responsible for the mixture of dialect and classical language in the Ghoom/Shanghai version. [Francke also] complained that Macdonald was too ready to sacrifice part of the original meaning for the sake of easier language.

As perhaps a counterweight to Macdonald's input in the review process, Francke recommended, and the Bible Society concurred, in having Edward Amundsen, who by this time since his years at Ghoom was working for the Society in western China, read through the drafts too.⁹³

Nevertheless, Bray points out that as was true in the decade of the 1910s Macdonald was still far from reconciled in the 1920s to Francke's style (by the mid-1920s, it should be noted, Macdonald had retired from duties with the Indian Political Service in Tibet and was now residing at Kalimpong). This was because, writes Bray, he deemed it to be overly influenced by western Tibetan usage, Macdonald quoting the conclusions of some local learned lamas that supported his own opinions. In 1926, for example, the Calcutta agent of the Bible Society reported the following after a meeting he had had with Macdonald:

He states that there is an honorific and a coolie form of the language and that this western Tibetan form represents the coolie form rather than the other. He quotes learned lamas as saying that Christian tracts are written in a vulgar form of Tibetan. 'How can we believe that your religion is superior to Buddhism when the style of your scripture is inferior to ours?' ... I gathered that his mode of expression would be so different to Francke's that he had not even the heart to indicate the difference on the successive drafts which we are sending him, but is just letting things go because Dr. Francke has the last word, as he assumes, which makes any emendations of his futile.

In response to this report, however, Francke had this to say:

You may be sure that I value his [Macdonald's] corrections and notes very highly and when I come to prepare these chapters for our first tentative edition of the books of the Old Testament, they will all be studied and accepted as far as possible.

Mr. Macdonald must not forget, however, that also in Ladakh we have great numbers of learned lamas who took their degree, so to say, in Lhasa or Trashilhunpo, and one of them, a former lama [named Chomphel] from the latter place, is now one of our Christian evangelists. The Ladakhi renderings are weighed against Macdonald's and other Darjeeling renderings and very often preference is given to the latter.⁹⁴

It should be noted that after the unsuccessful attempt by Francke in 1914-15 to travel from Ladakh to Darjeeling and beyond to confer with Macdonald personally about these and other disagreements and problems confronting the translators and reviewers of the Tibetan Bible, the Moravian missionary went back to Germany never to return to the West Himalaya Mission again. Following the conclusion of the Great War, however, he did resume contact by correspondence with the Bible Society in London and the Moravian congregation at Leh, especially with Joseph Gergan who had by now taken up the work of Bible translation. For even though Francke had become first a Lecturer and then a Professor of Tibetan in the Philosophical Faculty of Berlin University during the early and mid-1920s, he was nonetheless to spend up to half his time on the Tibetan Bible translation endeavors (this first stage of revision being handled not by Tibetan Christians but by the German missionary himself at Berlin), for which he received a yearly grant from the Bible Society.⁹⁵ And as had been the case earlier, so Francke continued his role of working through and extensively amending the original drafts of the Old Testament translation into Tibetan which he would subsequently forward to Evan Mackenzie, Macdonald and others for correction and revision. Moreover, the Annual Report of the Calcutta Auxiliary of the Bible Society for 1927 could report that by that year “Mr. Tharchin, the editor of the first newspaper in Tibetan, is assisting Mr. Macdonald in examining Dr. Francke’s draft translation of the Old Testament.”⁹⁶

Actually, Tharchin had replaced Mackenzie the year before in January. This development had occurred when the Scottish missionary had had to withdraw from the work due to ill-health. It may be recalled from the previous volume of the present narrative that Rev. Mackenzie had left the Eastern Himalayan Mission field altogether in 1924; but he had then been appointed by the Bible Society in London to assist in revising Francke’s Old Testament draft translations. When it became known to missionaries in Kalimpong that Mackenzie would need to withdraw from the revision work, David Macdonald—at the meeting of the Kirk Session of Kalimpong’s Tibetan congregation on 13 January 1926—had suggested “that Mr. Tharchin should take Mr. Mackenzie’s place [in the revision of Francke’s work] and the Kirk Session agreed to this suggestion.” Present at this Session were Macdonald, Tharchin, and Dr. John Graham serving as Moderator.^{96a}

Unfortunately, the German missionary’s further involvement was brought to a sudden end with his most untimely death in 1930, but not before he had at least been able to have published the Tibetan Old Testament up to 2 Chronicles, the remainder having been left in draft form. In due course, however, Francke’s task in the translation project of checking Joseph Gergan’s work and Macdonald’s corrections of it was assumed by Rev. F. E. Peter, the only Moravian Bishop ever to be appointed for Ladakh.⁹⁷ During the 1930s, and utilizing Francke’s draft as the basis for their own ongoing endeavors, Bishop Peter and Macdonald, as well as Gergan, continued to work on the task of preparing for the Press the entire Old Testament in the Tibetan language.

Meanwhile, by 1919 Joseph Gergan, then in his early 40s, had been asked to assume the chief responsibility for the Bible translation task, though assisted at various stages by three or four missionaries who were either on the field or else back in Europe.⁹⁸ At about this same time, he, along with one other Ladakhi Christian, became on the same day the first and second ethnic Tibetans ever to be ordained as ministers of the gospel within the Protestant

Christian Church.⁹⁹ By birth, background, temperament and intellectual training, Joseph was extremely well-suited to become the great Tibetan Bible translator which he ultimately became. Not only had he received a basic education at the prestigious Biscoe School in Srinagar but he had also undertaken a protracted voluntary period of careful study in the Tibetan language and its literature. "With the idea of ascertaining the Buddhist way of salvation," Joseph later reported, "I first of all considered it important to learn classical Tibetan and its orthography. Until I was 20 I studied medical treatises, books of fiction, legends, astronomy, the songs of Mila Repa, idiotic fables, a book called the mani bKa, and many hundreds of Tibetan parables."¹⁰⁰ But besides these endeavors, until 1926 he in addition performed occasional part-time work for the Indian Archaeological Department and assisted Francke not only in Bible translation but also in historical research. Indeed, one of the more interesting of Joseph's contributions was his discovery of a Tibetan text that outlined Tibetan Buddhist cosmology and doctrine which had originally been composed for Csoma de Kőrös's use in the Zangskar monastery where the Hungarian scholar had immersed himself for several years in Tibetan studies. Joseph had even researched and written a history of Ladakh which would eventually be published in a revised form in 1976 under the editorship of his son S. S. Gergan. Moreover, his interest in producing Christian literature in the Ladakhi vernacular impelled him to publish in 1919 a Ladakhi Gospel of St. Mark. He would also produce several other scholarly works of interest: a pamphlet entitled "An Abridged Form of Mahayanism," a paper on funeral rituals in Ladakh, and a collection of Tibetan proverbs that would later be translated and published in English.¹⁰¹ All these pursuits thus provided Joseph the literary and intellectual equipment and discipline so necessary for gaining the confidence to undertake involvement in a leading way in the Bible translation project.

But whether a linguistic, literary and research scholar or a Bible translator or a pastor or a Nubra Valley farmer, Joseph Gergan was most of all a wonderful and devout Christian who greatly loved his Lord Jesus with all his heart. Once he noticed the words "Namo Buddhai" (of Sanskrit origin meaning "I bow down to Buddha") in one of the issues of Gergan Tharchin's Tibetan newspaper and wrote to the publisher reprimanding him for having printed such a phrase. This the Kalimpong editor shared when narrating his end-of-life "memoirs" long after the event. Tharchin's reaction to the reprimand was one of humble acceptance of it.¹⁰²

Beginning work on 18 November 1919 and continuing for the next decade and more, Joseph would devotedly labor at the translation of the Old Testament despite the many hardships and obstacles with which he was confronted daily year after year. As but one indication of the frequent privations Joseph had to endure, at one point—most likely while at Kyelang—he wrote as follows to his former School Principal, Canon Biscoe: "I am writing in my house at midday by the light of a candle as my house is under the snow. When I wish to take exercise I have to get out by a hole in the roof in order to reach the surface of the snow and go for a walk."¹⁰³ Undaunted by difficulties such as this, however, this stalwart servant of his Lord pressed faithfully forward in the task of translation, with his work being checked by others.

Like those Moravian translators before him, it became Joseph's aim to "render the Holy Bible into a simple, semi-classical tongue which can be understood easily by all classes and

readers." And like Jaeschke, he would afterwards readily acknowledge the imperfections of his own translation endeavors but anticipated, he noted, that "in future some Tibetan revisers will put them in order, when there be thousands of Christians in Tibet."¹⁰⁴ For the sake of his countrymen's spiritual welfare he would volunteer his services unstintingly. As one historian of the Tibetan Bible has so accurately put it, the name of Joseph Gergan "will always stand high in the roll of those who gave themselves to the work of Tibetan translation. Although he knew no Hebrew, he used several English versions and the revised Urdu Bible. He was also widely read in Tibetan literature."¹⁰⁵ In this connection, Br. Joseph has left us a fascinating personal record of how he went about performing his translation endeavors, involving as it did not only the above-mentioned Bible versions in English and Urdu but also other helpful sources, as well as perhaps equally significantly his own innate knowledge of things Tibetan. About his thorough procedures and methods used before 1934, Br. Joseph explained, in part, as follows:

I keep opened before me the following versions on three Tibetan small tables: Authorized, Revised, Urdu, and Moffatt; and put a ruler on each, in order to fix at once the passage. Then I read them all, respectively, and write at once when the expression of a sentence or a verse be impressed on my mind. From the beginning our translators have rendered according to the Authorized Version, and I have followed in their steps. Besides the above books I daily need the Young's Concordance to find out the original meaning or pronunciation. For instance, in the English Bible, Lord is used for Yahweh, Cyrus for the Hebrew Koresh, Ethiopia for Kush, and so on. On such occasion we choose the Hebrew names rather than the English.

When we meet with different varieties of trees, precious stones, money, weight, measure, musical instruments and dress, etc., then it sometimes takes a long time to find out what it really means; and sometimes we could not find equivalent words in Tibetan. Then we use the Hebrew, such as ephah, homer, shekel, balsam, urim and thummim, etc. Sometimes the Jews used the same expression as a Tibetan, as breath for strength, strength for wealth, etc.; and sometimes their expressions are quite contrary, as hand for power or strength, lamp for sun, seek for worship, etc.¹⁰⁶

With such meticulous care and devotion to the work as this, the Old Testament translation was finally brought to completion by Joseph Gergan and the others in the spring of 1934 (although the basic translation had been accomplished much earlier in 1928) and the handwritten manuscript of it sent off to London. In his simple, sincere and unpretentious way, Joseph could with great joy write to the Bible Society in the following fashion:

The Bible translation was not as a labor for me at all but a real pleasure during the last fourteen years. It is a great kindness of God and your Society to accept this piece of ministry. As my feeling the Bible translation was the chief part of my life, so when the translation was finished in 1928 my heart was full of joy and I thanked our heavenly Father for His blessing and grace. Now I like to see the whole Bible printed in Tibetan before my departure from this world.¹⁰⁷

As will be learned shortly, however, the fulfillment of his desire would be a long time coming. For as Bray has noted, apparently, the reason for the lengthy delay was the Bible Society's belief during the subsequent years that the meager demand for the Christian Scriptures in Tibetan (in particular, the limited circulation of the Ghoom New Testament) did not justify

their publication at that time. Not until fourteen more years passed would the Tibetan world see Joseph Gergan's dream fully realized.

In recognition of his labors as one who had taken a leading role in the work, the British and Foreign Bible Society elected Joseph that same year (1934) as an Honorary Foreign Member. Most certainly Rev. Gergan was one of the first, if not the very first, of ethnic Tibetans to be so honored by the Bible Society. At the same time, Bishop Fred Peter of the West Himalaya Mission was similarly honored by the Society in recognition of his close association in the work at Leh with Br. Joseph since the death in 1930 of Dr. Francke. In fact, Bishop Peter had replaced Francke as the one now deputed by the Society to superintend the completion of the whole translation effort.



Not content, however, to rest upon his laurels, the great Tibetan Bible Translator would now turn his attention to the New Testament. Apparently satisfied with neither the Jaeschke translation of 1883 nor its revision of 1903 at Ghoom/Darjeeling, Joseph commenced at Leh the following year (1935) to work on a second revision of the Jaeschke version. Various Moravians, including Joseph himself, had begun to muse aloud about the desirability, if not the necessity, of a new revision. It has already been seen how he had complained (in 1926) about some passages of the Ghoom revision having "spoilt the New Testament." This in fact was a reflection of a similar sentiment which had been voiced at that time by August Francke himself.¹⁰⁸ A few years later, in his annual report of the West Himalaya Mission for 1932-33, Superintendent Peter declared the following: "Even a revision or reprint of our own of the New Testament would not be a bad idea. The revision carried out about thirty years ago in Darjeeling has not given us here in the West quite what we want." And in 1941, Joseph commented again about the matter, speaking, retrospectively, of what had prompted him in 1935 to initiate his own revision: "Although the New Testament has been revised once [at Ghoom], I realized that there were still some words and expressions which required to be revised, so I began to revise it again in 1935, when I began to revise the Synoptic Gospels" of Matthew, Mark and Luke. One of his goals in such a revision Br. Joseph revealed in a letter he wrote in 1936 while in the midst of these new labors: "I am trying to render the New Testament in simple language and in short sentences.... I was not confirmed in Christianity by the talk of men, but by the Bible; therefore, I am pressing to complete this piece of work as soon as possible."

Because of his many other responsibilities, however, Joseph would be a long time completing his revision of the New Testament's four Gospels, but this he did finally accomplish. Nevertheless, because of the fact that Rev. Gergan had initiated the work on his own initiative, it did not have the financial backing of the Bible Society nor were his drafts ever forwarded to Darjeeling or elsewhere for review. This latter lack, John Bray has observed, was "an omission which was to lead to some controversy when his work eventually came to be published."¹⁰⁹

It needs to be appreciated more than what has thus far been alluded to already that the great delay involved in the completion of both the Old Testament and the New stemmed in part from the fact that throughout the many years of translation and revision by Rev. Gergan and his Moravian colleagues meticulous care was taken by the Bible Society to have their textual results examined by those competent Tibetan scholars mentioned earlier who were not directly connected with the Moravian Mission. This, as was learned previously, occurred during the many long years both before and after the final copied manuscript for both Testaments had been sent off to the Bible Society in London. As one or more books of the Bible would be finished in the West Himalaya Mission, they would be sent to David Macdonald at Darjeeling, Yatung, Gyantse or Kalimpong for checking, where he would annotate the drafts in red ink and return them to Ladakh. Moreover, as was indicated already, even Evan Mackenzie, during his years in Kalimpong prior to retiring in 1924 from the mission field altogether, would be given an opportunity to review the drafts before they were sent back to Ladakh.¹¹⁰ And upon their return to Leh they were checked once more in advance of their transmittal to London for study by scholars who would compare them with Tibetan texts at the British Museum. But then, whatever questions still arose from such close scrutiny would be communicated to scholars in China such as Amundsen, as well as to scholars in Bhutan, Sikkim and at Leh for determination of how the text should be most accurately rendered.



Once this lengthy and thorough process had been accomplished, the Bible Society in London “agreed that this was a truly inspired translation and that it should be printed.” This assessment was made known, however, in 1941 when the Second World War was at its worst. Moreover, paper for printing the Bible was unobtainable due to wartime scarcity. Out of fear that the completed Bible translation in manuscript form might be damaged or even totally destroyed by the heavy bombing raids of Adolf Hitler’s aerial blitz over the British capital, officials at London’s Bible Society headquarters felt it absolutely essential that the manuscript be removed much farther north beyond the range of the Nazi bombers. It was therefore decided to place the precious document within an underground crypt of Ripon Cathedral located some 200 miles from London.

Rev. Gergan, now “advancing in years and cut off in Kashmir [that included Ladakh] from both Tibet and India, saw no possibility of the fruition of his lifework.” Nevertheless, he must have been considerably comforted and encouraged when he subsequently learned how his God had protected the irreplaceable manuscript during the Battle of Britain. For as the conflict between the two European nations reached its zenith, the German planes winged their way farther and farther north in Hitler’s unmerciful pounding of Britain—and even to Ripon itself. One day, a 2000-pound missile landed on a roadway beside the Cathedral, coming to rest right up against the wall of the structure. Yet, it failed to explode! “Four feet away, inside the church’s wall, lay the Tibetan manuscript”! The firing device appeared to be faultless to the bomb demolition crew when they gingerly defused the deadly object,

causing the men to wonder aloud why it had not exploded. The Cathedral's sexton, however, had the explanation: "A divine hand has sabotaged the bomb." This would not be the last instance of apparent divine intervention, either.

In 1942 an attempt was made by Rev. Gergan to move the Bible Society to act upon the assessment of 1941 that the Tibetan manuscript of the Bible should be printed. It was a pressing of the issue that emerged from a conference at Leh in August of that year which had been attended by Gergan, Norman Driver and Mission Superintendent Walter Asboe, together with Harold Avery of the Brethren's Mission.* Pushing for publication of the entire Tibetan draft of the Christian Scriptures, they proposed in their letters the text of the Old Testament as it was then constituted, plus that part of Joseph's revision of the New Testament which comprised the Four Gospels. Psalms, on the other hand, should be thoroughly revised by Joseph. In their correspondence they stressed the urgency of publishing the Tibetan Bible in view of Rev. Gergan's elderly age of 64 and the prospect of his living but a few years more. They further proposed that Joseph's Psalms and New Testament text drafts might be sent for review and correction to David Macdonald who in retirement at Kalimpong was himself very elderly as well. As it turned out, however, Macdonald's participation would prove to be impossible. Despite this setback, the Leh missionaries, though recognizing the desirability of still having the Ladakhi drafts reviewed by an expert in eastern Tibetan dialects, nonetheless pressured the Bible Society to allow the preparation for publication to go forward while the ailing Joseph was still willing and able to provide his unique expertise. Even so, several war years more would elapse before any new action on the matter of publication would occur, due in great part to continuing discussions regarding the same nagging question of whether a translation created in Ladakh would find acceptance in the Darjeeling area.¹¹¹

Undaunted to the very end, Joseph Gergan, immediately after cessation of war in Europe, asked the Bible Society Auxiliary at Lahore to write to London in 1945 to plead that the manuscript be returned to India to be printed there. The Lahore Auxiliary itself, in late December 1944, was "strongly of opinion that the [entire Tibetan] Bible should be printed as early as possible" from the existing manuscripts.¹¹² The Auxiliary sent off a copy of Br. Joseph's letter to London, at the same time offering to print the Tibetan Bible in India. Only after protracted discussions to determine that there truly existed a demand of a single-volume publication of the Tibetan Bible did Lahore receive a positive response to such an appeal from the Bible Society in England. It had finally recognized the urgency of the matter and now authorized its publication in India.

* It so happened that missionary Avery was one of the prime movers in moving forward on the publication of the Tibetan Bible and on the financial support required to underwrite it. Writes missions author Lillian Carlson of him and his work in India: "In Darjeeling a number of different missions and workers have labored from time to time.... Harold Avery of the Brethren came to India about the time of World War II and worked with Tibetans in Darjeeling [and in Kalimpong also]. He was the one who had the vision for printing the Tibetan Bible in one volume and collected funds to help finance this project." Carlson, "The Story of Christian Missions to Tibet," in Carlson et al., *If the Vision Tarry*, 16.

Nevertheless, the “precious sheets” of the manuscript—sent back from London—and the large quantities of paper for recopying—obtained from America—would now require months to be transmitted to Leh where Rev. Gergan still lived and worked. This was because, among other things, all these materials had to be transported on the backs of mules over high passes and along narrow mountain tracks. The quantities of paper had been specially treated by the press manager and his crew at Lahore because Br. Gergan’s original manuscript of the translation had been written on cheap Tibetan paper that had not taken the ink well and thus could not be clearly photographed as a preparation for printing by a photo-lithographic process. Which meant, unfortunately, that the text would have to be handwritten *all over again* onto these special sheets of paper. But who could perform such a laborious task?

Upon learning of the problem, Joseph had gladly appealed to the Lahore Society to ship all materials up to him at Leh where he was more than willing to undertake this task. He also realized that at the same time he could make some additional corrections in the process of copying. With the successful arrival of these materials at last, the now elderly Gergan “toiled day and night” in a period of rather less than twelve months during 1945 and 1946 making last-minute re-translations, revisions and corrections, and then copying the text by hand onto the specially treated and uniform page-size sheets in a clear and most beautifully written Tibetan script. In the latter stages of the work, he was given four assistants as scribes or copyists, all of them Christians: Stepan Gapel, Joseph’s son-in-law E. T. Phuntsog, Ezekiel Stobdan (who would later serve in Ladakh as Moravian minister at Shey), and Zodpa Dechen (not to be confused with Zodpa Gyaltsan—Nathanael—who by this time had died). This meant, though, that in the transcribing of the text for publication the finished product would bear five distinctive styles of calligraphy!

Even with this additional help, however, in the final days and weeks of the task, it literally became a race against death: Joseph’s. He had already recovered once from a recent bout with heart failure, having collapsed unconscious to the floor from overwork in recopying the text. Could he survive long enough to see the work finished? For there were times when he could scarcely even hold the sheets passed to him for checking the rewritten text done by the other four scribes. But with a tenacity born of his God, Joseph was able to nod his approval as each of the final remaining pages were finished and shown to him.

“Then came the day, 11 August 1946, when Joseph Gergan read in Tibetan the words: ‘Surely I come quickly. Amen. Even so, come, Lord Jesus. The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ be with you all. Amen.’”¹¹³

“‘Thank you, Lord,’ whispered the old warrior. ‘Come quickly. My task is now finished. This Bible will speak to the millions of Tibet.’”

Five days after the completion of his labor of love, this faithful Christian servant passed to his reward in glory. He had more than amply earned his rest.¹¹⁴



Through the years, both while he was alive and after his death, many words of praise—which could readily be quoted here—have been heaped upon this great and good man by those who were his colleagues, his superiors, his students, relatives and friends. But in the opinion of the present author, probably no greater homage has ever been paid Br. Joseph than that offered by Gergan Tharchin's good friend, Marco Pallis. It was learned at the conclusion of Chapter 23 above that this Britisher, who had spent several days at Tharchin's home village of Poo while on an extensive journey in Indian Tibet back in 1933, was to become a recognized Tibetan scholar of high rank. But Pallis was gifted in other ways as well: he was a scientist, a mountain climber, botanist and musician; in short, the epitome of a highly cultured Western man who had nonetheless embraced the Mahayana Buddhist faith of the East. Now Pallis came to know and to admire Joseph Gergan when during the summer of 1936 he made another and even more extensive journey into Indo-Tibet, this time into Ladakh. And during that summer the Western traveler was rendered invaluable service and assistance by Br. Joseph time and again on those occasions when both their paths crossed each other. Pallis therefore had frequent opportunity to take the measure of the man who ungrudgingly proffered him his help. Pallis's record of these travels was ultimately published in 1939 under the intriguing title of *Peaks and Lamas*, a beautifully composed book that was highly praised when it first appeared and which saw several more editions in the decade to follow. In its pages is to be found a most moving passage extremely laudatory of this deeply appreciated Tibetan Christian man; it is worthy to be quoted in its entirety here.

Another friend in Leh, of whose generous help we cannot speak too gratefully, was a Christian called Joseph Gergan, who, in spite of his change of religion, had fortunately not attempted to become like a European, as is too often the case with converts.¹¹⁵ He was a man who truly deserved the name of Christian; for never have I come across anyone in whom the love of Christ and the imitation of His life were more manifest. There was no attempt to slur over the inconvenient portions of Christ's teaching; in him was seen the simplicity of a child, side by side with the wisdom of a cultivated, well-formed mind. When very young he came into contact with missionaries and felt impelled to embrace the Christian faith. At that time his brother, in un-Buddhist fashion, had attempted to bully him. When Joseph reached the age of full discretion, he decided that so serious a step required to be taken with open eyes, so he proceeded to devote some years to a careful study of the other two Traditions possible for him, namely, the Mussulman and the Buddhist. After three years he decided against the first but it took him eight years fully to make up his mind about the second. His Christianity, as may well be imagined, had both justified itself and remained free from bitterness: for a man who so impartially tried to weigh up alternatives and to find out the good in them all, was not of the stuff that bigots are made of. We always spoke of him as "Gergan the Translator," borrowing the term [*Lotsawa*] from St. Marpa and the other eleventh-century [Buddhist] importers of sacred books into Tibet, for Joseph too was a man who only tried to impart to others a doctrine that he had first practiced himself. He had been occupied for years on the tremendous task of turning the Bible into colloquial Tibetan; eventually he completed the work, but died before its publication ...¹¹⁶



When at age 68 Rev. Gergan had passed away, the manuscript for the entire Bible was nonetheless not yet ready to go to press. The mantle was now to fall upon the shoulders of his son-in-law Eliyah Phuntsog, who had promised his ailing father-in-law just a month or so before the latter's death that he would see to it the work was done. Once the manuscript sheets were finished they were taken from Leh to Lahore in Pakistan where the Bible Society's printing press staff placed transfers on thin zinc plates and put them through small "rocking" machines to obtain impressions which were brought out on white paper. This first set of proofs disclosed that the manuscript sheets brought down from Leh had a number of faults in them. All on the staff agreed that someone among the Tibetan scribes who had worked with Joseph Gergan would have to correct these faults onto the proofs which would now be sent up to Leh.

But what was to follow hereafter constituted one of the most unusual sagas in all the annals of Bible translation anywhere in the world, a story which John S. M. Hooper has termed "one of outstanding courage, devotion and ingenuity." By 1947 Rev. Chandu Ray had become the new Secretary of the Punjab Auxiliary at Lahore of the Bible Society of India and Ceylon. In a fascinating article he wrote on the continuing epic of the Tibetan Bible, he related what happened next:

The proofs had to be sent to Leh to be corrected. This was done, but in returning them to Lahore they were tragically lost in the mail. Another set of corrected proofs was prepared and sent off both registered and insured. But a careless lad in the post office spilled water over the parcel causing the sheets to stick together, which rendered them useless. A third set of corrected proofs was prepared, but it was now the end of 1947.

That year had seen the rise of terrible Moslem-Hindu communal conflict between Pakistan and India. This had come in the wake of the partition of newly-independent India into these two national entities. Late that same year also brought war between the armies of India and Pakistan over possession of Kashmir (which included Ladakh) and meant that all regular communication was interrupted. Rev. Ray continued his narration in the light of these developments:

Raiders were in Ladakh, and the routes were closed. When matters reached this stage, it was borne in upon the hearts of the Bible Society staff in Lahore that behind all the delays and hindrances was the fierce and successful opposition of Satan, and that the only solution was prayers.

Appeal was made therefore to members of the Punjab Praise and Prayer Union, who gave themselves to a day of prayer; and as they prayed, *without any human communication* [Ray's emphasis] God moved the heart of . . . Gapel in Leh, to offer to come to Lahore to do the corrections there.

This had come about as Stepan Gapel sat in Leh checking over the successfully delivered third set of corrected proofs, making whatever final corrections were necessary. He had become a Christian and in time came to dwell at Leh where he finally found work which was most satisfying to him: that of a scribe. Having then worked closely with Rev. Gergan during the latter stages of transcribing the Tibetan translation of the Bible, the scribe had become quite knowledgeable about the sacred Christian writings themselves and was living a very close life with his Lord. And here he now was devoting himself to the task of reviewing the final set of proofs sent up from the Punjab, and in this he was quite content.

Gradually, however, it dawned on him as he sat at his work table one day that someone would still be needed in Lahore to check over the master copy one final time since the back-and-forth transmittal of proofs could no longer be relied upon in the current troublous times within Kashmir and the Punjab. Furthermore, that someone would have to be one who could provide "the touch of a Tibetan hand." In a sudden flash of inspiration the one and only solution came to him: "I will have to go to Lahore and do the work myself!"

But to come to Lahore from far-off Leh would not be a simple task for Stepan Gapel. For one thing, it would mean exchanging the snowy mountain regions of his homeland for the unfamiliar and for him inhospitable climate of the hot and humid plains. For another thing, the journey Gapel would have to make at this time of year (February 1948) would be one mostly on foot over very high passes and the traversing of wild and desolate country marked by snow, sleet, freezing rain and hailstorms. Nevertheless,

so eager was he to come, that ... this scribe of fifty-five years of age set out before the snows had melted from the passes. Bearing the precious proofs, he traveled on foot day after day. Missionaries had already been evacuated, so that there were none to help him on the way. Still he pressed on until after twenty-two days of travel, he was stopped by the raiders [near Kargil] and forced to return to Leh.

Undaunted, the courageous scribe set forth again in March or April, this time taking a different route which enabled him to avoid the raiders. He made his way some 240 miles as far as the Sindha River, a two or three days' trek from Srinagar, Kashmir's capital. There, though, he encountered Indian troops, a Sikh regiment of whom was guarding on the south side a bridge across the river. They would not permit Stepan to proceed because they thought him a spy! Whereupon he retreated to the north side of the Sindha and tried to return to Leh; but he found his way blocked by a Pakistani patrol who nearly shot him. The only thing he could do was to remain where he was, living in a thatched whitewashed hut in a small village beyond the bridge to the north waiting the day when the trails would open up once more to innocent travelers.

Meanwhile, Chandu Ray and his Bible Society colleagues at Lahore waited anxiously for news, having heard nothing about Gapel or the precious proofs in over four months. But one day, continued Ray,

on the 25th of June, a scrap of paper was handed to me, on which were the words, "Here I am, stuck beyond Woyil Bridge. If you can come, come."

According to another account of the story, told by Allan Maberly, this cryptic message had

been handed Ray by an itinerant beggar from the hills who had found his way to the minister's home in Lahore. "Sahib," spoke the beggar to Ray, "I have not come from this town, but have traveled many days over the mountains. See, I bring you a message." From the folds of his voluminous gown, explained Maberly, the beggar brought forth "a grubby sheet of paper" which he delivered into the minister's hands. As the latter read the brief message, "his heart leaped in surprise." He recognized immediately that it was from the scribe of Leh but wondered what it all meant. "Where did you meet Gapel?" Rev. Ray asked his visitor, thankful he was still alive. "Why did he not come with you?" "Oh, sahib, you must understand that no one can get through the army to the south—no one but an old beggar who asks for food at the camp kitchen." The itinerant then proceeded to tell his Lahore host the whole story of how he had met the scribe, how the latter had then explained to him his situation; how, further, that Stepan had been "afraid to write more to you, but said you would understand." He had also remarked, added Ray's visitor, "that the papers were safe, but I don't know what he meant by that."

The Secretary of the Bible Society was ecstatic with joy at this last bit of news and recounted later what his response to all this was:

How I thanked God and made plans. I went to the air company and asked, "Can I fly?" What a question! To fly from Pakistan into enemy territory! It might be possible, however, to get a permit to [entrain] to India and from there to proceed by plane to Kashmir. The government gave me the necessary permit and on the first of July I was waiting at the Amritsar aerodrome in India to travel by plane leaving at 11:30 a.m. At 11:15 passengers were informed that an order had come banning entry of all civilians into Kashmir from that day.

Maberly's account details the immediate sequel to this astounding news:

The announcement stunned Chandu Ray. The door to Kashmir had just closed in his face. But God could open it again. Bowing his head, he prayed.

He asked the airport manager the meaning of the announcement. "Surely this order could not have been meant for today. Supposing it had come five minutes later, what would you have done? Besides, do you have the money to refund all our fares?"

The manager looked troubled. Already many of the passengers were angry with him.

"All right," he said, capitulating. "I have no money to refund all your fares, and the plane is filled with fuel. We will fly to Kashmir. If the government had wanted us to cancel this flight, they should have told us sooner. Please take your seats."

The passengers looked amazed at the sudden change. But Chandu Ray bowed his head and whispered, "Thank you, Lord."

Rev. Ray, full of thanksgiving once more, now departed on the last plane to Kashmir. Upon deplaning at Srinagar airport, he marched three days to the only bridge across the Sindha River, from whence any farther progress was denied him by a large concentration of Indian troops that was there. "I had to use strategy," wrote Ray later. Ingenuity now came to the fore:

I had with me Gospels in Marathi and Hindi. So I went among the troops, preaching and giving out Gospels. I told the wonderful story ... of saving grace, welcoming and transforming sinners. I told what it had done for me. The men were interested. I was given shelter for the night and the next morning saw the officer in command. I explained to him that on the other side of the bridge was the manuscript of this same wonderful Book written in Tibetan and that we were anxious to print it, that the message might be sent to Tibet. Would he give me permission to proceed? The miracle was performed. He said, "Yes."

Pressing on across the bridge, I met the scribe from Leh. We knelt down and thanked God together for His wonderful working power. Then, returning with the scribe I showed the officer in command the sacred manuscript. He was deeply impressed, and permitted us to travel to Srinagar by army lorry. But now came the problem of getting back to Lahore.

But in Rev. Ray's mind, his God was about to work another miracle in this seemingly unending tale of His rule and overrule in the affairs of men on behalf of His word in Tibetan. At the airport Rev. Ray and Stepan learned that all civilian flights out of Srinagar had been terminated. Moreover, the country was now riddled with roadblocks making travel of any kind virtually impossible. It would therefore appear that the two were trapped. But surely, thought Chandu Ray, there must be some way to obtain a permit to fly out of Srinagar even if on a military plane.

The military authorities at first said that there was no way; then it was suggested that if I could get a priority No. 1 pass it might be possible to travel by a plane for wounded men. But to obtain a priority pass I must go to the Inspector General of Police. Now this man was a Sikh, and there is mortal hatred between Sikhs and Pakistanis. No Sikh can live for five minutes in Pakistan and here was I, a Pakistani, asking a favor of a Sikh inspector general! I decided to tell him the whole story. "But how did you ever get here, and pass through our lines to obtain the manuscript?" he asked in amazement. I said it was my Lord who had opened the way and quoted the words, "All power is given unto Me in heaven and in earth." God's word has power. The Sikh pressed an electric bell. I did not know what he was about to do but when a subordinate officer appeared, he said, "Write out two priority No. 1 passes." The major at the aerodrome could scarcely believe his eyes, but the permits were real and next morning we flew to Delhi.

Yet once at Delhi Stepan Gapel was faced with the oppressive heat and humidity of the northern plains. The temperature that day, noted Ray, was 114° in the *shade*! But another miracle, Ray noted, was about to take place in answer to the prayer of faith.

The scribe from Leh, who had lived in snowy regions all his life, was almost fainting by my side and I feared that unless relief came he might die. Again a miracle saved him. That evening at 6:30 torrents of rain fell, cooling the atmosphere. Continuing our journey by rail we had to stand in a third-class carriage which was packed to suffocation

The two weary travelers had left Srinagar for Delhi that morning by plane, had gone on to Amritsar by train that evening, onward then by bus to the border of Pakistan, had next walked the two miles of no-man's-land which separated the two borders, where they finally

picked up a taxi to Lahore—this all done in just one day! Nevertheless, the task of rescuing the scribe of Leh was now complete, leaving him free to finish the work that lay as a burden upon his heart.

The next morning found him sitting at a desk in a room set aside for him at the Bishop's house. As that first day progressed, however, the air of Lahore became hot and stifling, bringing Stepan to the point of exhaustion. "If only I could breathe wind off the snow," gasped the scribe. That gasp of desperation gave Chandu Ray a brilliant idea. Here Maberly picks up the story with telling effect:

Rushing to a large ice factory, he ordered fifty large blocks of ice and arranged to have them delivered ...

"Fifty blocks?" The manager looked startled. "Do you mean fifty blocks?"

"Yes, I do, and please send them quickly."

They set large tin trays around on the floor and stacked the ice on the trays. They set two large fans in position to blow on the ice blocks and provide Gapel with a man-made Himalayan breeze.

"Wonderful, wonderful!" cried Gapel. "You have surely given me the wind off the snow. Bring in the [original manuscript] sheets. I am anxious to see the work finished."

Gapel settled himself at his table in the middle of his "ice cave" and took out the proofs he carried with him. With the corrected proofs before him he began the final manuscript corrections. As he finished each sheet, the press foreman rushed it away to prepare the printing plates. Enthusiasm spread to the entire staff.

Setting to work with all possible speed, the staff, wrote Ray, kept the printing presses running twenty-four hours a day, with men working in three shifts and the scribe, in his room kept cool by ice and fans, working up to twenty-two hours per day—sustained, Stepan said, "by heavenly power."

For fourteen straight days it went on like this, but then came the exciting moment in August 1948 when the final sheets rolled off the press. A few hours after the bookbinder had added the last signature to a copy of the Book, the first printed copy of the Bible in Tibetan—"with its leaves stitched together as a binding"—was presented by Rev. Chandu Ray to the faithful and devoted scribe from Leh. All were thrilled to see this spiritual saga of ninety-years' labor finally capped with success by the production of a complete Tibetan Bible whose first edition, wrote one historian of these remarkable events, truly "has a heavenly imprimatur." (Sinker) To this very day, in fact, this 1948 version of the entire Tibetan Bible remains the only one ever to be published in a single-volume format. Stepan Gapel could now leave Lahore in peace, armed at last with all the canonical Christian Scriptures in his own language.

... With this treasure in his possession he set out on his return journey. We escorted him as far as we could, and then, buying him a horse, sent him on his way. After thirty-one days he reached Leh with the printed Word of God in its Tibetan translation in his hands.

More copies were to follow, but the arrival in September of this particular copy, declared

the Leh Mission Superintendent Walter Asboe, "was an occasion of great joy." This happy event surely represented, Rev. Asboe further declared,

an achievement of the first magnitude covering a very long period, and accomplished through the teamwork of practically all the past and present [Moravian] missionaries, not to speak of Tibetan translators and copyists; the late Yoseb Gergan being by far the most brilliant and outstanding translator, to whom is chiefly due the excellence of the Tibetan idiom contained in this complete edition of the Bible in Tibetan....

Little do people realize the cost in ill-health and even death which had to be paid to bring the Bible in Tibetan to its present state of completion, but thank God there have ever been in the world the choice spirits who did not shrink from their high purpose of self-giving in order that the Word of God might become the companion and guide, the solace in sorrow, the comfort in death of sojourners on their earthly and heavenward pilgrimage....

The completion of the Bible in Tibetan is an epoch-making achievement for which our Church may be proud. The Moravian Church in Central Asia has been used of God in this unique fashion, and our just pride in this achievement should be tempered with the spirit of humility and thankfulness to God for the blessings He bestowed on all concerned in this great task which He laid upon His servants in this mission field.

The Rt. Rev. Chandu Ray struck just the right note when in ending his narration about the Tibetan Bible he quoted these fitting words from the Psalms:

O give thanks unto the Lord—to him who alone doeth great wonders: for his mercy endureth forever.¹¹⁷



As can be seen, the main story of the Tibetan Bible had revolved around the Moravian Mission stations at Leh, Kyelang and Poo because it was in this area that there had been a sustained effort extending back over many decades. And it was among the Tibetans here that the original Jaeschke version of the New Testament, together with its revision by Joseph Gergan, had come to be preferred rather than the Ghoom 1903 revised version. On the other hand, this latter version had come to be more widely used among Tibetans in and around the Darjeeling District of India, and until the coming of the Communist regime, among the Tibetans living along the eastern frontier of Tibet proper and throughout the rest of China.

It will perhaps come as no surprise to the reader of this present chapter to learn that the publication of the 1948 version of the Tibetan Bible did not silence the criticisms of the Tibetans living in the Darjeeling region and elsewhere in the eastern areas of language concern. On the contrary, the Christians and congregations there continued to complain that this newly published Bible still contained too many Ladakhi colloquial expressions; perhaps inevitable, notes Bray, since the Darjeeling area believers had not been involved in any final review or correction. Even Pierre Vittoz in Ladakh, though proclaiming the 1948 Bible to

have been a decided improvement over its predecessors, did nonetheless accept with grace and a touch of humor certain of the criticisms leveled against it by some of the Darjeeling Christians. Writing in 1954 Vittoz, praising Joseph Gergan's language for having been "on the whole much better than Jaeschke's because Yoseb was himself a Tibetan," had this to say about the 1948 version and its major translator:

It is much better than the previous versions because the language is true Tibetan. Gergan's greatest fault is that he mixes dialect with the book language of Tibet. I have now read most of the literature printed by the Moravians in the past and it is a plague. Suppose in sending my accounts to London I suddenly without warning changed from solemn prose to "quids," "bobs" and "tanners"! Everyone would understand my meaning but it is not quite the done thing, is it? Yet when I read Gergan and even Francke I get that impression. What a salad it all is!

A further criticism accepted by Vittoz, and one which missionary Francke of an earlier day had himself been aware of, was that the existing translations were, to quote Vittoz, "much longer than the already elongated English versions," whereas the literary Tibetan possessed the hallmark of conciseness. In defense of the earliest Christian translations of the Scriptures into Tibetan, Francke had noted in 1925 that when translating the Indian Buddhist scriptures into their own language the earliest Tibetan scholars had themselves chosen a fairly wordy style so as to adhere as closely to the original as possible. Therefore, Francke had argued, this was a pardonable fault in the day of Jaeschke and the other nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Moravian translators because of their fear that a too compressed style would risk the loss of the nuances of meaning.

Furthermore, Vittoz went on to make the observation that in Rev. Gergan's case, the problem was compounded because the basis of his translation was English and Urdu rather than the Hebrew and Greek originals, thus creating fresh difficulties that would not have occurred had he translated from the original languages. This resulted in the New Testament Epistles being nearly unintelligible when compared with the relative ease with which the Gospels could be understood. Indeed, Rev. Vittoz relates how his missionary colleague E. T. Phuntsog, a noted Ladakhi Tibetan scholar, had found it easier to use the English version when reading the Epistles. Nevertheless, all this criticism did not in the least mean, concluded the Swiss missionary, "that Yoseb Gergan's work is rubbish. It is very good and very useful. My point is that it is worthwhile revising it in detail before reprinting, and with ... Phuntsog's assistance it is possible to do it very well."¹¹⁸

For these reasons and because of the continued lack of uniform acceptance of all the existing versions of the Tibetan Bible, it was decided by the Bible Society of India and Ceylon to make a further attempt at preparing a New Testament which would be acceptable to all. And as was touched upon earlier, Phuntsog and Vittoz were in the forefront of this new endeavor. In due course these members of the Revision Committee of the Tibetan Bible came to live at Landour just outside Mussoorie and were there at the time Gergan Tharchin met up with them in the spring of 1960 as a consequence of his having been summoned to Mussoorie by Dalai Lama XIV.



The story which lay behind the participation of Rev. Vittoz and Br. Eliyah and the coming together of these two at Landour is most interesting and worthy of reporting because it once again demonstrated so clearly to these Christian translators their God's providential intervention on behalf of His divine interests. Br. Vittoz and his wife Catherine, Moravian missionaries from Lausanne, Switzerland, had first arrived in Leh at the beginning of October 1950, no one realizing at that moment that they were destined to be the very last European missionaries the West Himalaya Mission would ever have in Indian Tibet. They immediately set to work studying the Tibetan (that is, the Ladakhi) language. They also became acquainted with classical (Lhasan) Tibetan and received instruction in both under the tuition of S. S. Gergan, son of the late Joseph Gergan.

Br. Vittoz proved to be a quick learner, so much so that by the latter years of his short stay in Ladakh, he possessed enough of a grasp of the Tibetan language that he, together with Br. Phuntsog and perhaps Yonatan Paljor, could begin to make partial or even complete translations of several New Testament books as a way of launching, in an experimental manner, a preliminary revision of the entire Testament. As early as 1953, for example, Vittoz and Phuntsog, in working on a sample section of some 21 verses from John's Gospel, were led to change 17 dialect expressions, place in different word order 10 other sentences, and reduce the text of this section of verses to 520 syllables from 640.¹¹⁹ Then, in 1955, they had produced a fresh translation of Matthew's Gospel, a book, acknowledged Vittoz, "we did not have great difficulties in improving the existing text of composed by Yoseb Gergan." It would not be the case, though, with the First Epistle to the Corinthians. That, admitted the Swiss missionary, "was a very tough piece of work and many weeks elapsed until we agreed on a faithful and clear rendering." They were now convinced, however, that it was possible, as stated by Rev. Vittoz, to create a text that was simpler, more elegant, and free of dialect expressions.

By this time those at Leh were clearly looking ahead to participation in a possible new effort to revise the entire Tibetan New Testament. Perhaps they and others were only too aware of the late Joseph Gergan's declaration made at the time he himself was working on the *second* revision that "for the sake of future generations of Tibetan Christians, a third revision [of the New Testament] would be beneficial."¹²⁰ What these workers at Leh and elsewhere were aiming towards was what began to be termed "a Union translation" of the New Testament. Wrote Rev. Vittoz in his last annual report of the West Himalaya Mission as its Superintendent (issued in 1956): "Our attempt will be compared with similar work done by missionaries from the southern and eastern borders of Tibet, and it is hoped that a Union translation may be agreed upon, thus ending the long years of trouble arising from the multiplicity of the Tibetan dialects."

To this end a Tibetan Bible Translation Committee organized by the Bangalore-based Bible Society of India and Ceylon (BSIC) had already met in Kalimpong that same year, from March to May of 1956. Its primary agenda, as outlined by the Committee's Secretary in a letter he sent to all members just prior to the commencement of its many meetings,

covered the following points:

- a. To consider the practical merits of Joseph Gergan's work published in 1948.
- b. To consider whether an entirely new translation of the Bible, or the New Testament, is necessary, or whether a revision of the 1948 edition of the Bible more suitable to the whole of Tibet will suffice.
- c. To outline the policy regarding future editions of the Scriptures in Tibetan—colloquial or literary; Central, Eastern or Western Tibetan dialects or a combination of all three; a separate edition for each area.^{120a}

In the end, the Committee had agreed to sponsor a complete revision of the New Testament. More than likely, one significant factor which contributed to the making of this decision was a tour made in the spring of 1955 to Darjeeling, Kalimpong, Serampore and Calcutta by the BSIC representative at Bangalore, the Rev. H. H. Moulton. During his visit to Kalimpong he met for "a whole afternoon with the Rev. Tharchinla and Mr. D. Macdonald, together with several missionaries." In a report to the British and Foreign Bible Society Rev. Moulton made it clear that "the whole question of western, central and eastern Tibetan was discussed," and mentioned an interesting fact which had emerged from these Kalimpong talks to the effect that "the Communists are doing a good deal in the way of unifying the language."

In the Report submitted of its protracted meetings held in the spring of 1956 at Tharchin's hill station, the said Committee's Secretary listed the following individuals who had been in attendance for its deliberations:

Rev. Marion Grant Griebenow of the Christian and Missionary Alliance, an American missionary from the Amdo region of Tibet with an excellent knowledge of that Eastern Tibetan dialect due to his thirty years' experience among the Amdo Tibetans;

Mr. George Kraft of the China Inland Mission, a (Presbyterian) missionary from the same general region, but whose expertise was the Kham dialect and whose presence was valued "owing to his great knowledge of this language of eastern Tibet" [he had arrived in China from the USA in 1935 and was based at Dartsedo (Kangting/Tachienlu) 1945-51, having assisted many missionaries in learning Tibetan];

Mr. George Patterson, formerly a Plymouth Brethren missionary in the Kham area;

Mr. Albert Carlsson of the Swedish Free Mission, a missionary from the Amdo area of eastern Tibet;

Rev. G. Tharchin of the United Church of North India, whose dialectal expertise was noted as Lhasan;

Mr. David Macdonald (also Lhasan);

Revs. Pierre Vittoz and Eliyah Tsetan Phuntsog of the Moravian Mission, both with expertise in the Ladakhi dialect; and

Mr. D. M. Barker of the World Evangelization Crusade, a missionary in Kalimpong with some knowledge of Tibetan and who served as Secretary of the Committee.

Noted also by the Secretary was the fact that the Revs. Phuntsog and Vittoz "were delayed by weather and did not arrive until May 13 after the main meetings were over."

It will readily be discerned from its composition that the Bible Society was once again eager to make certain that the translation which might result from this Committee's labors would be acceptable in all dialect regions concerned. Not surprisingly, its chief revisers were to be the two Moravians from Leh, Phuntsog and Vittoz, who would prepare the initial draft. These two were to be assisted by the following members, who would check the Ladakhi draft: Griebenow, Kraft, and Gergan Tharchin himself; who, it will be recalled, had been assisting David Macdonald in the latter's review and correction of A. H. Francke's work and that of others from as long ago as late 1927. The work of the Translation Team was to begin in 1957 and to last for an estimated period of three years, with Kalimpong viewed as "the most suitable location outside of Tibet" for the Team to meet. As matters would develop, however, the work would not commence till late 1959 and Kalimpong would become impossible as the venue for the chief revisers to meet, with the ultimate choice of site for their three-year endeavors to be Landour (see below). Moreover, neither Rev. Griebenow nor George Kraft would be able to assist in a full way in the work but would be "consulted by correspondence" in the case of Griebenow. It was anticipated that there would be others available who could represent the eastern dialects and whose help could be secured in person or by correspondence. And "though Mr. Tharchin," noted Rev. Culshaw of Bangalore in 1959, "will not be able to travel to Landour to take part in the work, it is hoped that he may be able to visit Calcutta for a meeting with the translators once a year." As it turned out, of course, Tharchin-la *would* be able, at least once, to travel to Landour and participate in the work directly.¹²¹ But it had now become doubtful to Rev. Vittoz at this point in time if he himself would even be able to play any role in the Team's efforts. This was because he and his family's permit to stay in the Ladakh area of India had expired with no hope of extension without first departing on furlough.

The Swiss missionary couple remained in Ladakh till late May 1956, at which time they returned to Europe on furlough; but at the end of that respite from their labors they were not granted permission by the Indian government to return to the Subcontinent. It has been seen in earlier chapters that international political events have repeatedly played a role in the missionary work of Indo-Tibet from its inception back in the 1850s. To cite, for example, only what happened since the turn of the twentieth century, the two world wars made it impossible for most of the missionaries of either German birth or sympathies to remain on the field of the West Himalaya Mission; and as was learned a few pages earlier in the present chapter, the communal wars of 1947-48 which erupted between the newly-established independent States of India and Pakistan created grave difficulties for the publication of the Tibetan Bible. That conflict, exacerbated by the aftermath of bitterness and unrest, coupled with the uncertainty and fear felt in Northwest India about Red China's "liberation" of adjacent Tibet which intensified dramatically in Ladakh by the time of the Vittoz furlough in 1956, caused the Indian authorities to be wary of allowing any foreigners—especially Europeans—to live anywhere near the northern border areas touching upon Pakistan and Tibet where such people might be suspected of conducting espionage activities. It was for these reasons that the Vittoz application to return to Leh in 1957 was turned down.

Hoping, nonetheless, that the Nehru government might eventually relent in its stricture against their return, the Vittoz family decided in the meantime to accept an invitation to fill a

vacancy of the Paris Mission as teachers at a Christian leadership training school in the French Cameroons of West Africa, arriving there in early October 1957. It would not be till 1959 that a temporary permit was finally secured to return to the Subcontinent; yet not to the work at Leh, for fears and tensions there had mounted even further in the wake of the Tibetan Uprising in March and the creation of a Tibetan government-in-exile at Mussoorie headed by the Dalai Lama. Instead, God, it seemed to these Christian missionaries, had other plans for the Vittoz family.

As the result of an agreement struck between the British Mission Board of the Moravian Church and the Bible Society of India and Ceylon, Br. Vittoz would be granted a temporary visa by the Government to enter India for the purpose of assisting in the thorough revision of the Tibetan New Testament—but not at Kalimpong that by this time was a restricted area designated as such by the Government. Under the agreement, therefore, both he and Br. E. T. Phuntsog “would be seconded” for a period of up to three years to perform these labors, as suggested by the Rev. W. J. Culshaw of the BSIC at Bangalore, at the hill resort area of Landour. Accordingly, the Vittoz family set sail by ship from Liverpool on 5 September 1959, bound for Bombay, and then onward to Landour. Here the missionary family arrived in October to join in the work with Rev. Phuntsog who had come down from Leh.¹²²



A few words need to be said about this unusual and highly gifted Ladakhi Tibetan who when converted from Buddhism served his Lord with such distinction all the rest of his life and made many significant contributions to his fellow Tibetans and to the Tibetan Church. Not least of these, of course, would be his tireless labor on the New Testament revision now under discussion (and on other Bible translation matters) as well as the service he so faithfully rendered as local church elder and as one of the early ordained indigenous clergymen of the Tibetan Church.

Eliyah Tsetan Phuntsog (1908-73) was already well known in Indian Tibet by the time he had reached manhood since, following his study for two years at the Gelugpa Rizong Monastery in Ladakh noted for its high standards, he had gone everywhere preaching the faith of his ancestors to his fellow countrymen. An only son of one of the best and most noble Ladakhi families and highly respected by all, it therefore came as a happy surprise to the Christian community in Leh but as an absolute shock mixed with horror to the Buddhists when in 1934 he became a baptized follower of Christ, commenced preaching the Christian faith to those same countrymen to whom he had earlier fervently preached Buddhism, and ultimately married Rev. Joseph Gergan’s daughter Sungkil. In a paper presented in 1992 at a seminar conducted by the International Association for Tibetan Studies, and published two years later, John Bray sketched out for his audience the early life of this remarkable Ladakhi up to this point in his career, as follows:

Tsetan Phuntsog was born in 1908 in Sabu, near Leh. He belonged to an aristocratic

(*sku drag*) family which in earlier generations had produced Kalons (*bka blon*—ministers) for the King of Ladakh, and still was one of the highest-ranking in the country. His father was one of the chief lay disciples of Rizong monastery, ... which then as now was famous for its discipline and religious integrity. Tsetan Phuntsog himself studied at Rizong and considered becoming a monk. However, his father died at the early age of 40: Tsetan Phuntsog was the only son, and his relations put pressure on him to leave the monastery to manage his family property.* Soon afterwards he married and entered Kashmir government service.

Tsetan Phuntsog continued his Buddhist studies, and was regarded as a leader of the Buddhist laity. However, he became dissatisfied because he could not accept the absolute authority of his guru, as Buddhist tradition demanded.† In 1928 Joseph Gergan gave him a copy of an English tract entitled *The Travelers Guide from Death to Life* [published by the British Gospel Book Association, Liverpool]. This was a collection of stories designed to show that Jesus was the only Saviour. In style and argumentation, it belongs very much to the Anglo-Saxon evangelical tradition, but it made an enormous impression. After reading it, Tsetan Phuntsog signed his own name underneath a statement accepting Jesus as his “Lord and Saviour.”

There followed six years of indecision. Tsetan Phuntsog was increasingly convinced that Christian teachings were true, but he was reluctant to declare his change of religion in public. He spent hours discussing the nature of Buddhism and Christianity with Joseph Gergan. In the course of time a further complication arose: he fell in love with Joseph Gergan’s daughter Sungkil. He had by now parted from his first wife, but Gergan would not allow the marriage to take place unless his would-be son-in-law were formally baptized. Tsetan Phuntsog’s baptism finally went ahead in September 1934, when he took on the Christian name Eliyah [Elijah], and he married Sungkil the following year. [Later, added Bray, he would be accused by some of his Buddhist enemies of having changed his religion purely in order to marry his new wife.]

* But while temporarily at Rizong he had imbibed deeply of Buddhist teaching and practice as a disciple of the Monastery’s “famous abbot.” In a kind of Christian tract he would long afterwards compose about his conversion and its aftermath, Br. Phuntsog described in highly personal terms what it was like to have been “brought up in that atmosphere.” He continued:

I was taught the Buddhist philosophy of rebirth and Karma (i.e. law of causation), the Four Noble Truths, and the Eight-Fold Path of the Hinayana or Theravada Buddhism.... I took the Panchshila, the Five Precepts—abstention from killing, stealing, adultery, telling lies, and the taking of intoxicants. I used to fast and prostrate myself before the idols a hundred times daily and recite the prayers a thousand times. Despite these devotions I had no satisfaction of mind. I yearned for peace of mind, and I failed in my ideal of subduing unworthy desires and could not do away with the consciousness of [a] sinful nature in me....

From *How I Became a Christian* by Rev. E. T. Phuntsog, typewritten doublespaced on three long sheets, mimeographed, post-1956, p. 1, ThPaK.

† In the same Christian tract he later wrote and which is referenced in the preceding footnote, Br. Phuntsog explained the matter with his guru this way (pp. 1.2):

... I studied Buddhist mysticism of the Vajrayana sect, which is believed to be one of the most highly developed forms of Mahayana Buddhism. It is called Guru Yoga. The supreme teacher whom one chooses as one’s soul director is believed to be the embodiment of Buddha, his doctrine [*dharmā*] and brotherhood [*sangha*] [a kind of trinity in Buddhism], and one must regard him as one’s saviour. Faith is more essential than practice in this sect. The unification of the candidate’s mind with his teacher’s by contemplation and the ecstasy obtained through it is believed to be Nirvana or eternal bliss. I practised it for some time, but this did not satisfy me, as I found it more fanciful than real.... I became convinced that a superior lama could not be my saviour because he had the same sinful nature as myself....

At the time, many—especially his Buddhist friends and rich relations—just would not believe his conversion was authentic and waited up to ten years for him to return at last to his forefathers' faith. They of course waited in vain; for *this* change of allegiance, observed Walter Asboe two years after the event, was “a coming into the Kingdom through conviction and not convenience.” Rev. Asboe, for twenty-seven years a Moravian missionary in the West Himalaya Mission and one of its longest-serving Superintendents at Leh, explained what he meant in having described Br. Phuntsog's conversion in such unequivocal terms:

We have one convert from one of the best families in this country and one possessed of great character and intellectual gifts. He has suffered cruel persecution from his erstwhile Buddhist friends and relations,* and has come out stronger in his witness for Christ in proportion to the severity of the hostility he has aroused through becoming a Christian. A prominent Buddhist said of him that he would rather a whole village had become Christian than that this youth should throw over the beliefs of his Buddhist forefathers. This surely is a remarkable testimony to the saving power of Christ.

A few months later Asboe would have occasion to report in more definitive language the manner in which young E. T. had been persecuted:

His rich Buddhist relations and friends, horror-struck by his change of faith, abused him thoroughly, and, adding insult to injury, they contrived to involve him in a criminal charge of embezzling State funds [resulting in his being imprisoned]. This legal suit cost him a lot of money, and the fact that he was acquitted of the crime served only to increase the ardor of his enemies to bring about his ruin. So they looked about for ways and means to cause his houses and lands to be confiscated on the ground that he had no legal right to them since he became a Christian. This deep-laid scheme also came to nothing.

After suffering these and other kinds of persecution and indignities for two years, Br. Phuntsog, still firm in his embrace of Christ, stood up one Sunday afternoon to deliver his “maiden sermon” in the small Moravian church building at Leh. In his message this intelligent and cultured young man, with barely two years of Christian experience to his credit, told his fellow believers what his greatest support had been while suffering the intrigues and persecution of his relatives and former friends. It was the encouragement which came to him from the imprisoned Paul the apostle's words in Philippians 4:4: “Rejoice in the Lord always: again I will say, Rejoice.” Present at this service was Superintendent Asboe, who

* They even attempting, unsuccessfully, to poison him shortly after he announced his conversion. Per John Bray, “Christian Missions and the Politics of Tibet, 1850-1950,” in W. Wagner, ed., *Kolonien und Missionen*, 185. “On two occasions he was invited to feasts and returned home badly sick, apparently suffering from poisoning.” Bray, “Towards a Tibetan Christianity?” in P. Kvaerne, ed., *Tibetan Studies*, 1:73. He himself would declare later that the “malignity” of his Buddhist persecutors brought him “closer” to Jesus, and “on many occasions I had the wonderful experience of consolation and joy from the Lord, [so] that I blessed my persecutors.” He went on to say: “I shall never forget the card sent to me in prison by Mrs. Peter [wife of Moravian Bishop Peter then in Ladakh] with the quotation from Romans 8:28, ...: ‘All things work together for good to them that love God, who are called according to His purpose ...’ I know it to be true now from my own experience.” *How I Became a Christian*, 2-3.

afterwards described the choice of this text for this young Christian brother's message as "a strange paradox surely . . . , for he had encountered much that would have made other people weep and lament." Nevertheless, Br. Phuntsog had gone on to explain in his sermon that he had not ceased to rejoice despite the troubles which had come his way because of his becoming a Christian. Indeed, dramatic echoes of this same theme of joy reverberate in the testimony he would share in print much later in his life. "For me," he wrote in *How I Became a Christian*, "to be with Jesus is heaven and to be without Him is hell. He is my all in all. He sustained me through all my trials and humiliations; and my trials and humiliations are nothing compared with what He endured for me. He is the joy of my heart, and although men may take everything from me, they cannot take away the joy I have in Him." "This surely," summed up Superintendent Asboe, is "a noble witness to the power of Christ in the heart of a Tibetan delivered from an age-long tradition of superstition and ignorance."

A well-educated man, Phuntsog had gone on to study all the great religions and to become a recognized master of Tibetan classical literature in a manner far superior to that of most Buddhists. Nevertheless, John Bray has made the observation that "as a natural development of his literary interests" Phuntsog in the 1950s "experimented with a revised form of Ladakhi spelling to make the written language closer to the spoken." He did this as a way to facilitate easier understanding by the people of various Christian tracts on gospel truth which he prepared, using the reformed Ladakhi spelling. This was an integral part of Br. Phuntsog's ambitious program of encouraging higher literacy standards throughout Ladakh. To this end, Bray noted, he undertook, with the assistance of the famed Indian Pandit Rahul Sankrityayana who himself came to Ladakh, to produce a series of Tibetan textbooks. These were published under the auspices of the Young Men's Buddhist Association that would later evolve into the Ladakh Buddhist Association. Br. Phuntsog, however, would come to look upon classical Tibetan's "complicated spelling system" as itself "an obstacle to literacy." Which thus explains his experiment to reform the Ladakhi spelling system that in essence, reported Bray, was the development of "a simplified, phonetic system of writing which removed all unsounded prefixes, suffixes and post-suffixes." Bray added that Br. Phuntsog would go on to "adapt individual letters to represent sounds which [from ages past] had been expressed by various combinations of letters in the traditional alphabet." This all was regarded by the local Mahayana Buddhists, though, as an unwelcome—even sinister—modification of the letters of the Tibetan alphabet that for centuries had been employed to write down the sacred Buddhist scriptures. Accordingly, his experimentation proved to be extremely unpopular with the devout Buddhists who, wrote Bray, came to view it "as a blasphemous attempt to subvert the classical language of the [Buddhist] scriptures."¹²³ All such tinkering with the language was therefore deemed to be an assault on the religion itself.

Not to be deterred by such opposition, however, Br. Phuntsog would go on to produce other Christian works which added to the spiritual life of the Leh Christian community. Possessing a contemplative side to his personal Christian walk with his Lord, Br. E. T. felt led to translate into Tibetan a volume by the well-known Anglican Benedictine monk, Dom Bernard Clements, entitled *When Ye Pray* (London, 1936).^{*} Moreover, in the 1950s he

^{*} Believing as he did, after discovering Christianity's rich contemplative tradition, that his Moravian predecessors had largely overlooked this aspect of the Christian life, Br. Phuntsog sought to put into practice in his own

wrote some plays for the local church at Leh and composed a number of songs that were sung by the congregation in the Ladakhi dialect and set to local melodies.

But besides these works cast in dialect, this devoted follower of Christ had also composed Christian poems in pure classical Tibetan. One of these was entitled “Chhaghtsal Gyanchuma” or “Eighty Praises,” with each of its eighty four-line stanzas having ended with the phrase *la phyag tshal lo*, thus intimating the composer’s humble prostration before his Lord. This literary achievement was termed by his later colleague in the work, Pierre Vittoz, an extraordinary poem “of true beauty,” and which, notes Bray, “is particularly reminiscent of Tibetan Buddhist devotional texts.” These eighty stanzas of Adoration that depict the Life of Christ came to be widely known in Ladakh but even found their way to distant Kalimpong.¹²⁴ So successful and popular had this Christian poetry in the Tibetan language become that it was reported in 1953 that at this same hill town a preacher—most likely a reference to Rev. Gergan Tharchin—had occasionally read the *poem* instead of the Gospels themselves!¹²⁵ Indeed, Tharchin had personally confessed to the poet when the latter went on a visit there, that he often read from the “Eighty Praises” to his Tibetan congregation on Sundays, so beautiful had he found this Christian poem to be. Tharchin went on to tell Br. Elijah “that the Buddhists, too, like to read it” because its “style and language are to their taste.” The Kalimpong pastor added that all Tibetans would be delighted to read such literature if it could be produced in that manner since Br. Phuntsog’s Tibetan poetic style “appeals to the mind of the Buddhists.”

Ever the staunch Christian from the first moment of his conversion, E. T. Phuntsog, despite his rejection of Buddhism, was nonetheless able to preserve some measure of his social position. For John Bray has pointed out that because of his being one of the highest ranking members of the Ladakhi nobility, Br. Elijah was permitted to sit next to the King of Ladakh during one of the preeminent festivals in Leh. He was even able to return to Kashmiri government service, in which he carried out a number of sensitive diplomatic negotiations during the 1940s. His greatest Government attainment came when following the conclusion of the Indo-Pakistani conflict in 1948 he was appointed *Tehsildar* (or Mayor) of Leh, the highest position in Ladakh’s local government. But opposition by Leh’s Buddhist inhabitants led to public agitations against the Christian Tehsildar, they maintaining (a) that only a Buddhist should hold this Government post, and (b) that his tinkering with the vernacular Ladakhi language constituted a blasphemous subversion of their religious heritage. Furthermore, even some government officials commenced expressing concern over his language reforms, fearing that they might ignite a new Ladakhi linguistic nationalism. The opposition from the

walk with his Lord an emphasis on the “indwelling Christ” as found in the Pauline writings of the New Testament (in the book of Galatians, for example) and on contemplative prayer. For this very purpose, he had set aside for prayer and meditation a separate room at his Rajpur/Dehra Dun home. Indeed, his daughter Zhidey recalled that during the latter period of his life her father had become “more and more like an ascetic, spending most of his time in prayer.” It is John Bray’s belief, after thoroughly studying the life and career of this exceptional Ladakhi Christian, that “the Tsetan Phuntsog whose spiritual inquiries took him to Rizong monastery was the same Tsetan Phuntsog who ended his days as a Christian minister practicing an authentically ‘Tibetan’ Christianity.” See Bray, “Towards a Tibetan Christianity?” in P. Kvaerne, ed., *Tibetan Studies*, 1:75-7.

devout Buddhists became so heated, adds Bray, that after but two years in the post, Br. Elijah resigned as Tehsildar and would only briefly serve as Ladakh's Information Officer before withdrawing completely from Government service in 1951.

Meanwhile, Br. Elijah would go on to become an elder of the local Leh church where he continually exhibited a readiness and willingness to help any of his brethren. Always having the future of the Church at heart, Phuntsog, whenever an opportunity for doing good presented itself, would be found without fail among those who would seize upon it and carry it out. With such a testimony of faith, service and ability as this, therefore, it came as no surprise that on the first Sunday of London Moravian Bishop Herbert Connor's visit to Leh in early March 1956 it was Br. E. T. Phuntsog who was ordained into the Christian ministry (along with one other brother, Yonatan Paljor). Long before this, of course, Pierre Vittoz had arrived on the scene as resident missionary and Mission Superintendent. And ever since 1952 when Br. E. T. joined the Mission staff, he with Br. Paljor had worked "in full harmony" and undertaken new methods of evangelism: an area of concern that was always close to the heart of Br. Phuntsog. The Superintendent held him in high regard, declaring in his annual report for 1953 that in spite of hardships Br. Phuntsog "never failed to undertake arduous duties with enthusiasm; that he really devotes himself to the service of his Lord and Master and to his Church in everything." The missionary went on to note that "his leadership and his stand for the faith have been conspicuous and of inestimable value."

It was thus a matter of great joy for Rev. Vittoz to preside at the ordination service and to witness the further elevation in Christian responsibility for Br. Elijah and Br. Yonatan, especially in the case of the one who had experienced such tremendous persecution for his stand with Christ. Bishop Connor was later to describe that special day of ordination at Leh with these words:

On the first Sunday of my visit I ordained into the Christian ministry these two Tibetans ... The scene of ordination made me think of the early days of the Christian Church. Here was no majestic cathedral or dignified church, but an oblong building of mud walls, whitewashed, with a row of wooden pillars down the center. At one end was a platform with a Communion table and chair, a lectern, and a harmonium with stool. The chair and harmonium stool were the only seats in the church. On the floor were rugs—very beautiful rugs from Turkestan—and on these rugs the congregation sat cross-legged, the men on one side, the women on the other. At the back were a few Buddhists, Hindus and Moslems, friends of the brethren to be ordained.

The two to be ordained had given long and faithful service as unordained ministers and one of them had made great sacrifices to become a Christian. It was strange to hear Tibetan words to some of our familiar hymn tunes. The hymnbooks used by the congregation were all handwritten. The greater part of the service was taken in Tibetan by the resident missionary, Pierre Vittoz. The Bishop's address and questions were translated sentence by sentence and the answers of the candidates were given in English and Tibetan. There, in a heathen country, surrounded by contending faiths, these two men solemnly pledged their lives to the Ministry of the Christian Church. They will be holding a veritable outpost of Christianity.

Whereas Br. Paljor had been ordained into the Christian ministry to be the pastor of the Leh congregation, Br. Phuntsog had been so ordained "as a missionary." Indeed, among other

Christian endeavors, the latter, together with his Western colleague Vittoz, would now organize a number of evangelistic treks to other areas of Ladakh where they presented some of the Christian plays and songs which, as noted earlier, Rev. Phuntsog had himself written in the traditional Ladakhi style. Using these literary creations as vehicles by which, in Bray's words, "to express Christian ideas to new audiences," these Christian missionaries were thus able to communicate the message of Christ in new and interesting ways. Completely free now from all governmental and political concerns, Rev. Phuntsog could devote himself exclusively to the ministry to which he had been called of sharing in the responsibility of Church work at Leh and missionary outreach elsewhere with consummate grace, skill and leadership. But when the call came to relocate temporarily to Landour, Rev. Phuntsog responded with alacrity and joined his Leh colleague Br. Vittoz without any hesitation.¹²⁶



Now since the visa granted Rev. Vittoz was for only a one-year stay, there constantly hovered over the situation at Landour a cloud of uncertainty. Because of this, the Translation Team, consisting of these two brethren and "representatives of other denominations," pressed forward as diligently as possible in the event the Team might at any moment lose the valuable services of Br. Vittoz, whose knowledge of the original Bible languages of Greek and Hebrew was quite substantial—the Greek in particular. The team members were aided in their labors by the likes of a Tibetan typewriter! Its timely presence at Landour had come about through an incredible set of circumstances that had begun in Leh back in 1951 when plans were made by these two workers in Ladakh for acquiring such a device. These plans reached their culmination in far-off Britain when these same two brethren found what they were looking for at the time both were there together in 1956. The typewriter arrived at Landour in timely fashion just after the Vittoz family had set foot once more on Indian soil.¹²⁷ But they were also aided in their work by what Rev. Culshaw of the BSIC described in May 1959 as "a steady stream of Tibetan speakers and especially of educated monks" that was anticipated would find their way to nearby Mussoorie because of the recent arrival there of His Holiness the Dalai Lama; and, added Culshaw significantly, "as far as the Tibetan revision is concerned, the time could not be more opportune."¹²⁸

During the first year at Landour (from October 1959 onward) these two revisers gave nearly their total time to the project; but while engaged in the revision, Rev. Vittoz and his wife suffered a grievous blow of monumental proportions: they had the grave misfortune of losing both their twin daughters in a single day! It had occurred on 12 July 1960. In a letter written from Landour a few days afterwards, Rev. Phuntsog described the tragedy:

I am so sorry to write you that ... the twins Isabelle and Irene died one after the other in one day ... Irene died at about 10 o'clock in the morning at home and Isabelle died in the hospital at about 10 o'clock in the evening. They were buried the next day. You could imagine the parents' sorrow. It happened so suddenly and quickly that we were all shocked. The Christians here, mostly missionaries, are very sympathetic and were very kind to us all.

Yet in spite of this great loss and the shock attendant upon it, Br. Vittoz did not give up the task of Bible revision. As Phuntsog added in his letter, "Mr. And Mrs. Vittoz are bearing it bravely and prayerfully." "Only God's grace," observed Gergan Tharchin, "could have achieved such a miracle in a man's life."

That the uncertainty about the stay in India of the Swiss missionary family was warranted became abundantly clear just a few months after the loss of their twins. For in October 1960 Vittoz and his wife were actually ordered to leave India; nevertheless, on the last day of their stay, when, in the words of Br. Vittoz himself, "we had already packed even the coffee pot," the order was inexplicably postponed indefinitely! This meant that Rev. Culshaw's observation earlier in the year about an anticipated meeting of the Translation Team in Calcutta later that year or next could be realized. Wrote the BSIC representative on 15 June: "During a recent visit to Landour I was able to spend some time with the Tibetan revisers, who are making good progress.... Tharchin-La was able to visit Landour and work with [them] for a fortnight in the spring, and they are planning to arrange a Calcutta meeting in the cold weather. It is hoped in this way to ensure adequate consultation from all areas." Indeed, Rev. Moulton of Bangalore could report late in 1960, after a tour of India on behalf of the BSIC, that "considerable care is being taken to ensure that all [Tibetan] dialectal areas are being consulted, and so far reactions to the revision have been favorable, especially from Tharchin-La," to whom drafts of the revised translation had continued to be sent.¹²⁹

By late 1960 the translation of all four Gospels was ready for the Press and by the following May Br. Phuntsog could report that the Team was at that time engaged in "fair copying" and making corrections, but that it would be some time yet before the work in its entirety was completely ready for printing. During their time at Landour the revisers would periodically transmit their drafts not only to Gergan Tharchin in Kalimpong but to Rev. Griebenow in Hong Kong as well for their comments and corrections.¹³⁰ Meanwhile the members of the Team, haunted once again by the uncertainties surrounding the Vittoz temporary visa, pressed forward in the work "as hard as possible." It was wise they did so, for after a long period of negotiation the Nehru government finally refused to extend any more the Vittoz residence permit. He and his wife would have to leave India for good in January 1962. But because of the Team's anticipation of trouble, its members were able to complete the revision, except for the final polishing, before Rev. Vittoz departed for Switzerland. And hence, the contributions which Pierre Vittoz could make to the revised translation process were assured through what appeared to all concerned to be their God's timely interventions and the wise diligence on the part of the other Team members.

*

After the completion of the revision work that was able to be accomplished at Landour, the Bible Society of India then directed the Moravian West Himalaya Mission minister, Rev. Phuntsog, to take the manuscript of the New Testament revision to Kalimpong for what would prove to be a period of about a year (see below). There the revision was to be refined

further. Phuntsog would not be alone in the work, however; for this is what Br. E. Wilson of the Moravian Church's British Mission Board could report at the time: "He has the advantages there of being in touch with the Rev. Tharchin, minister of a Tibetan church in that town, who was himself a product of our congregation at Poo, being born and confirmed there." As was noted earlier, however, this was not the first visit of Rev. Phuntsog to Kalimpong or to the home of Gergan Tharchin. In May of 1956 he had been there for an abbreviated visit in connection with the present Tibetan Bible Translation Team of which he and Rev. Tharchin were currently active members; but three years earlier, in 1953, he had paid a much lengthier visit there. On his way to Calcutta to attend in October of that year the Eleventh General Assembly of the United Church of Northern India,¹³¹ Br. Eliyah had stopped off at Darjeeling for a few days, and had then traveled over to Kalimpong in late September for a full two weeks as guest the entire period in the Tharchin family home.¹³² It was thus at this time that these two had become very good friends. (Interestingly enough, though these two had never met before this 1953 visit of Phuntsog's, they had corresponded with each other. And just a few months earlier, he had actually inquired of the Kalimpong pastor about the availability of a four-to-five-acre plot of land in or near the hill station on which to construct a house for himself and his family. For his "intention," he wrote, was "to shift to there" from Ladakh. In the end, however, nothing came of this tentative plan of his.^{132a}

But besides the presence of Rev. Phuntsog's good friend Tharchin at Kalimpong, another significant reason why in 1962 the Bible Society suggested that the revision work be continued at this particular site was because many Tibetan refugees and others, including some of the best Tibetan scholars available, had temporarily settled there. Wilson commented that these two revision workers, scholars in their own right, would be afforded the opportunity of "calling on [these other] Tibetan scholars to express an opinion on the style of the translation." This both Phuntsog and Tharchin would indeed do. These two would also be aided by consultations with those missionaries who, having worked for many years along the eastern Tibetan frontier, had come to the Darjeeling District when that work had summarily ended with the fall of China to the Communists.

A still further consideration for selecting Kalimpong must be noted, however. Due to fear and great uncertainty back in Leh about the possibility that Ladakh might be one of Communist China's next targets for the "liberation" of the Tibetan peoples, many Tibetans—including members of the Moravian congregation at Leh—had packed their bags and departed the district altogether, seeking refuge among the high hills elsewhere in India such as at Kalimpong. By the fall of 1962, in fact, this same Br. Wilson, referring to Tharchin's hill station, could report that "there is already quite a community there of families who have moved from Leh, and one of our Leh members had opened a carpentry business there." "This may well prove to be a useful center," added Wilson, "where the refugees can group themselves together and still find themselves within the active fold of the Moravian Church through the ministry of Br. Phuntsok."¹³³

This new two-man team of Bible revisers would now set themselves the task of reading through the entire revision manuscript brought over from Landour. "We needed eight months to do this," Tharchin afterwards reported, "even though we worked intensively for three hours daily." They were assisted by the Kalimpong pastor's son Sherab Gyamtsho. During

this period he served as proofreader not only for the Tibet Mirror Press but also for the New Testament Revision project. This he did working off and on part-time. His father, in fact, was to comment later when narrating his “memoirs” that his son “had played an important role in the revision work.” It ought to be pointed out, though, that because Tharchin Babu was not maintaining very good health in those days, it was impossible for him to do proper justice to the work. “I became so weak,” the Kalimpongian host later explained, “that my nephew had to help in my place.” This was his nephew by marriage, D. Ringzin Wangpo. He it was who had gone to England in November 1948 (in company with, and under the care of, the retiring British Political Officer, Arthur J. Hopkinson) to be a Research Assistant in Tibetan in the Department of Phonetics and Linguistics of London University’s School of Oriental and African Studies, but who by now had returned to Kalimpong and was at this moment staying with Babu Tharchin.¹³⁴ The latter spoke highly of his nephew, a member by this time of a Hinayana Buddhist order, calling him “a very good expert on the Tibetan language.” And hence, the Kalimpong pastor had requested Ringzin Wangpo to read through the rest of the translation with Rev. Phuntsog.* It should be mentioned, incidentally, that every one of these individuals just now named, including the entire Phuntsog family, were at this time all lodged together in the Kalimpong home of Gergan Tharchin. Indeed, while here for this lengthy stay, the Phuntsogs—in order to make the situation easier for all concerned—cooked their own food and managed their own meals. They even had a servant who assisted in the household affairs.

Upon the completion of the revision work, noted Tharchin, “we then employed three lamas; they carefully copied the entire text. That took a further four months to accomplish.” But as a consequence, he added, these Buddhist Lamas gained for themselves “all kinds of recognition of our Saviour”—yet not only through the Holy Scriptures on which they worked so carefully, but also through the lives of those around them in the Tharchin household and in the Kalimpong Tibetan Christian community. In this regard, the ailing Tibetan pastor especially singled out Rev. Phuntsog, about whom, it seems, he could not say enough: “It was a blessing being around Brother Phuntsok.... He was, for all of us here, a great blessing. For me, in particular, he took over the preaching, the prayer hours, and much of my official duties. Moreover, with the refugees, who then filled the rooms of our home, Br. Phuntsok led talks on salvation. He instructed two refugee families in the Christian faith.... The men [of these families] allowed themselves to be baptized, but the women and the young son were afraid. Hence, everywhere Jesus has the possibility of using his witnesses,” of whom

* Dr. R. K. Sprigg explains, in fact, in his obituary of D. Ringzin Wangpo, that not only was this Lhasa Tibetan “literate in Tibetan but he was also a scholar in the fields of traditional Tibetan grammar and orthography.” In addition, though not a nobleman, notes Sprigg, he nonetheless had “attended the same school as members of the noble families.” He adds that out of all Tibetans from Lhasa who had known Ringzin Wangpo and with whom Sprigg had spoken, all except one—who thought his Tibetan was marked by some Chinese characteristics—told the Englishman that Ringzin “was a representative speaker of the Tibetan of Lhasa.” Others, Sprigg went on to say, characterized his Tibetan as “bookish”; and Tharchin’s nephew himself “claimed that in conversation with Tibetans of his own educational standing he made his Lhasa Tibetan utterances as much like Classical (or Literary) Tibetan as he could.” Sprigg, “Gelong Rigzin Wangpo: 1920-1985,” *TJ* (Spring 1988): 78. With this kind of language background belonging to his nephew, it was no wonder that Babu Tharchin had asked him to review the Tibetan New Testament translation with his colleague E. T. Phuntsog.

Br. E. T. was a shining example.¹³⁵

Yet in spite of this new review by his two scholarly friends, Rev. Tharchin was of the opinion that the result of their and his combined revision efforts at Kalimpong was still not as it ought to be. He felt additional work was required if a more simplified language standard was to be achieved. It was learned in Chapters 21 and 23 that the Kalimpong scholar and classicist longed to bring out in published form a grand Lexicon of the Tibetan Language with well over 58,000 words which would define and describe the classical Tibetan vocabulary in modern Tibetan, and which—for the present purpose—could thus be an invaluable tool to make the Bible translation more readily understood to the average Tibetan reader. For as he had been wont to say at about this same time even to a young Incarnate High Priest from East Tibet (whose fascinating story is later told in Chapter 30's End-Notes): "The Tibetan Bible has many unintelligible words and sentence-structures" which still need to be corrected.¹³⁶ But owing to failing health and lack of funds, Tharchin had to abandon the project.*

Despite Tharchin Babu's personal reservations about the New Testament revision which had at last been completed at Kalimpong, by the end of August 1962 Rev. Culshaw felt led to circulate a questionnaire concerning the finished draft. In the Minutes of the London Bible Society's Translations and Library Subcommittee for the year 1962 is recorded the action which Culshaw took on 27 August from Bangalore: "[He] forwards a questionnaire for the revised N.T. prepared by Rev. E. Tsetan Phuntsog, UCNI (Ladakh), Rev. P. Vittoz, Moravian Mission, and Rev. G. Tharchin, UCNI (Kalimpong), with a committee of consultants." And for the following month the same Minutes could include an entry in boldface type which all concerned had looked forward to: the British and Foreign Bible Society's approval of this new text. The entry quite simply but significantly read as follows: "LXXXVI. Resolved to recommend that the revised text of the Tibetan New Testament be accepted as conforming to the Rules for Translators. (September 1962)."¹³⁷

Even with this most welcome news, however, the actual printing and publication of the new revision would have to wait until some eight years more had passed. In the meantime Rev. Phuntsog would himself continue to participate in further Tibetan Bible translation projects. One of the tasks which in particular interested the Ladakhi scholar and translator was to revise the Old Testament book of the Psalms as previously translated by Joseph Gergan. It was Br. Elijah's desire to see this book of sacred poetry included in any eventual printing of the Revised New Testament on which he, Vittoz, Tharchin and others had so recently labored to perfect. Although the Bible Society of India and Ceylon agreed that this

* Tharchin had doubtless envisioned that this literary project, if not abandoned, could have aided in the revision of the Tibetan Old Testament translation of the Bible as well, which to him was equally in need of a revision. Indeed, he was asked about this by Margaret Urban in 1964, after having had a discussion with her concerning the New Testament revision: "How does it actually stand with the whole Bible? Will the Old Testament not also be revised?" To which his response was the following: "That is the heart cry from us Christians. But the Bible Society does not want to. They shrink back perhaps from the cost; there is perhaps also a further reason—that Tibetans in the [exile refugee] scattering would themselves soon adopt the language of their locale and no longer need to rely on their mother tongue.... In 1950 [he meant to say 1948] we had the first complete Bible translation in our hands. But as I said, the language in the Old Testament needs revision, to be better understood thereby." Quoted in Urban, *Jesus unter Tibetern*, 13.

be done,¹³⁸ in the end the Psalms was never included. It should be noted here, though, that prior to the publication in a single volume of the entire revised New Testament, the Bible Society of India had published separately at Bangalore several of the revised Gospels and the Book of the Acts of the Apostles: Matthew (in 1961), Luke in 1966, and Mark (with Acts) in 1968.¹³⁹

Fortunately for both Tharchin Babu and Nono Phuntsog they were able, before their deaths, to witness the fruit of their and the other revisionists' labors. Although in the end it would take nearly twelve years for its publication to be realized, the Revised Version of the Tibetan New Testament was at last officially released by the Bible Society of India (by which it was now known) in May 1971 at the Society's head office in Bangalore.* Moreover, it will be recalled from the previous chapter that Phuntsog had the privilege just two months later to present a specially bound copy of this Tibetan New Testament to His Holiness the Fourteenth Dalai Lama at Dharamsala. This latest Revision, at last printed and distributed to a waiting public, would be reissued periodically thereafter as the need for more copies arose.¹⁴⁰ About this long-awaited third revision of the New Testament John Bray had this to say:

It is generally accepted that the literary style of the [1970-71] Tibetan New Testament is far better than any of its predecessors and there has been no suggestion that it leans too strongly towards one particular dialect. However, its literary strengths have to some extent proved a weakness in that some less-educated Ladakhis and even Darjeeling Tibetans have found its classical style too difficult. Even now [circa 1990] Tibetan Bible translation is not wholly free of controversy.

Commenting further concerning the Tibetan New Testament, he concluded that

there have been no fresh attempts to revise the New Testament since the publication of the [1970-71] version and it is unlikely that any will be contemplated for some time to come. However, the Tibetan Christian Fellowship (a loose association of Tibetan-speaking congregations in North India) has proposed a reprint of the flawed Ghoom/Shanghai New Testament on the ground that in spite of its imperfections it is still easier to understand than the [1970-71] New Testament. Current debates therefore still reflect the same dilemma that Jaeschke faced over a century ago: how to reconcile the demands of literary Tibetan with the desire to produce an accurate translation which would be accessible to ordinary people.

With respect to the Tibetan Old Testament, however, there is some hope that a revision will emerge in the near-term. The source of this hope lay initially with the Moravian congregational minister at Leh, the late Rev. Stephen Hishey (1953-2006), a son-in-law of E. T. Phuntsog, whom the present author had an opportunity of meeting and fellowshiping with over a two- or three-day period at Kalimpong in March of 1992. The son of an Amdowa

* It must be observed, however, that though the Revised Tibetan New Testament was released to the public at this time, the actual date appearing on its copies shows the year 1970 and the notation of 1000 copies in the first run—most likely an indication that printing by the Bible Society may have indeed begun that year but that the proofreading, review and final printing and binding of it required that the publication release date had to be delayed till May of the following year.

from what had been northeastern Tibet who was born at Tharchin's hill station and brought up and educated during his younger days in the Darjeeling area and who, significantly, was married to a Ladakhi, Pastor Hishey had for several years undertaken a revision of the Old Testament. Possessed of such an ethnic and cultural background as this, Br. Hishey, in the view of John Bray, was "well-equipped to face the problems of producing a version which is likely to be acceptable in all Tibetan-speaking areas." For his aim, explains Bray, was "to produce a version in simple Tibetan *phal-skad* [the common or colloquial tongue]," which he hoped would "be more generally accessible than the *chos-skad*"—the "Dharma-language" or classical Tibetan "book language" of the Buddhist scriptures, which most recently in Tibetan Bible translation had characterized the 1970-71 New Testament. Under the auspices first of Bangalore's Bible Society of India (BSI) and then the sponsorship of a Norwegian Christian mission organization, Rev. Hishey eventually completed the translation of the five books comprising the Pentateuch of the Old Testament.* But once this portion of the Bible had been published in 1987, Pastor Hishey shortly afterwards ceased all Bible translation labors of his own.¹⁴¹

Nevertheless, the Old Testament translation had then been carried forward at the hands of another Tibetan, mentioned elsewhere in the present biography, Peter Rapgey of Kalimpong. For when in the mid-1980s Rev. Hishey had left the BSI as its Tibetan translator, the Bible publisher offered the same post to Rev. Rapgey, who soon accepted the offer and who since then had continued to labor faithfully in translating the Old Testament into the common or Lhasan Tibetan (and basing his translation on Today's English Version—the TEV). Work on it continued during the ensuing years, although the original completion date of April 1993—as predicted by Rev. Rapgey in an interview he granted the present author at Kalimpong in December 1992—had to be revised. For due to ill-health, deaths in the family, and the resultant tension and anxiety, the Tibetan pastor was compelled to delay the work. In a subsequent interview in Kalimpong a year later, he explained to the author that by mid-1994 the entire Old Testament would be completed for the BSI by him and his able calligrapher. Unfortunately, death once again struck the Rapgey family, but this time, Rev. Rapgey himself. For on 15 February 1995, less than two months after the present author

* The full bibliographic data of the work, as appearing in the volume itself, is as follows: Rev. S. S. Hishey, Chief translator and compiler, *The Pentateuch* (Leh: Ladakh Christian Committee for Tibetan Bible Translation/Revision, Moravian Church, P.O. Leh – 194101, Ladakh, J & K State, North India, 1987, 1st Printing 1000 copies); Translation Sponsored by Himal-Asia Mission (formerly known as the Norwegian Tibetan Mission), Brugata 8, Oslo, Norway.

It should be noted, however, that according to the observations made to the present author by some knowledgeable Tibetans in Kalimpong, both Christian and non-Christian alike, what this translation or revision of the Pentateuch by Rev. Hishey constitutes is not a thoroughly new translation of these five initial Old Testament books but is essentially a revision simply of words and phrases here and there that are cast in the more simple Tibetan *phal-skad* for greater clarity and understanding of meaning for the ordinary reader. A series of random checks made throughout the five-book text revealed this fact to these Tibetans. For instance, when comparing, word for word, Chapter 13 of Genesis in both the Hishey Pentateuch and the Old Testament portion of the so-called Gergan Bible, it was found from among all eighteen verses of the chapter that there were actually only nine differences, consisting of five individual word changes and only four changes in construction. Consequently, this work by Rev. Hishey, they have noted, is not really that much different from the Old Testament version of these five books as they appeared as part of the entire Bible published in 1948.

had had a brief conversation with him, Rev. Rapgey passed away, thus leaving the work unfinished. The current situation is uncertain, but it is hoped that once the translation has been completed by others and all of it reviewed as is required, it is anticipated that this entire new translation of the Old Testament can be published soon afterwards.¹⁴²

Such is the hope for the near future. But what of the more distant future? In the opinion of Bray (and others) there may be a place for *phal-skad* and *chos-skad* versions of the Tibetan Bible, “according to the audience each is supposed to address.” After all, notes Bray with much justification, in the English language “there has been a proliferation of new translations, each of which has its merits and admirers.” Why not a similar development, therefore, in Tibetan?

But Bray legitimately raises the question, for whom? The maximum number of Ladakhi and Tibetan-speaking Christians, he is quick to point out, remains in the hundreds or at best in a few thousands at the present time. “It is open to question,” he adds, “whether there is much prospect for expansion in India.” Moreover, many middle-aged Christians of Ladakh find it easier to use Urdu Bibles because of having been educated in an Urdu-speaking school system. By the same token, some younger Ladakhi believers find it easier to use Hindi or English Scripture versions. It is Bray’s conclusion, therefore, that the Tibetan Bible’s future “will depend on wider social and linguistic and even political developments which will determine what variety of Tibetan is spoken and written, and by whom, in years to come.”¹⁴³

These somewhat bleak observations were made by Bray in 1987. Some twenty years later it could be reported from one Christian organization based in America devoted exclusively to supporting indigenous Christian evangelists and other national gospel workers abroad that there have been missionary stirrings among Tibetans in Nepal and India. According to Christian Aid Mission (CAM), commenting in April 2004, it could be reported that “some Tibetan refugees won to Christ” in both lands “have returned to Tibet as witnesses” of Christ. Moreover, adds CAM, “churches are now being planted [in Tibet] and growing in size.” The CAM report even included a photograph of a cluster of simple Tibetan homes with a caption that read: “For the first time in history Christians are meeting in places like this one in a Tibetan village.” Unlike in the past, continued the report, when Christians were so few in the Great Closed Land, “new believers there often found themselves isolated and alone in their faith.” With growing churches today, however, these new converts to Christ “are finding encouragement for each other” and are even “seeking ways to share their faith in their villages.”

CAM’s report went on to point out, though, that it still remains quite dangerous for anyone to be a Christian in Tibet, due to the fact that Tibetan Buddhism continues to exert a firm grip on most of the people. Nevertheless, the report observed, “this does not stop” indigenous missionaries there “from spreading the gospel” of Christ. Indeed, one particular ministry which CAM supports “holds frequent training sessions for new believers, equipping them to stand firm in their faith against the opposition they are certain to face”—yet not only from the Buddhist Tibetans but also, it could be added, from the anti-religious Chinese authorities.^{143a}

With such developments as these now taking place, there may very well be an increased need in having the Bible in Tibetan, after all.



Gergan Tharchin in his day was one of those who was not completely happy with the Revised version which had finally emerged in print in 1970-71 after so many years since Landour. "The present form of the language," he remarked afterwards, "should still be modified so that the average reader will be in a position to grasp the meaning." "It needs," he strongly urged, "further simplification." This was quite a realistic, and, may it be added, commendable attitude to take towards the problem by one whose early upbringing and continuous training thereafter had had constant exposure to the Lhasan dialect that was known and prized by many "as the *lingua franca* of Tibetans everywhere" but viewed with disdain by many others as "the elegant language."¹⁴⁴

Nevertheless, in the instance at hand, one should not construe Tharchin's call for "simplification" and "modification" of the Tibetan language to mean that the latter was to be cheapened or debased in the process of trying to make the Christian Scriptures understandable to the average Tibetan reader. Always a purist when it came to his ethnic national tongue and particularly to its Lhasan dialect, with which he was thoroughly fluent, the Kalimpong scholar was a strong defender of the traditionally accepted canons of Tibetan grammar. That this was still his thinking right up to the moment of his death is made clear in an interview he gave less than a year before his passing. When the question was put to him as to whether he thought the Tibetan language "needed some reforms in order to meet contemporary needs," it drew a sharp and ready response from the elder Tharchin:

So far it is not so reformed. But every now and then I come across new words which are, I suppose, signs of a new lifestyle and new realities. But I don't think Tibetan needs any reforms. There is an increasing tendency which views it that if the meaning is conveyed, the rest can be dispensed with.

Some years ago the late Prime Minister of Bhutan Jigme Dorjee tried to introduce drastic language reforms which in essence did away with the canons of Tibetan grammar and spelling rules. Everything was to be written phonetically. He ordered, without the late King's consent, new "Tibetan" primer textbooks meant for schools in Bhutan. Mr. Dorjee knew that I would not tolerate such destruction of the Tibetan language and did not ask me to print them. The new textbooks were printed at [another Kalimpong] Press. When a copy of the new textbook was presented to the late King, he was furious, and of course the monks were absolutely enraged. The King at once ordered the destruction of the new textbooks. Some 10,000 copies were burnt in the Press itself.

To introduce such destructive "reforms" is the quickest way to cut ourselves off from our past historical and cultural heritage.¹⁴⁵

It is difficult to discern, from the foregoing discussion of Tharchin's views on the matter, where exactly the Babu would draw the line between, on the one hand, the simplification and modification for which he had called and, on the other hand, his strong defense of the traditionally accepted canons of Tibetan grammar and spelling rules. Most interesting and enlightening it would have been had someone been able to listen in on the discussions which must surely have taken place for eight months at Tharchin's Kalimpong residence between

the purist Gergan Tharchin and the Tibetan/Ladakhi language reformer E. T. Phuntsog. Unfortunately, as far as is known, no extant record or possible eyewitness verbal report of this exists or is available.

The above vignette on what happened in Bhutan during the latter period of Babu Tharchin's life several years prior to his death in 1976 is an echo of a somewhat similar event which had occurred a generation later in this same land. Reporting in 1992 of what had transpired in the Kingdom of the Thunder Dragon "in recent years," John Bray described in the following terms an interesting parallel development there where Tibetan Buddhism is still the majority religion:

The traditional written language—particularly for religious purposes—is Tibetan *chos skad*, but in recent years the government has developed written forms of Dzongkha, which is spoken in western Bhutan, to serve as the national language. The Bhutanese scholars who pioneered the development of Dzongkha were senior Buddhists. They received state backing, and their status as religious "insiders" made it easier to withstand criticism from *chos skad* traditionalists. However, their early training helps explain why they have incorporated many of the complicated spelling rules of *chos skad*, a feature which may contribute to the relatively high failure rate in Dzongkha in Bhutanese schools.^{145a}



Before leaving this subject of Bible translation, mention should be made of a German benefactor of Tharchin's cited earlier, Dr. Kurt E. Koch. Tharchin would meet this eminent German missionary scholar and writer when he made a visit to Kalimpong in late January 1968.^{145b} Most likely he had come to Tharchin's hill town as a result of his friendship with Miss Margaret Urban, the Baltic-born missionary friend of the Tibetan publisher's second wife, Margaret Vitants. In fact, a year earlier Dr. Koch had penned a beautifully composed introduction to Miss Urban's book, *Jesus unter Tibetern*, which has described in great detail the lengthy visit the authoress experienced with the Tharchins in Kalimpong during the spring of 1964 and which has proven to be a rich source of information for much of the personal details on the later life and ministry of both Rev. Tharchin and his wife Margaret that have appeared throughout many of the pages of the present narrative.¹⁴⁶ While with the Tharchins on his own visit to Kalimpong, Dr. Koch learned of the need for the Christian Scriptures to be made available as quickly as possible to the Tibetans in their own language. And because of his generous help many Tibetans were given an opportunity to read John's Gospel in a two-column format of both English and Tibetan side by side and verse by verse. This Gospel was most likely published in 1969.^{146a} At first one thousand copies were printed and distributed free-of-charge to different refugee centers and schools throughout India. But the demand had become so great that ten thousand more copies were printed. The plan envisaged by this means had been to educate the younger generation of Tibetans to learn English along with Tibetan and at the same time give them exposure to the Christian gospel.



Due to wide distribution of the Tibetan Bibles, many lamas have been reading the Holy Scriptures with great curiosity and have many questions. They have been diligently searching through the sacred Christian writings. For instance, many decades ago an Incarnate Lama known as Trijang Rimpoche from Ganden Monastery near Lhasa had visited Kalimpong for the first time. He was the one, it may be remembered, who as one of two chief Tutors to the Fourteenth Dalai Lama at the Potala had introduced the then Boy-King of Tibet to Gergan Tharchin's Tibetan newspaper as a means of satisfying his insatiable thirst for knowledge of the outside world. Now the life of Kyabje Trijang Rimpoche, the current Dalai Lama's late Junior Tutor, is a most interesting one. It represents a similar rise to influential positions within Tibetan Buddhism to that recited earlier in the life of the Senior Tutor to His Holiness, Kyabje Ling Rimpoche (see end-note 31 for Chapter 22 above).

Trijang Rimpoche was born Lobsang Yeshe Tenzin Gyamtsho in 1901 at the village of Tsal Gungthang. His father had been a descendant of the Seventh Dalai Lama's family. At age three he was recognized by the Tibetan Buddhist Church as the reincarnation of the late Lobsang Tsultrim Palden, the 85th Ganden Ti Rimpoche. Like Ling Rimpoche, Trijang developed into "an extraordinarily brilliant scholar" who was said "to have learnt the Tibetan alphabet in a single day." He received his formal education at famed Ganden Monastery and at the Chu-zang hermitage nearby. Again like the Senior Tutor, Trijang Rimpoche achieved the *lharampa geshe* ("Doctor of Metaphysics") at a very early age—when only nineteen years old, two years younger than even his fellow Tutor had been when he too achieved this degree! After having had the privilege of taking his full monastic vows in the presence of the Great Thirteenth Dalai Lama, he went off to attend the Tantric College at Kyormo Lung, from whence he then became one of the assistant Tutors to the new Dalai Lama, the Fourteenth, teaching the Child-King reading, grammar and spelling in the latter's early years at the Potala and, as the senior of two *tsenshaps*, coaching the young Dalai Lama in the art of dialectics. He is said to have been an easygoing man "who dealt patiently with the childish antics" of the young Dalai Lama and his immediate elder brother, Lobsang Samden, "while ensuring that they kept up with their studies."

As a renowned scholar Trijang Rimpoche wrote extensive commentaries on the Graded Paths, essays on outstanding Buddhist personalities, exegetical works on Tibetan grammar, and many other works, including his autobiography (*The Illusory Drama*). But besides being a recognized scholar and the Dalai Lama's Junior Tutor, Trijang Rimpoche had also become one of Tibet's best-known and most popular lecturers on Buddhism to the masses. And as with the Senior Tutor, so it was with the life of Trijang Rimpoche: it was inextricably bound up with the life and career of the Fourteenth Dalai Lama. Like Ling, who accompanied His Holiness wherever he went abroad, so, too, did the Junior Tutor. Both of them traveled with the Dalai Lama to Peking in 1954/55, to India in 1956/57, and to freedom at Tezpur, India on that fateful journey from Lhasa in March of 1959. And when the great crisis in Tibet had commenced to deepen from 1955 onward, there were clear indications, wrote Michael Goodman, that His Holiness was relying "most heavily upon his spiritual adviser ...

Trijang Rimpoche ...” Such, then, was the measure of the man who on several occasions found his way to Kalimpong.

Now according to Tharchin, many decades ago before Dr. Knox had left the Himalayan hill station for good in late 1939, Trijang Rimpoche had met this medical missionary of the Scots Mission, and had even had tea with him. “They conversed about the Christian religion,” recalled the Tibetan pastor, “and a photo was taken of them afterwards.” This meeting of the two, of course, had occurred before this High Incarnate Lama had been appointed as Tutor to His Holiness. The subject of their conversation had perhaps been sparked in part by the fact that Trijang—a consistent reader, if not a subscriber himself, of Tharchin’s newspaper (which was always available at the Tibetan capital)—would in all probability have taken it upon himself to always scan the one page of the *Tibet Mirror* that was devoted to Christian themes.

It would be a considerable number of years later that this same Incarnate Lama happened to be in Kalimpong again. He would be there in 1960 and 1961 when during both years he visited Kalimpong, Darjeeling and other centers in the Hill District for the purpose, his biographer wrote, of “giving major empowerments” or teaching discourses to various Tibetan monasteries. And included among these was the local Gelugpa gumpa in Kalimpong, the Tharpa Chholing, situated very close by the Tharchin family compound. On one of these two occasions in the early 1960s Trijang Rimpoche made a point of visiting with Tharchin Babu. In the past, noted the newspaper publisher, the High Lama had contributed some articles to the *Tibet Mirror* which had been duly printed. Trijang Rimpoche, said the Tibetan pastor, evinced great interest in knowing more about the frequent references to the blood in the Bible, and he wondered aloud to his host why animals were killed. Rev. Tharchin explained to him: “Animals were not killed in order to attain salvation. According to the Bible only the blood of Jesus Christ has the efficacy to cleanse us from our sins.” This very high personage of Tibetan Buddhism passed away, as would Ling Rimpoche two years later, at his Dharamsala residence. Both the Dalai Lama and his Senior Tutor were present at the deathbed of their very dear friend when he breathed his last on 9 November 1981.¹⁴⁷



On another day a lama from the aforementioned Chholing gumpa came to Pastor Tharchin and requested a complete Bible in Tibetan. He very gladly complied with his request and managed to secure a copy for him. Such a request was not a rare phenomenon among the lamas and monks of Kalimpong or among those who came over the border from Tibet. It happened to the Tibetan pastor quite often, in fact. Moreover, in an earlier period along the borders of Tibet, that is to say, in the late 1930s, Rev. E. B. Steiner of the Tibetan Frontier Mission station at Dharchula in Northwest India could report that “large numbers of Tibetans, including lamas,” were passing through the station site every year, and many of them were calling at the Mission house and dispensary and taking away books of Scripture. “I have never seen such a heart hunger in my life,” wrote Steiner in a letter to the Bible

Society, “neither in Europe nor in America.” Indeed, one group, he added, “bought all the Scriptures we had and took them into Tibet.”¹⁴⁸ Such voluntary colportage of the Christian Scriptures by interested lamas and other Tibetans on the borders of their closed land would repeat itself again and again thereafter.



Perhaps the most unusual development to have occurred with respect to how the Tibetan Bible has been used to further the spread of the Christian gospel, and one that is fraught with historical irony of the sharpest kind, is what happened at the very heart of Tibet itself—at Lhasa—after Communist China had overrun the Land of Snows. There, it was subsequently learned, a Chinese Communist general, weary from attempting to bridge the language barrier between himself and the subjugated Tibetan people, decided one day to learn the country’s language for himself, and commanded that his subordinate officers do so, too—and fast! Yet how were they to learn in the face of having no textbooks?

The general, somehow having recognized that the only book in both Chinese and clear Tibetan was the Bible, immediately put his officers to work studying Bibles which had been confiscated from Chinese Christians as well as copies of the Tibetan Christian Scriptures he had collected as a result of his order that a search be made for all such Scriptures. Dismissing his learned prejudices against all religion when confronted by a pragmatic problem of administration, the atheistic Chinese commander now became the one to precipitate the irony of all ironies throughout this conquered land of Buddhist and Bon faith. For this was to be the new method in learning Tibetan that was now to be adopted everywhere in China’s new vassal state. And as Margaret Sinker so insightfully wrote in 1953: “In Tibet today China rules. The Tibetan Bible was completed just in time.” “All across Tibet,” Rev. Allan Maberly appropriately remarked concerning this incident, “the conqueror opened the Book of God to learn the language of the [conquered] people.” And in the process, people found in that book “the words of life that speak to the hearts of all men whether Chinese or Tibetan, rich or poor, conqueror or slave.” It was hoped, said another clergyman, that the Chinese Communists “may learn more than the Tibetan *language* from this comparative study of the Christian Scriptures.”¹⁴⁹



The Bible assures us, the elderly Tibetan pastor once observed, that “faith cometh by hearing, and hearing by the word of God.”¹⁵⁰ A day will dawn, Gergan Tharchin was quick to add, when many, many Tibetans shall come by faith to a saving knowledge of Jesus Christ through reading His holy words in printed form in their own mother tongue. It must be acknowledged, however, that even by the beginning of the twenty-first century that day has not yet come.

Last Audience with the Dalai Lama and the Passing of the Man from Poo

The time of my departure has come. I have fought the good fight, I have finished the [race]. I have kept the faith.

David, after he had in his own generation served the counsel of God, fell asleep, and was laid with his fathers.

2 Timothy 4:6b-7; Acts 13:36

ON THE 31ST OF MAY 1975 Gergan Tharchin's charming town of Kalimpong was once again favored with the presence of His Holiness the Fourteenth Dalai Lama of Tibet. What had brought Tibet's spiritual leader to this region of India for the first time since his initial visit back in 1956/7 was a two-day Buddhist Leaders Conference that was held in Darjeeling on the 24th and 25th of May and attended by over 200 delegates, scholars and political leaders from India, Nepal and Bhutan. The Dalai Lama's address to the Conference drew a colorful crowd of some 20,000, whose size should not have been surprising since, as the *Tibetan Review* quite accurately observed, such a visit by His Holiness at a place lying so close to the "trijunction of the largely Buddhist areas of Sikkim, Nepal and Bhutan" would naturally arouse considerable interest. Indeed, wherever he went throughout the Darjeeling District as a whole the Dalai Lama of Tibet received the "most rousing receptions" from both Tibetans and Indians alike. In the words of one informed observer, it would seem that even "after fifteen years of exile the Dalai Lama has continued to be not only the spirit of Tibetan Buddhism but the symbol of Tibet as well. And his influence has remained undiminished." His visit, in fact, "had a cohesive effect," noted the *Review*, on local inhabitants like the Lepchas, many of the Nepalese, the Bhutias and the Tibetans—all of whom profess Buddhism.

After a week in Darjeeling, His Holiness traveled the thirty miles by mountain road over to her sister community of Kalimpong that even as late as 1975 still had a sizable population of Tibetan refugees, settlers from Tibet who had come decades before, and those of Tibetan ancestry born in India. Here he would consecrate the recently constructed new monastery, the Zhang Dog Phelri Phodrang situated on the lovely hilltop Durpin Dara, to be followed by a "Wang" address delivered to a largely Buddhist populace. He would also visit the older Tirpai (or Tharpa Chholing) Monastery, the Indo-Tibet Buddhist Cultural Institute and the Central Tibetan Day School.¹ But the event which would prove to be the most meaningful and significant so far as the Tibetan family of Gergan Tharchin was concerned turned out to be a private audience the elder Tharchin and his son would themselves have with the revered spiritual director of Tibet.

Due arrangements for the Dalai Lama's residence cum audience were securely made

by the Government authorities. The site chosen for this happened to be the Taktser (Tengtser) House, named after the Tibetan home village in Amdo where His Holiness had been born. Located at the Seventh Mile close behind St. Philomena Girls' High School (a Catholic institution), the Taktser House would also be the place where the Dalai Lama's mother would stay with her son during the week-long visit of His Holiness in Kalimpong that began on the last day of May. The chamber of audience within the House was beautifully appointed with a variety of flowers and window curtains. The floor was carpeted with costly rugs of lovely decorative designs. The windows appeared to be as high as the doors, and were square in shape. It being oriented in the direction of the snow-covered Himalayas, beyond which lay Tibet, the chamber presented a contemplative atmosphere justly suiting the religious temperament of His Holiness.



This proved to be Gergan Tharchin's final audience with His Holiness, which occurred one day during the first week of June, 1975. It was officially timed for five minutes but Tibet's spiritual ruler, by a lengthy conversation, extended it to a forty-minute session: a definite sign and token of a special favor towards his old-time friend and the friend of Tibet as well.² Even others standing outside for the *darshan*³ of His Holiness were greatly surprised at the favorable position the Christian pastor enjoyed in the estimate of the Grand Lama of Tibet. For even as the Thirteenth Dalai Lama had appreciated the Kalimpong publisher and scholar, so his successor likewise appreciated him for his unique services to the Tibetan people in providing them with the *Tibet Mirror* and in authoring or editing through the years, as has been seen, a large number of well-received educational textbooks and other materials in Tibetan which he then printed at his own Tibet Mirror Press.

Gergan Tharchin and his son Sherab Gyamtsho were escorted from the Tharchin compound to Taktser House in a taxi by Rev. Peter Rapgey, the brother-in-law of the younger Tharchin's wife. And upon their arrival, Rev. Rapgey was permitted to take—on the elder Tharchin's camera—a photograph of the Dalai Lama and his two visitors. This took place at the very entrance to the audience chamber just before the two of them were guided by His Holiness himself into the chamber at 5 p.m., the pre-arranged hour of the appointment. This photo, highly prized by the entire Tharchin family ever since that day, now hangs, enlarged and suitably framed, in a prominent place on the wall of what—until his death several years ago—had been the office of the younger Pastor Tharchin. The photograph reveals the Dalai Lama and his two guests standing at the doorway together and shows the Tharchins with the traditional white *khata* draped about their necks. For Sherab Gyamtsho would later recall that as he and his father, according to Tibetan custom, each extended a white scarf to the Dalai Lama's waiting hands, His Holiness in turn returned to them their khatas by placing each around their necks. For this occasion, moreover, and as a mark of respect, the elder Tharchin, besides the usual custom of offering silk scarves, presented His Holiness five English books on Christian themes, a few books by his friend

Dr. Kurt Koch,⁴ and four monthly devotional readers in both English and Tibetan of *Daily Strength* that were published by the Scripture Gift Mission.

Gergan Tharchin very fondly recalled the early minutes of this encounter with the Dalai Lama. The moment His Holiness had been informed of their presence at the entrance of Taktser that led into the audience chamber, reported the Babu later, the Great One of Tibet descended the few steps which were there (in itself a break with protocol), saying as he did so, “Thogpo Ningpa, Nge Thogpo Ningpa [“Old friend, my old friend”], how are you and how are you keeping your health?”—which is a customary way of Tibetan greeting. But the next act of the Dalai Lama was to gently and lovingly pat the elder Tharchin’s shoulder and to remark *twice*: “Khye-rang Nga-tsoi Bod-gi Drok-po Nying-pa Re-da!”—“You are an old friend of Tibet!” At this, reported Tharchin the younger, the latter clearly noticed that “tears began to roll down my father’s cheeks upon hearing the Dalai Lama’s kind words.” His Holiness then led the two into the audience chamber and motioned them to be seated.

As the visitors took the sofa seats opposite the Inmost One of Tibet, the conversation began casually and in a most friendly manner. Now facing each other, the Dalai Lama gladly beckoned his old friend to move closer, with the words, “Thogpo Ningpa, come closer to the light. You can see my face at a close-up. Can you?” So the father and son moved closer to the window to have more light. After His Holiness had kindly inquired about Tharchin’s age and health he was pleased to learn that the latter was keeping good health at such an advanced age in his eighties. During the conversation (and pointing to his elderly guest) the Dalai Lama remarked to his official Secretary, “He is my great friend and also of all the Tibetans, as he has done much for Tibet.”

Then casually His Holiness inquired as to whether Tharchin had visited his birthplace at Poo and whether any of his relatives were still living there. He replied negatively to both inquiries, replying that he was the only survivor from his family and that it had been many years since he had last visited his birthplace.⁵ The Dalai Lama then made reference to his own visit recently to the Kulu Valley and its environs⁶ and expressed his feeling that the poor there were too poor but who nonetheless appeared happy, which was an encouraging thing for his guests to hear.

Interestingly, at about the midway point in the Tharchins’ lengthy audience with the Pontiff of the Tibetan Buddhist Church, the Dalai Lama opened up a brief discussion once again on the Holy Spirit and the Christian Trinity—a subject which fifteen years earlier he had broached with Rev. Tharchin when the latter and his wife had had a lengthy audience with His Holiness at Mussoorie (see again Chapter 27). Still intrigued by what appeared to him to be the singular place which the Holy Spirit occupied in the theology and practice of the Christian Church, the Dalai Lama now sounded out his guest once more on the same matter, even repeating somewhat the ground which had been covered in his previous discussion with the Babu back in 1960. What follows is the clear recollection of this portion of the audience reported long afterwards to the present author by the younger Tharchin.

According to Sherab Gyamtsho, His Holiness began by alluding to the Buddhist Trinity. “In the Buddhist faith we have three gods: Buddha, Dharma, and Sangha. Now over the years I have been hearing many times about a Trinity in the Christian faith also.” He then added, quite sincerely: “I truly honor and respect the Christian religion. And as I have

traveled extensively abroad, I have had occasion to visit many churches; and whenever I enter them, I have always slipped my robe down a short way as a means of showing reverence to the Christian God.” But then the High Priest of Tibetan Buddhism shifted his brief comments on the Christian faith to its Trinity and the Holy Spirit. “In my ongoing study of the Christian religion,” he began, “I have learned considerably about God the Father, God the Son—your Jesus—and God the Holy Spirit. Now I understand a great deal about these first two, but what is God the Holy Spirit? What does this mean?”

In his response to the Dalai Lama’s earnest inquiry, Rev. Tharchin replied by saying that “the Holy Spirit is something unusual: He is the Supreme Power that comes directly from Heaven. The Holy Spirit can also be described as the Personal Representative Who proceeds from God the Father and is sent by Jesus the Son Who is the Saviour of the world.” The Tibetan pastor added a cautionary note, however, in his response to His Holiness: “Not everyone has this Power: only those who believe and become true Christians have the Holy Spirit within them.” Furthermore, confided Rev. Tharchin, “I myself have been engaged in more study about the Holy Spirit in the course of my own Biblical researches; and perhaps, later on, I can explain further about Him and give you more enlightenment on this matter.”*

Thanking his visitor for the insight just now shared with him, the Dalai Lama answered, “This that you have said has indeed helped me; nevertheless, I must admit that it is still unclear to me; but perhaps we can discuss this again when we next meet.” That next meeting, though, would unfortunately never take place.

Reflecting on the name of Tharchin’s son Sherab Gyamtsho, His Holiness voiced the observation that he thought it was a very good name since it meant “ocean of knowledge,” and that even to possess but a drop of it was a great blessing.⁷ Sherab’s father at that moment interjected with a word to say that his son had been educated at the Graham’s Homes Establishment school of Kalimpong but added that his education had been adversely affected by his mother’s illness and death and by his son’s own extensive sickness. He was happy to report, though, that Sherab had eventually recovered completely from it.

From the way Gergan Tharchin delineated it later, his and his son’s audience with the spiritual leader of Tibet was punctuated with many memorable remarks. Once when Tharchin had observed that “Tibet will be opened some day,” His Holiness (turning at this moment to

* Interestingly, the present author came across among the ThPaK one loose page from a diary the Babu had kept as long ago as 1916 and on which he had written in Bengali/Hindi an entry which concerned a discussion he and his Ghoom Mission School Headmaster Karma Sumdhon Paul had engaged in regarding the Holy Spirit. It may be recalled from Ch. 5 of the present narrative that the Headmaster had become a Christian in 1913, only to renounce that faith officially seven years later; furthermore, it will become evident from Tharchin’s diary that in 1916 Karma Paul was somewhat confused about the Person and ministry of the Holy Spirit. Translated, the diary entry reads as follows: “Today I and teacher Paul had a discussion about the Holy Spirit. He put a challenge before me that if I were filled with the Holy Spirit and as a consequence people around him in Ghoom would be changed [for the better], then he will believe in the Holy Spirit. He further said that he would remain wrapped within one single piece of cloth until he receives the power of the Holy Spirit.” Tharchin, aged 25 at this time, was prompted to add immediately in this entry by way of conclusion a prayer for himself: “O Lord Jesus, fill me with your Holy Spirit as you had promised [Your earliest disciples].” He signed the entry thus: “23/2/16 Tharchin.”

his Secretary) remarked, "He is a great fighter for our cause."* Then the Dalai Lama smiled as he well-remembered the words of the now famous headlined article, "One Man War with Mao." This, it will be recalled, had appeared in an American newspaper and had outlined the fearless opposition of the *Tibet Mirror's* editor towards the Chinese as was manifested by the many articles he had written and published in his paper counteracting the Communist propaganda during the turbulent decade of the 1950s. His Holiness also remarked to his Secretary in this fashion: "He is the first man to have brought out a Tibetan newspaper for us when I was small in Tibet at around the age of seven or eight years old and of a time about which I do not remember much."⁸

At some point in his audience with His Holiness the former editor-publisher casually made reference to the occasional correspondence that had passed between the Thirteenth Dalai Lama and himself concerning the newspaper and other matters. Asked by the Dalai Lama now headquartered at Dharamsala if Tharchin Babu had a complete set of the *Tibet Mirror*, the venerable newspaper publisher had to reply that though he had most on file, some issues were missing. Behind this question of His Holiness lay a sincere desire to see added to the collection of the then recently established Library of Tibetan Works and Archives (at his Dharamsala center) a complete run of the famed newspaper so that the increasing number of students and scholars in Tibetan studies who had begun to frequent the Library could have easy access to what was obviously an important source of research material. As it happened, this desire was subsequently satisfied when within a few years following the newspaper founder's death Tharchin's son Sherab generously donated to the Tibetan Library the back issues of the *Tibet Mirror* as well as other materials deemed important to be added to the Library's collection: a donation which His Holiness was extremely grateful to receive, as evidenced by letters of acknowledgment and thanks sent to Sherab Tharchin from the Dalai Lama's office and the Library itself.⁹

Meanwhile, tea, sweets and refreshments were offered. At this moment Sherab inquired of His Holiness if it were all right to take several photos of him and his father; to which this much more informally-inclined Ruler of Tibet, with a wave of his hand, unhesitatingly obliged, saying, "By all means, take them!" Encouraged by this, the younger Tharchin immediately took three photographs. The Dalai Lama's official photographer also took some snaps. Later, His Holiness shook hands and led his old friend and his son Sherab to the door with most likely a foreboding in his heart that this would be their last meeting, since by then Tharchin was less than nine months away from departing this life. As they neared the exit, His Holiness reminded his two visitors to send him copies of the photos just taken. Then, turning to Sherab, the Dalai Lama inquired of him, "Do you have a family?" "I have eight children," Tharchin's son replied. "My wife comes from Buxa which I have not visited for some time." His Holiness then bade the father and son a kind farewell.¹⁰ Outside the audience

* Sentiments similar to these and the other laudatory remarks voiced earlier in the conversation by His Holiness about the Babu would be expressed some two decades later by the Dalai Lama's distinguished eldest brother Thubten Jigme Norbu, who was more than a casual acquaintance of the Babu's. In a letter to the present author Professor Norbu wrote most sincerely about Gergan Tharchin: the "total of my familiarity with this man" can be summed up by saying that he "was a great patriot and nationalistic Tibetan." Norbu to the author. Bloomington IN USA, 19 Nov. 1996.

chamber once again, the old esteemed friend of the Dalai Lama was now greeted most respectfully by various Tibetan officials who themselves were still awaiting their own turn to have an audience with His Holiness.

The elder Tharchin would later give the following brief portrait of the forty-year-old Fourteenth Dalai Lama as he had seemed to the aged Tibetan on this unusual occasion: “His Holiness appeared bright-faced and in a happy frame of mind. He was plain, simple, peaceful and thoughtful. Physically he looked tall, stout and strongly-built. He looked cheerful with kindly eyes. At the moment of bidding farewell I noticed tears in his eyes”—no doubt due to the Dalai Lama’s realization that this would probably be his old friend’s final audience with him.



Indeed, as just now intimated, God’s servant from Poo would live but a few months longer. As best he could he had served the purposes of his God long and well in his own generation, and could now cease from his labors. On Friday the 6th of February 1976 at 12:30 p.m. Gergan Dorje Tserima Taschi Zering Tharchin completed his earthly pilgrimage, having entered very peacefully into his rest at the ripe old age of almost 86 (Western reckoning). He had indisputably fought a good fight for his Master and Savior and had finished the course he felt his Lord had laid out for him to follow, leaving behind him—in the words of the Citation read at his funeral—”a wonderful testimony ... for the glory of God.”

The Citation also revealed the fact that on the day prior to his death this faithful disciple of Jesus had

referred to “a new open door” in his room and inquired of his daughter-in-law as to who made it and when it was made; yet, as a matter of fact, no such new door had been made in his room or anywhere else in the house. At the moment no one took these words seriously, all failing to understand their spiritual significance. Only after his death was it realized that he had had a vision of “a New Heavenly Door” being opened for him to enter and remain in the immediate presence of his Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ for all eternity.

Decades later Tharchin Babu’s daughter-in-law Nini would still be able to recall quite vividly the fascinating details that lay behind this incident. The story itself further demonstrates how alert and sound of mind the Babu still was, even up to the moment of his passing.

It happened that on the night before the Babu died, two ladies from the Bhutan border area were visiting Nini in the Tharchin family compound. At this time also, one of the indigent girls being cared for in the Himalayan Children’s Home, Thamchey by name, was serving as a maid to Nini Tharchin by serving the aged Tibetan pastor his evening meals. That night Thamchey would likewise be serving dinner to Tharchin’s son Sherab Gyamtsho, Nini and her two guests. These all were seated in the sitting room on the other side of a partition which currently separated the sitting room from the elder Tharchin’s makeshift bedroom area. But in order for Thamchey the maid to enter the sitting room and serve the

various dinner courses that evening, she had to pass through the Babu's bedroom where he was resting.

Now as the serving girl passed back and forth through Babu Tharchin's quarters into and out of the sitting room, he began to scold her gently by asking, "Why are you moving through this new door instead of going through the regular entrance?" To which Thamchey* politely replied to the master of the house: "But, Sir, I *am* going through the regular door." Yet each successive time she would pass by his bed, Babula insisted that "Yes, you *are* passing through this new door!" This same scenario occurred many times that evening, with Nini and the others clearly able to overhear through the thin partition the dialogue which ensued between these two on each occasion when Thamchey walked past the aged Babu's bed, yet giving it no serious consideration.

But then, when Nini Tharchin had finished her meal, she herself needed to pass by her father-in-law's bed, prompting the elder Tharchin, who recognized her as he had Thamchey, to call out to her: "*Phumo* ("Daughter"), why is Thamchey going this way through the new door?" "When did you make this new door," he quickly added, "and why did you not tell me?" Mrs. Tharchin could only reply, "No, La, we never made any new door; this is the same old entrance." Tharchin La insisted, however, by saying: "No, *Phumo*, there is a new door here!" Three times this same dialogue occurred between the dying Tibetan pastor and his daughter-in-law as she passed back and forth through his bedchamber. Nevertheless, Nini and the others once again that night gave the incident no serious thought.

It was only when Gergan Tharchin had unexpectedly but quietly slipped into the bosom of his Heavenly Father early the next afternoon, that they all now began to perceive the significance of Babula's words of the night before. "Even up to his last breath," reported Nini long afterwards, "we realized he had continued to exhibit a normal, sound and alert mind, especially at the time of his conversations with Thamchey and me. And, therefore, we at last recognized that this true man of God had been given to see what for him was a vision of the heavenly door through which he was shortly afterwards to enter." And thus did Gergan Tharchin—having remarkably "served the counsel of God in his own generation"—end his earthly life only to begin his heavenly one.¹¹

Upon his passing into the heavenly glory, there was graciously sent to the bereaved family a condolence message by His Holiness the Fourteenth Dalai Lama from his exile headquarters at Dharamsala that was a testimony to the dedicated efforts this lover of the Land of Snows had made for the cause of Tibet. "We are deeply distressed," wrote the Grand Lama, "at the death of Mr. Tharchin. We have lost a great and sincere friend of Tibet and its people. His contribution to the cause of Tibet will be long cherished. We offer our prayers for the departed soul."¹² Later the exiled Tibetan government's *Kashag* or Cabinet, at the time the highest Consultative Body for the Tibetan people within India, sent a message of commendation in recognition of the enduring contributions Tharchin Babu had

* Who still lives today, in Bhutan's capital of Thimphu with a family of five children, and can therefore corroborate the details of this unusual incident as recounted by Nini Tharchin. Recently made a widow, Thamchey's late husband had been a high official in the Bhutanese government. Information per email, David Tharchin to the author, Kalimpong, 7 Aug. 2007.

made. "The Kashag," the message read, "wholeheartedly agrees ... that the contributions offered by the late Rev. G. Tharchin to Tibetan language, literature and culture, as well as his indefatigable endeavors in upholding the Tibetan national cause, are by all means unforgettably meritorious."¹³ Even more stirring were the words of high praise which were offered up three years later by Gyatsho Tshering, the Director of the exile government's Library of Tibetan Works and Archives at Dharamsala. In a letter sent to the late Babula's son Sherab, the Library's Director wrote: "... the Rev. Gegan [*sic*] Tharchin ... is highly respected and admired in the Tibetan circle. From the beginningless beginning to the endless end, he will be remembered as a great fighter [for] human freedom. Generations of Tibetans will remember him for the relentless struggle and devoted dedication that he mobilized for the cause of Tibetan freedom."¹⁴ Interestingly enough, more than ten years following the Babu's death, one of the scholars at Dharamsala connected with this same research library of Tibet's exile government devoted considerable space to the man from Poo in a brief but scholarly treatise he had written on the life and contributions of some prominent Kunawari Tibetans born near the turn of the twentieth century. Though aware of Tharchin's strong Christian background, Tashi Tsering, in an unusual display of deep respect for this man, wrote the following appeal at the conclusion of his short study on the Babu: "I urge all Bhotia-speaking people to combine their efforts—in [showing their] appreciation of his deeds—to celebrate and commemorate his birth centenary which falls on the 18th of April of the coming year."¹⁵

* Interestingly, within a year or so following Gergan Tharchin's death a number of interested individuals organized themselves into the "Late Rev. G. Tharchin Anniversary Committee" for the purpose of maintaining the memory of the late Tibetan publisher and scholar. One of the methods employed over the next several years to implement this Committee's purpose was to mount an annual Birth Anniversary Celebration to honor Tharchin's memory and to call attention to the unique service he rendered to the cause of progress and development of Tibetan language, literature and culture, with the hope that, as the Committee's Secretary once declared, "his views and vision will find its place in many hearts who may carry them forward for the cause of Tibetans and Tibet, which we pray and hope shall one day regain its true political freedom and independence."

This series of annual celebrations would be held either in the Kalimpong Town Hall or at the Indo-Tibet Buddhist Culture Institute at nearby Bagdhara, usually presided over by the Institute's Founder-Director, the Venerable Dhardo Rimpoche, and attended by a distinguished gathering, sometimes including the Tibetan Welfare Officer as the representative of His Holiness the Fourteenth Dalai Lama and Chief Guest at the function. Often, the Secretary, together with Tharchin's nephew-in-law Ringzin Wangpo and Mr. Jampal Kalden of the Institute, would speak at these annual memorial functions. One year (1978) the Anniversary Committee decided to institute six Memorial Prizes for those Tibetan students chosen best in academic studies, cultural skill and character—which were then given out at the appropriate time. During several of these annual celebrations cultural items such as books, newspapers and other objects of memorabilia relative to the late Rev. Tharchin were placed on display, they usually being mounted by students of the Institute. Such displays would provoke great interest on the part of scholars who attended. And at one memorial gathering the audience exhibited great appreciation for the lifelike portrait of Gergan Tharchin drawn by the famous local Kalimpong artist Sri Bhakta Pariyar. It was unveiled on this occasion by the Institute's Founder-Director followed immediately by a *khata* being offered from the hands of the Babu's granddaughter Elizabeth, with an opportunity being provided for others present to do the same. This was followed by the performance of a *khata*-offering dance by members of the Institute. At the end of the program a "Vote of Thanks" was rendered up by the Babu's son S. G. Tharchin as well as by the Institute's Secretary. See "Tharchin Anniversary Observed," *TR* (June 1978):7; "Rev. G. Tharchin Anniversary," *Himalayan Observer*, 28 Apr. 1979, p. 7; "Tharchin Anniversary," *ibid.*, 10 May 1980, p. 2; "Tharchin Anniversary," *ibid.*, 16 May 1981, p. 3; and a copy of the typed-out "Programme: On the Occasion of the 88th Birth Anniversary of the Late Rev. G.

The funeral for Gergan Tharchin was held on the 9th of February at the Macfarlane Memorial Church. "Everybody who knew him," noted one of the Babu's younger acquaintances, "was shocked and saddened at the news of the death of this man who was regarded with affection by all."¹⁶ It came as no surprise, therefore, that in attendance at the funeral service was an overflow crowd of deeply appreciative mourners who all had in one way or another been touched for good by this man who had possessed so many commendable qualities of mind and heart: especially had he been steadfast, forthright and fearless, but at the same time loving, kind and considerate. Well did the Citation that was read at his funeral end with these words: "This day we are thankful to the Lord for such a worthy life lived for Him. At this moment we join with the Psalmist who long ago declared: 'Precious in the sight of the Lord is the death of his saints.'"¹⁷ (Psalm 116:15)

Condolence messages poured into the Tharchin compound from far and near. Two of the more noteworthy ones came from two close associates of Rev. Tharchin in the work of the Church. From his dear friend Pastor C. T. Pazo of the Church at Gangtok came the

Tharchin on 18th April 1978 in Kalimpong Town Hall," ThPaK.

Even some two decades after his death, the Babu's memory was still being honored; for in a tourist guide for the region around Kalimpong published at about that time, due recognition continued to be given to various contributions and accomplishments of this extraordinary Tibetan: "One of the great men in the history of the Scottish Mission Church in Kalimpong was Rev. G. Tharchin. He passed away in February 1976 in his 87th year [Tibetan reckoning]. He was the only authority on the travels of Sadhu Sundar Singh. Rev. Tharchin completed his training in the SUM Institution and served in the same institution as a teacher. He taught the Tibetan language. He worked in Tibet for some time as Headmaster of a Primary School." Anand Prakash Agarwala, ed., *Tourist Guide to Darjeeling, Sikkim and Bhutan* (New Delhi, 1991), 42; and repeated verbatim in Agarwala, ed., *Tourist Guide to Kalimpong* (New Delhi, 1996), 8.

A still further demonstration of just how great in the hearts of so many is the lingering memory of Babula was clearly exhibited in December 1991 on the occasion of the wedding of Gergan Tharchin's eldest granddaughter Ruth. For it has been estimated that some four to five thousand people, both Tibetan and non-Tibetan alike, came from far and near to attend the marriage and the reception which followed at the Tharchin compound. The reason for such an immense number of attendees at this event was not at all difficult to fathom. As the Babu's son himself humbly acknowledged, "What drew this enormous crowd of well-wishers was the fact that this was the granddaughter of a man who was so greatly revered by one and all in Kalimpong and elsewhere. They came to honor not only my daughter Ruth but also my dear father." The Chairman of the Fellowship of the Free Baptist Churches in West Bengal, Rev. B. K. Biswas, who himself was one of the thousands in attendance, added that he noticed "there were many millionaires present. too!" All in all, it was an amazing testament to the widespread influence this man of humble beginnings had had on so many—whether rich or poor, high or low, Bhotia or Indian. Interview with both Rev. Biswas and Pastor S. G. Tharchin, at the Biswas home, Nov. 1992.

* Christians with a deeper understanding of the Bible have interpreted the phrase—"the death of his saints"—as indicative of not only a *physical* dimension to the meaning of "death" here but also a *spiritual* one: a death to a person's self-life whereby that animating power within him which motivates his soul to serve merely his own self-centered interests has been crucified with Christ on the Cross in the power of God's Holy Spirit. When this becomes genuinely experiential in a Christian's earthly walk, the latter is characterized by a giving of one's self preeminently to the interests and concerns of both God and humanity. In this more profound sense, then, of what this Biblical passage signifies, it is truly applicable in describing the charitable, compassionate and beneficent life which Gergan Tharchin continually and wholeheartedly manifested towards others throughout his many years as a devoted follower of the Altogether Self-Giving Christ (see the next chapter, in fact, for a delineation of this facet of the Babu's character). And this kind of "living-death" sacrifice of themselves exhibited in the lives of the Christian God's holy ones (His "saints") is indeed considered to be something very "precious"—even rare—in the sight of their Lord and is believed by discerning Christians to be most pleasing to His heart.

following handwritten missive of sympathy, addressed to the Babu's son Sherab and his wife Nini, and dated 9 February:

I was grieved at the sad news of the passing away of your father ... Mr. K. B. Thapa broke the news to me and expressed your desire that I should take the funeral service at Kalimpong today. But you know, I am old (78 years) and have become unfit for travel. Therefore, I asked Mr. Thapa to give the news of my inability to come to Kalimpong. I would conduct [i.e., I conducted] a memorial service in Gangtok. People were impressed with the service in which I mentioned your father's outstanding faith in Christ Jesus. God gave him opportunity to witness for Christ in Tibet and among the Tibetans in Kalimpong! God gave him a long life to bring you up to be able to stand on your own feet. Therefore, thank God, for His blessings. Now, your father's spirit is freed from the burden of the flesh. He is free to go to heaven and to move in all the places he had been to, like Jesus after His resurrection!

I expect many Buddhist friends attended the funeral!! Because he, your late father, had helped them in many ways!... This much for today. Your fellow-sufferer,

C. T. Pazo

One of the most touching messages, also sent on the 9th to Sherab Tharchin, came from Rev. D. H. Mukhia of the CNI local church at Kurseong. Writing from the Church Cottage, Gangtok, where he happened to be attending a Church Camp and was staying with Rev. Pazo, the handwritten condolence reads:

My dear Sherab:

It was a deep shock to hear of the Home Calling of your loving dad. I was with the Pastor here [C. T. Pazo] when the news came. None of us could go for the funeral, but this letter is sent to express my deep sympathy to you and Buhani [his wife Nini].

I can well imagine your great responsibility as a worthy son of your illustrious father. His life and work can be written in gold. And now you have to carry his mantle.

I thank God for the Tharchin family and the great record of history that they have created. I am sure God will give you His strength to shoulder the change which has fallen on you.

May God give His peace to both of you.

One final indication of the special place Gergan Tharchin had in people's hearts must not go unmentioned. For in some ways this expression of love and appreciation for him might have touched this Tibetan servant-leader the most could he have been alive to witness it. After the death of Rev. Tharchin the Tibetan church congregation he had pastored for so long still continued meeting for its services, as it had for many years past, in a side chapel area located at the front left of the main sanctuary of Macfarlane Memorial Church.¹⁸ Now upon the initiative of this congregation and at its expense, a memorial plate was installed on the wall directly behind the pulpit of the same side chapel area just described. It was unveiled there during a combined Tibetan-Nepali Sunday Service that was held in two Parts on Sunday morning 30 October 1977.

Participating in both services as one of several leaders on the Macfarlane pastoral staff, the then church elder Sherab G. Tharchin delivered a sermon in Tibetan (followed by Rev.

H. D. Subba in Nepali) during the First Part of these combined services that was then succeeded immediately by the Second Part which opened with a hymn and Bible Reading.* There then occurred the unveiling of the Memorial Plate in Rev. G. Tharchin's honor, at which time there was read out a commemorative citation entitled "In Memoriam" that had been prepared by a close acquaintance of the Babu. Similar in text to much of the Citation which had been delivered at Babu Tharchin's funeral service the year before (and prepared by the same person), the passages unique to this commemorative citation read as follows:

Rev. G. Tharchin was a man of complex qualities sharpened to the finest point and organized and combined into a single individual who was intensely fired by the sense of freedom. Deeply and aggressively determined, he endeavored to preserve the integrity of Tibetan language, literature and culture; and ever championed the cause of a Free Tibet, strong and united under a Free Banner. No wonder, therefore, that he was singled out by one of the world's news media as the most suitable and truly able man to carry on a "ONE-MAN WAR WITH MAO"!...

Rev. Tharchin always cherished the vision of a strong Tibetan Church ever ready and willing to carry on the torch of the gospel of Christ to Tibetans and others. He vehemently opposed the recognition of Tibet "as a part of China." "Tibet for the Tibetans" had been his philosophy, his deep conviction. No wonder, then, that the *Tibetan Review* in its December [1975] issue fondly recalled his lifelong humanitarian services rendered towards the development and preservation of the Tibetan language, literature and culture....

This day it is a matter of great rejoicing for us all to know that the Church in Kalimpong has very gratefully recognized his faithful services for the cause of Christ and especially to the Tibetan Church; and therefore, in loving memory of him, [the Church] has this day and this hour [unveiled] this Memorial Tablet in the presence of us all. May his life inspire us.

And I heard a voice from heaven saying unto me, Write,
Blessed are the dead who die in the Lord from henceforth:
Yea, saith the Spirit, that they may rest from their labors,
and their works do follow them. Revelation 14:13.¹⁹

The Memorial Plate, which still remains affixed to the wall of the Macfarlane Church for all to see, reads quite simply but most meaningfully as follows:

In Loving Memory of
Rev. G. Tharchin
The First National Pastor
and the
Moderator of the Tibetan Church, Kalimpong,
Who Dedicated His Life for the Kingdom of Christ
and to the Glory of God.

1924—6th February 1976
"Precious in the sight of the Lord
is the death of his saints." Psalm 116:15²⁰

* The order of worship for both Parts, which was printed at the Tibet Mirror Press, is reproduced in the Appendices at the end of this present volume.

**G. Tharchin Babula:
Taking the Measure of the Man**

“Here is the man!”—“Look at [him]!”
John 19:5-6*

- The Babu’s love for the Lord Jesus was immense.—D. K. Khaling
He was a spiritual man, very pious, and one who dedicated his whole life to the service of the Lord.—Elder Victor Subba
He was a genuine Christian with convictions.—Gyamtscho Shempa
His Christian faith was very strong; he had very strong convictions.—B. C. Simick Jr
His religious life was his all-consuming passion.—Ven. Kusho Wangchuk
The spiritual environment at the home of the Babu and his wife was such that it was an encouragement and blessing to me.—D. K. Khaling
His appearance was bright, happy, even jolly.—Elder Victor Subba
He was a jolly man who talked with everybody; a very pious and harmless man, who was quite good for everybody.—“Dr.” N. Tshering
He was a thorough gentleman, courteous, very humble, and law-abiding.—Gauri Shankar Prasad
Though he was in many ways a genius, he was quite simple, humble and polite in his demeanor, never affecting a superior air.—Gyan Jyoti
Humble, meek and considerate, he was also kind and generous to all, even speaking most politely to the most poor and humble person of whatever caste or religion.—Rev. Tshering Wangdi
This remarkable man ... was a thoroughly likable character, peculiar in many ways, and one oddity that was immediately noticeable was his attire which put him in the order of what is referred to in the Western world as a “westernized oriental gentleman,” or in the less respectable language—a wog. He almost always wore a shabby, ill-fitting suit, complete with a watch chain and he topped all that with a greasy felt hat that he never failed to doff repeatedly to his acquaintances. His scraggy neck, stained teeth [—doubtless the result of his inveterate habit of smoking—] and bristly gray eyebrows more or less complemented the scruffy clothes he wore.—Dr. Sonam B. Wangyal
Although a very polite, mild-mannered, ever smiling man, he could also be very frank, and had a short temper.—Mr. C. Wangdi
He possessed a very fiery short temper, one that could easily be provoked; but then, he would just as quickly forget all about the matter which had aroused the anger.—B. C. Simick Jr
He would get angry at his Mirror Press staff for making inexcusable mistakes, but he would later console and apologize to everybody at the Press for his angry outbursts.—Pandey Hishey
If he *had* any faults, his many good qualities far outweighed any failings or weaknesses he may have had.—Gyamtscho Shempa

* Combining together the translations of this passage by Charles B. Williams and William F. Beck, respectively.

He exhibited his Christian faith in most practical ways. Indeed, he was “a good Samaritan” in the fullest sense of that phrase. An untiring humanitarian ..., he was genuinely interested in and concerned about the needs of anyone: whether that person have been a Tibetan, an Indian, a Japanese, Chinese, or whatever. Regardless one’s background, his home was open to all in need 24 hours a day.—Sonam T. Kazi

The Babu was most generous to others, whether providing his assistance for their physical benefit—such as clothing, food, etc.—or his influence, which was considerable, in obtaining a proper desired end. Indeed, he was always ready to give his time, wisdom and knowledge in counseling and/or advising anyone who sought it, regardless that person’s social station, ethnic background or religion.—Rev. Peter Rapgey

I agree totally with the observation made by others you have spoken with that in Kalimpong, if anyone was in need, such would immediately be directed to Rev. Tharchin’s doorstep for help.—Ven. Kusho Wangchuk

Babu Tharchin’s hospitality to all who called upon him was known far and wide. Every time I went to visit him, I experienced it myself.—Dawa Babu

Tharchin-la mingled so much with the people of Kalimpong that his kind and generous heart was exposed to them for what it truly was.—Shanti K. Pradhan

What, you ask, accounted for this kind, generous, giving and compassionate quality of the Babu’s? In great part, I believe, it was due to the fact that he came from a very poor family in Rampur-Bashahr, and knew firsthand what trying to survive meant in such terrible circumstances.—Sonam T. Kazi

Babula Tharchin knew from his childhood experience what dire poverty was like, having worked as a coolie and laborer in doing the most menial tasks. He could therefore easily relate to those in need.—B. C. Simick Jr

Babu Tharchin treated me like his very own son.—S. Jain

Babula loved me like a son; so much so, that he did not want to let me leave the Press staff when my father died. He wanted me to come back later from Gangtok.—Pandey Hishey

He had a great love for children, and he showed that love to me many times when I was a child growing up in Kalimpong.—Twan Yang

The Babu was a very excellent man, and whatever he did he did so in an excellent manner.—Mrs. Tashi Panlook

He was a man whom you could absolutely rely upon in carrying out whatever he said he would do.—Gauri Shankar Prasad

Gergan Tharchin always commanded respect, and his personality easily made him stand out from the crowd.—B. C. Simick Jr

He was not in the least narrow-minded in his Christian walk.—Rev. Peter Rapgey

Even though Babu Tharchin was a staunch Christian, he was nonetheless a liberal, broad-minded Christian in the sense that he was one who never criticized other people’s faith but who sought to learn what was good in the religious faith of others and sought to help others to know the Truth.—Drasho Rigzin Dorje

Tharchin-la was tolerant of all people of all faiths, for he was always so close to so many people from so many different ethnic and religious backgrounds that he *had* to have been tolerant.—Gauri Shankar Prasad

Rev. Tharchin’s tolerance towards, for example, Buddhists, did not mean for him any compromising of his Christian faith or an embrace of Tibetan Buddhism; it meant rather a willingness to associate with, and not set himself apart from, Buddhists or those of other faiths.—Rev. B. K. Biswas

Though Babu Tharchin was a Christian and not a Buddhist, he was through and through a *real* Tibetan.—Tashi Pempa Hishey

Gergan Tharchin was all for Tibet.—Rev. Peter Rapgey

For the Tibetan people Babula Tharchin laid down his life; even so, he never made any distinction between other ethnic peoples and the Tibetans. He was always helpful and friendly to all in Kalimpong regardless their ethnic background.—Mrs. Tashi Panlook

Though they were Buddhists and he was a Christian, all Tibetans *needed* Gergan Tharchin.—Ven. Kusho Wangchuk

Gergan Tharchin was quite at home in the Tibetan culture and was himself most approachable by all Tibetans. In fact, the Babu was looked upon by all the Tibetan people—from the poorest beggar to the wealthiest aristocrat—as a statesman and scholar. Because of Tharchin Babu's testimony of life, Tibetans revere his memory as truly a great man among them.—Rev. B. K. Biswas

Not all was "sweetness and light" between the Christian Babu and the Tibetan Buddhist community. This was because all his life he faced hostile opposition from quite a few—but certainly not all—Tibetan Buddhists, who though outwardly were very nice, polite and held him in high regard, inwardly they resented his Christian faith and were non-receptive to the Christian gospel.—B. C. Simick Jr

With respect to the Tibetan language and related areas of scholarship, Tharchin Guru Babu was a wonderful writer, an excellent grammarian, and published a very good newspaper. His study—whether at the Tharchin compound or down at the Mackenzie Cottage Press office—was always crowded with dictionaries, his search for knowledge being inexhaustible. He had an extraordinary mind.—Sonam T. Kazi

There was not an instance among the many times I was at the Tharchin home that there were not educated, scholarly Tibetan Lamas present during mealtimes, evening prayers, or whatever.—Rev. B. K. Biswas

Many scholars—both Western and non-Western—would visit Gergan Tharchin at the Mirror Press and in his home.—Achu Namgyal Tsering

Tharchin Babu ... also was a teacher in great demand: his knowledge of classical and colloquial Tibetan was excellent, and to tap this gift numerous European Tibetologists came to study Tibetan grammar under him.—Dr. Sonam B. Wangyal

From his youth up Gergan Tharchin was a very clever, intelligent, inventive man, constantly inquisitive and creative, particularly in respect of mechanical things.—Sonam T. Kazi

The Babu and I at one time served together for several years as members of the SUM Institution's Managing Committee. And quite often he would thunder forth about certain important issues, never yielding when principle was involved. Indeed, the Babu was bold and courageous in standing his ground when he felt right and justice were on his side in a given issue, opposing not only the locals on the Committee but even the foreign missionary members, if he believed they were wrong. And at such times all present would become quiet and not say a word. And more often than not, time would prove Tharchin Babu to have been correct in his judgment; and quite often also all in the end would adopt the Babu's position on those matters about which there had been disagreement.—P. R. Pradhan

Tharchin Babu was no "mouse" but was a fearless man who could not be intimidated by *anyone*. He stood adamant for what he thought was right and righteous.—B. C. Simick Jr

As a man and spiritual leader Gergan Tharchin has always been for me a source of inspiration and a prime example of courage and fearlessness in the face of adversity

and challenges in life and work. He should always be held up as a model for all of us to follow.—P. R. Pradhan

Although Rev. Tharchin loved and respected the foreign missionaries and their endeavors, his vision was to see the Church ultimately indigenous and that every servant of the Lord Jesus should be independently supported rather than supported by the foreigners.—Rev. B. K. Biswas

Babula was one of the best and sincerest well-wishing friends I ever had. He inspired me greatly. I had nothing to offer him but he always gave me so much.—Dawa Babu

I never saw anyone else like Babu Tharchin; in fact, the Christian faith was lived out in his life as I have never seen it lived out in any other person in all my years, seventy-one thus far, on this earth.—Rev. Tshering Wangdi

I loved that old man!—D. K. Khaling

Babu Tharchin was loved and appreciated by all and sundry everywhere, for I was able to observe during my five-year residence within the Tharchin compound how he would receive Christmas cards each year from all over the world and yet he himself never went abroad save to Tibet, Sikkim and Bhutan.—Rev. Tshering Wangdi

Tharchin-la was one of the finest persons in all of Kalimpong. The local people knew him very well and knew that they could always come to him for help because he was very kind, generous and full of compassion. Rev. Tharchin was a true Christian because he was always for the welfare of the locals and was always ready to help the needy and less fortunate ... His love and affection and friendliness towards all—whether Tibetan or non-Tibetan, high or low, rich or poor—was well known. He lived a beautiful life.—Dawa Babu

To sum up everything I knew about him, Gergan Tharchin was an authentic *sadhu*—a saint, and a great reverend.—Elder Victor Subba

SUCH ARE THE TESTIMONIALS concerning G. Tharchin Babula which came forth from the lips of those who knew this remarkable man and knew him well.*¹ To a person all agreed, without reservation, that Gergan Tharchin was a great and good man, one who was highly revered by all and sundry. Yet given such a “perfect” portrait of the man and his life as just now collectively delineated, this writer cannot help but be reminded of the wise counsel which Pandit Nehru had given to British film director Richard (later Sir Richard) Attenborough. The occasion was when the latter had interviewed the Indian Prime Minister as part of his decades-long preparation in advance of filming the life of Nehru’s very dear friend and mentor, Mahatma Gandhi. Declared the protégé of the Mahatma to the Director: “Whatever you do, don’t deify him.”^{1a} Sir Richard would follow Nehru’s sage advice when making his cinematic triumph that was simply entitled, “Gandhi.” For when released in 1982, the more than three-hours-long film had noted both the martyred Indian leader’s weaknesses and failings as well as his strengths and achievements: resulting in a more balanced portrait of the man than would otherwise have been the case. The author of the present narrative has wished, as much as his rather extensive research has made it possible, to do the same with regard to the protagonist of its many pages, G. Tharchin Babula.

Nevertheless, having said this, the present author must plead a paucity of evidence in not having found much in Gergan Tharchin’s character which could be described as blameworthy.

* A few biographical details about each person who offered testimony regarding Babu Tharchin in interviews with this writer are provided in the end-note here indicated. The dates of these interviews and the localities where held are noted in the Personal Interviews section at the end of the present volume.

Indeed, this writer is also reminded of what both the Babu's daughter-in-law Nini and grandson David have had to say most recently about their late esteemed relative. It so happened that a person whom this writer interviewed had cited three incidents similar in content which supposedly had involved the Babu and that could convey the notion of a possible flaw in one particular area of his character. Producing considerable concrete evidence to the contrary concerning these incidents which ultimately went to prove to this writer's satisfaction that the notion presumably conveyed had been totally groundless, both Nini and David Tharchin, in an email the latter sent this writer, went on further to take the opportunity of contributing their own testimonials regarding the Babu. Writing on behalf of his mother Nini as well as himself, David communicated the following:

Amala [an affectionate name for Nini] had lived with the [senior] Tharchin family ever since her marriage to my father, S. G. Tharchin, and was thus in the "total know" concerning all the "ins and outs" of my grandfather, his wife Margaret, and the entire Tharchin household. . . .

Amala summarizes that on the basis of all the years in which she had lived with and closely observed the Tharchin household [beginning in the late 1950s], she can assert today that Gergan Tharchin had belonged to an entirely different league or class of men from most: he was absolutely selfless, most kind and compassionate, and unusually broad-minded in his thinking, attitude and conduct.

Even I myself, although but a kid of eleven when my grandfather expired, have a very saintly and holy remembrance of him.²

Now granted that these two very close relatives of the head of the Tharchin clan could quite naturally be viewed as predisposed in favor of Tharchin Babula in their remarks; even so, these remarks of theirs correspond completely with the collective testimony already presented of those witnesses of his character and lifestyle who were more likely to be impartial and objective. Their remarks therefore add weight and substance to the persona which has begun to emerge concerning this far-from-ordinary individual: an absolutely selfless, kind and compassionate man, nearly perfect in all his ways by the time of his passing, and an authentic Christian saint who lived a beautiful life of service for his God and humanity that was an inspiration to all whose lives he touched. Indeed, there is a plethora of incidents from his life and career that can more than substantiate this emerging, highly praiseworthy portrait of the man from Poo. And thus, it only remains for the author to select from this plethora those representative incidents which when presented together will demonstrate beyond dispute that all which was listed earlier of what others had perceived and so graciously said concerning him was very much true and real in the life of G. Tharchin Babula. Here, then—from many different sources—is what this author learned about him which has proved to be so uplifting, noble and inspiring.

*

First and foremost, a few things need to be said about Gergan Tharchin's Christian faith

beyond what has previously been mentioned and discussed throughout these several volumes on his life and career. The author came across among his papers a loose page from a diary he had kept during the year 1916. At age 25 Dorje Tharchin had written in Bengali an entry for 24 February which is indicative of his heart desire to be fully devoted to Christ and His will for his life. Translated, it is a prayer of supplication: “O Lord, please help me to fulfill Your purpose. Yet even in this, may Your will be done, not mine. Amen. 24/2/16.”

Indisputably, Tharchin was a man of prayer, possessing deep faith in Christ, and one who continually committed himself to his God to order his steps in all his “goings and comings” related to his daily walk on the earth. He wanted nothing in his life to escape the touch and imprint of his God on his every undertaking. For instance, as he was poised to travel to Calcutta on an important mission regarding the acquisition of a better press, the Christian Babu broke out in prayer on the day of his journey which he set down on paper in longhand, recording not only the date but even the exact time of day. Appropriately, he had recorded the prayer on a sheet of the Tibet Mirror Press letterhead stationery. Found among the Tharchin Papers, it reads:

10/8/47 [10 August 1947] 12:42 p.m.

O Lord Jesus, I do thank [Thee] for all Thy goodness to me. Today I am leaving for Calcutta to see a better press for which I have prayed since many years so that I may be able to serve the Tibetan People in a better way & that according to Thy guidance I may be able to testify concerning Thy great salvation.

So bless me and my going out, & I leave my family in Thy hand & care to keep them & protect them [from] every dangerous & evil thing & the same to me and my friend [a person who traveled with him]. Amen. Tharchin 10/8/47.

From this prayer of faith, incidentally, one learns that after more than two decades of publishing his Tibetan newspaper and producing other literary works, Babu Tharchin had continued to look upon all his publishing efforts as an undertaking in the service of his Lord for the purpose of spreading the Christian message of salvation among all Tibetan-speaking people wherever they might be found. As his younger colleague in the Christian gospel, Rev. B. K. Biswas, was wont to observe about Tharchin, “As a Christian, the Babu was a very happy man, *firm* in his faith. Prayer for him was far more important than even the protection of the Tharchin compound from thievery. For when the head of the Tharchin household would summon everyone to evening prayers—including all servants—thus leaving areas of the residential compound unattended and unprotected from possible theft by outsiders, this mattered not to Rev. Tharchin.”³ His God would protect whatever *He* wanted to protect; but if not protected, this servant of Christ would nonetheless be satisfied with whatever was the outcome. He simply put his trust for all things in the hands of his Lord God.

As further evidence of Tharchin Babu’s fervent prayer life, there was found jotted down in the Bengali language on a long sheet of paper the following lines of a prose poem of sorts which Rev. Tharchin had composed some time on or about 25-28 October 1955, since that dating appears in his unmistakable handwriting at near the bottom of this long sheet. It must be noted, as was learned in Chapters 25 and 26 of the present biography, that Babu Tharchin was at this time still languishing in a somewhat melancholic state over the loss of his

beloved wife Karma Dechhen, but was beginning to emerge from it, in part because of his developing romance by this time with Margaret Vitants. With one's knowledge of this as the background, Babula's literary composition takes on added meaning. Translated, the prayer-prose poem has as its first five or six lines taken together what is a close paraphrase of the opening lines of the world-famous prayer attributed to St. Francis of Assisi (1181/2-1226). The translated composition reads in its entirety as follows, with only some slight editing having been added for the sake of clarity:

Lord, please make me an instrument of peace.
Let me love where there is hatred.
Let me give help to the helpless
Give me faith where there is doubt and hope where there is despair.
I have faith in tomorrow because it is yet to come.
I am younger today; tomorrow when I become older, then do I hope
to become better than now.
I have hope for the future.
I have faith in seeing, hearing and touching all the wonderful things which at the present
time are not seen by [my] eyes and not heard by [my] ears.
It naturally becomes darkness if there is no light.
If there is light then darkness automatically disappears.
People without religion are not religious-minded.
People who believe in religion possess virtue.
If you do good [i.e., virtuous] things, then evil will flee.
If you do bad [evil] things, good things will flee away.
These two cannot remain together.
If you worship God, then avoid worshipping fairies and demons.
Accept the priceless God; [and if you do that,] you cannot worship demigods and demons.

If one reads this composition carefully, one can perhaps detect the fact that Rev. Tharchin's faith in his Lord and Savior was triumphing over the deep darkness, sadness, melancholy and despair which had enveloped him upon the death of his dear wife just eight months earlier. He was now emerging from "the dark night of the soul" and renewing his faith, hope and trust in his Father-God and looking forward to the brighter future He had for him. "Even if I go through the deepest darkness," declared the psalmist of old, yet "I will not be afraid, Lord, for you are with me. . . . [And] I know that your goodness and love will be with me all my life; and your house will be my home as long as I live."⁴ Surely Babu Tharchin had begun to lay claim by faith once more to these reassuring precious promises from the Christian Scriptures he loved so dearly and read so faithfully daily. His faith had returned to him in a new and living way, as is reflected in these lines of poetry he had composed at a most difficult period in his life. By faith he was being prepared by his Lord for what lay ahead—a new chapter in his experience that would be more "wonderful" than before. As the Babu had himself declared: "I have faith in seeing, hearing and touching all the wonderful things which at the present time are not seen by my eyes and not heard by my ears." And his faith in "the priceless God," he firmly believed, would bring all this to pass.



Another, and quite distinctive, facet to Babu Tharchin's Christian faith and life of prayer was how he would react to what he perceived as dramatic news developments at the national or international level—especially when such concerned his ethnic homeland and her people. So personally was he impacted by what he deemed to be earth-shaking events that he would sometimes cease what occupied his attention at the moment and break out with expressions of joy, sadness or lamentation that would often take the form of prayer composed in either lines of prose or poetry. These inspired expressions he would at times record on paper. One vivid and very moving instance of this had occurred when news reached him that the former Regent of Tibet had died at Lhasa in 1947. What began with monks at the capital's Sera Monastery rebelling in support of ex-Regent Reting, who had been arrested and imprisoned for attempting a coup and return to power that year, had ultimately ended in his death not long afterwards under mysterious circumstances.

Having prepared, for an upcoming issue of the *Tibet Mirror*, his summary in Tibetan of the latest news about the ex-Regent and now his death, the Babu had then written out an English translation of this summary. First providing in the summary a reminder to his readers what had been reported in the *Mirror's* previous issue on this subject, the newspaper editor would now pick up the story from that point forward, laying out the ensuing events in chronological order, commencing with 13 April 1947. But when he reached the denouement to the entire episode, which he recorded as having occurred on 8 May 1947, the Editor briefly commented as follows: "It is sad news to report that the ex-Regent Radeng . . . died in [the] awesome Palace Potala." At this point, however, Tharchin, overcome with grief, sorrow and dark foreboding for Tibet's future, now broke out with the following lament that at its conclusion was turned into prayer:

Alas! Consider the nature of this [present] world.
 Alas! Behold this phase of the degenerated age.
 Behold this consumption being [or, constituting] the end of accumulation.
 Behold this downfall being the end of elevation.
 Behold the thing which only recently was in hand is just now lost.
 Behold the unstable illusive machinery [? of Government ?].
 Behold the excitement by which self-victory and other vanishing [? things ?] are found
 wanting.
 Well! Well! What is the best thing to do?
 Save, Save, oh Thou God, out of Thy mercy.
 Thou wilt doubtless observe this phase of the world.
 I know, I know the vanity—[that] all is vanity.*
 I remember, I remember, the holy religion of God.
 Oh make me [undecipherable] [at this] very time.

* One of the central themes and an oft-repeated statement to be found in the Old Testament book of Ecclesiastes. part of the Judeo-Christian Scriptures.



As has been clearly intimated at numerous places throughout the present biography, Gergan Tharchin's evangelistic impulse on behalf of the Christian gospel was fervent, deep and wide. Indeed, the preaching of the gospel of Christ, however it might be carried on, was ever and always an integral part of his Christian faith, and he sought every opportunity to implement this mandate as part of his calling as a Christian catechist. Unceasingly eager to spread the Christian message of salvation among his ethnic brethren in their homeland of Tibet whenever he himself visited there, Tharchin likewise had a burden to do so within those Bhotia communities which lay outside Tibet's borders and were within a reasonable distance of his home in Kalimpong.

For example, according to Nini Tharchin, the Babu would even travel by mule on Sunday afternoons over to the somewhat distant town of Pedong, situated very near the Sikkimese border, in order to conduct Christian meetings in the home of his old friend from their Yatung days in Tibet together, Rev. Yeshay Isaac. It will be recalled from Chapters 14 and 16 of the previous volume that Y. Isaac had been David Macdonald's head clerk at Yatung's British Trade Agency, but he later retired from the Indian Civil Service and settled down in Pedong's Sakyong Bustee where many Tibetan-speaking people lived. Together with Pastor Isaac, Rev. Tharchin would particularly focus his evangelistic efforts on winning these people for Christ, he willing to give up many of his Sunday afternoons and evenings for the sake of the gospel. For on each occasion that he went by mule to Pedong, accompanied by his faithful syce Norphel, Tharchin would return to his Kalimpong home quite late in the evening—tired, but with a deep sense of fulfillment in his heart in having obeyed the command of his Master Jesus to go everywhere and preach the gospel of glad tidings.⁵

But there was another interesting aspect to Rev. Tharchin's evangelistic impulse which ought to be mentioned. This was his practice of taking under his wing, as it were, younger Christian evangelists for further training or having them as mature colleagues in the work of evangelism among not only Tibetans but also other ethnic groups in the Kalimpong area. Three such instances of this practice can briefly be noted here.

Born in Tibet in 1926, Pema Bhutia (later, Pema Paul Bhutia) had been brought to Jorebungalow near Ghoom by his mother. He, though not yet a Christian, would in time marry a young Christian lady from Lachung in Sikkim, Tabitha by name. She had been brought to Jorebungalow by Finnish missionaries. In 1948, at age 22 Pema was converted and baptized in Kalimpong. First serving Christ several years at Jorebungalow, he subsequently was taken aside by Rev. Tharchin, with whom Pema Paul labored in the gospel for several months before he was encouraged by Rev. S. Sodemba of Kalimpong's Himalayan Crusade Mission to pursue his desire to preach the gospel in Bhutan. Not until 1969 would he make his first exploratory visit there.

Simon Dukpa was another young evangelist whom Rev. Tharchin had assisted. A native of Chunabatti village along the road to Buxa Duar that was situated on the southern Bhutanese frontier, Simon became a Christian and was baptized in 1952. Thereafter he became an evangelist with the Finnish Mission in the Duars, and sometime later went to Kalimpong

where he joined Rev. Tharchin in evangelistic outreach throughout the surrounding area. He would later be ordained by the same Rev. Sodema, who sent Simon, along with Pema Paul Bhutia, to the community of Jaigaon located in the western Duars area.⁶

But by far the most lasting relationship as co-workers in gospel evangelism between Rev. Tharchin and younger Christian evangelists was that involving Rev. B. K. Biswas. As noted elsewhere, B. K. Biswas had been born in 1933 of Bengali parents at Dacca in what is now Bangladesh. Converted to Christ as a teen-ager but rejected by his offended Hindu parents, young B. K. would settle down, at age 19, at Algarah near Kalimpong in 1952 where he became a Christian evangelist. He did not meet Rev. Tharchin for the first time till October 1956. One day while distributing Christian tract literature along K. D. Pradhan Road, B. K. encountered the Babu, to whom he gave a tract and with whom he shared his Christian conversion, everything which had happened in his life after that, and how, as a consequence of his Hindu parents' rejection of him over his conversion to Christ, he had acquired a sincere love towards all, regardless the ethnic background, religious persuasion, or Christian denomination.

Greatly touched in heart by what he heard, Tharchin-la, according to Rev. Biswas, "immediately loved me as a son in the Lord, addressed me as such, and invited me up to his home." From that moment forward, Rev. Tharchin took the younger evangelist under his wing and, reported Rev. Biswas long afterwards, "began to implant in my heart a love and a burden for the Tibetan people and their conversion to Christ which has never died up to this day." These two would remain very close friends till Tharchin's death in 1976; and in the meanwhile, they would frequently labor together in the gospel among both Tibetan-speaking and non-Tibetan-speaking peoples in Kalimpong and the surrounding area.⁷



It is not surprising in the least that Rev. Tharchin had been extremely touched by the tolerance shown towards others of different ethnicity and/or religious affiliation by this younger Christian brother of his. For this very attitude constituted a primary feature in the character and conduct of this Indo-Tibetan Christian himself and was something he devoutly wished to see emulated in the lives of his Christian brethren in Kalimpong and elsewhere but which he noted was unfortunately often lacking (see below for more about this). Indeed, it was this quality of broad-mindedness in Tharchin which so many people with backgrounds different from his admired in him, as is evident in quite a few of the testimonials quoted earlier. In fact, it was this tolerant aspect in the Babu's character and personality which had attracted Rev. Biswas to him and made of the younger evangelist a better Christian. For as the latter himself later acknowledged to this writer: "Although I had already acquired a tolerance for other faiths as a result of the persecution I had suffered at the hands of my parents, even so, Babu Tharchin's own life of tolerance towards people of all races and creeds as well as towards those of Christian denominations besides his own reinforced my own broad-minded attitude that much more."⁸

The ex-Tibetan monk and later Christian pastor, Rev. Peter Rapgey, could himself testify to this tolerant trait in Rev. Tharchin. As noted earlier, Rev. Rapgey had declared to this writer that the Babu had not at all been narrow-minded in his Christian walk. He went on to point out an example of what he meant. For when attending certain Buddhist religious functions in Kalimpong to which he had been invited, Babula Tharchin would have no problem in his conscience in participating in one particular customary ritual. It involved dropping some finely-ground wheat flour into one's palm and tossing it up into the air and simultaneously wishing one another who were gathered together on this occasion good fortune or good health.⁹

"Far from criticizing or condemning anyone's religious faith," recalled his dear Christian brother and fellow evangelist, the Macfarlane Church elder Victor Subba, "Rev. Tharchin was in good friendship with all."¹⁰ Rather than engaging in negative fault-finding regarding someone else's faith, Gergan Tharchin, declared Drasho Rigzin Dorje of Bhutan, "had sought to learn what was good" in that person's faith and "to help" him "to know the Truth."¹¹

Nini Tharchin has provided concrete evidence of Tharchin Babula's remarkable broad-minded attitude and practice, particularly in relation to Tibetan Buddhist monks and lamas. He was frequently invited to public Buddhist functions in Kalimpong. For instance, he was often requested to attend certain religious ceremonies at nearby Tharpa Chholing Monastery which might be celebrating the Birth Anniversary of Dalai Lama XIV (and before that, of the Great Thirteenth) or which might be the occasion at the gompa of celebrating the Death Anniversary of the Great Reformer of Tibetan Buddhism, Gyalwa Tsong Khapa, the founder of the Gelugpa Sect of the Tibetan Buddhist Church. Invited annually to such public religious events, the Christian pastor would always go if he were not ill or out of station, since this provided him, the tolerant Christian that he was, an opportunity, on the one hand, to identify with his ethnic brethren, and on the other hand, to give visible expression to his Christian faith without in any way compromising his own personal belief and walk in Christ before a watching world.

For example, at the Birth Anniversary of the current ruling Pontiff of the Tibetan Buddhist Church, Rev. Tharchin would always be one of the featured speakers; and within his remarks could always be found a brief but pointed witness to his Christian beliefs. Hundreds, if not thousands, of outsiders—both ecclesiastical and lay, rich and poor, high and low—would be gathered at the gompa, and would hear his remarks. Furthermore, when the moment came in the ceremonies for the assembled crowd to queue up and move in circular fashion past the altars devoted to the reigning Dalai Lama and to the Buddha, Bodhisattvas and other personages in the Buddhist pantheon of gods and goddesses, Tharchin would join in with the participants, yet not as a Buddhist but clearly as a Christian for all to see. For upon arriving at the Throne Altar reserved for the Dalai Lama—upon which could be seen articles of clothing which he had worn and a large photographic image of His Holiness that was to be garlanded with thousands of *khatas*—Rev. Tharchin, with khata in hand, would place it there as a mark of respect for the leader of his ethnic countrymen, but he would never bow in worship before the Throne and Image of His Holiness (for as he often said to friends, family and acquaintances concerning the Dalai Lama, "He is indeed a King and a wise

intellectual—but he is not a god”). And then he would pass by the Buddha Altar and the other Altars without so much as looking at them. Moreover, stepping outside the monastery, whose walls were lined with the customary 108 prayer wheels, he did not so much as touch, let alone turn, any of them, as would, of course, all the Buddhist faithful.

Now Gergan Tharchin, noted his daughter-in-law Nini, would share, as often as possible with family and Christian friends, these various experiences from his life for the purpose of breaking down the narrow-mindedness which he too frequently saw exhibited among his Christian brethren in Kalimpong who habitually set themselves apart from those whose religious beliefs and practices were not the same as theirs. As he was wont to comment repeatedly to his fellow believers in Christ, whether indigenous or foreign, whether dark- or light-skinned: “If we never associate with those of differing religious backgrounds and practices, then how can we bring them into the Kingdom? If we don’t go to them where they are, how can we bring them to where we are?” “For did not our Lord Jesus,” he continued, “have social intercourse with the socially unacceptable of his day: the tax collectors and sinners, and even certain members of the intolerant religious leadership? And yet, He always made himself available and approachable to all who were open to associate with and listen to Him. And did not Paul the apostle of Christ declare concerning his walk before God and man, ‘I am all things to all men that by all means I might win some’ to Christ, ‘doing it all for the sake of the gospel’?”*

* From Paul’s First Letter to the Corinthian church, 9:22-3. Interestingly, it was a phrase from this passage of the Christian New Testament which figured centrally in an observation the late British frontier cadre official in Tibet, Hugh Richardson, had made in offering up an assessment of Gergan Tharchin’s character and conduct. For when asked by John Bray, in a conversation he had with Richardson in 1999, to express his views of the Babu, the retired British official had replied that he thought Tharchin was “a bit of a trimmer and ‘all things to all men.’” Bray also inquired of him about the Tibetan Buddhist “double dorje” (*Dorje Ge-tram*) insignia with which Tharchin had sometimes adorned the *Tibet Mirror*, and according to Bray, Richardson “seemed to regard that as an example of Tharchin’s ‘trimming’ approach.” Letter, Bray to the author, London 10 July 1999 which provided a summary of his “conversational interview” with Richardson, 23 June 1999.

The reader should review again on pages 261-2 of the previous volume of the present study the discussion of how and why the Christian editor had often adorned the front page of his Tibetan newspaper and/or his Mirror Press letterhead stationery with the double dorje and other distinctive Buddhist symbols. It may be recalled from that discussion that the Babu had purposely chosen these familiar auspicious Buddhist symbols as a way, he hoped, of immediately putting potential Tibetan Buddhist readers of his Christian-oriented news journal at ease; resulting, he further hoped, in attracting large numbers of them to the pages of his paper so that they would become willing beneficiaries of his attempt to spread widely among this closed and therefore isolated people news about the outer world and about Jesus and His sacrificial love. And not unlike the apostle Paul, Tharchin, it could be said, had thus become all things to all men that by any and every legitimate means he might win some of these Tibetan readers to his Lord and Master Jesus.

For it must not ever be overlooked or ignored that above all else, G. Tharchin Babula, as was intimated earlier in the litany of testimonials about him, was one whose “all-consuming passion in life” had been the winning of people—especially among his ethnic brethren—to Jesus Christ. And that therefore it mattered not to him what means he would legitimately employ to further that objective. Without a clear recognition and understanding of this evangelistic impulse in Tharchin which motivated and impacted upon his every action and undertaking, one might indeed look upon the Babu as something of “a trimmer.”

The fact that the comments on Tharchin which Bray was able to elicit from Richardson were meager is perhaps indicative that this British officer, like many other people around the Indo-Tibetan who did not move in the “religious circle” of a Gergan Tharchin or a David Macdonald, failed to recognize what made the Babu conduct himself in the way he did as a Christian who had been greatly inspired by the *modus operandi* of

Clearly, Tharchin Babula was merely following in the train of both Jesus and Paul. Yet, like them, he was greatly misunderstood; and was compelled, for the gospel's sake, to explain again and again his position on the matter: a concept and position which were both Biblical and logical. Especially did he have to explain and clarify this matter to the poorer classes of Christians, who had great difficulty in understanding and accepting the Christian pastor's conduct in this regard. Even so, reported Nini Tharchin to this writer, with patience and in a spirit of humility and non-judgmentalism, Tharchin would take every opportunity open to him to share his testimony.¹²



Yet with all of Rev. Tharchin's approachability, association with, and tolerant attitude and conduct towards his ethnic Buddhist countrymen and the other Tibetan-speaking peoples with whom he had frequent if not daily contact, not everything, as was alluded to in the earlier testimonials, was "sweetness and light" between this servant of Christ and the Tibetan Buddhist community. This assessment has come from three different sources, the first from a younger contemporary of the Babu's still living today and quoted earlier among the list of testimonials, Dr. Sonam B. Wangyal. Currently operating a medical clinic in the southern Bhutanese border town of Jaigaon, Dr. Wangyal is a published authority on the languages, customs, religion and history of the Darjeeling Himalayan region, having contributed articles in a number of publications like *Himal*, *The Statesman*, and *The Himalayan Magazine* (Kathmandu). But he has also most recently contributed a most endearing essay on the Babu which appeared on an Internet website in March 2008. In it, though, he mentions "the angst and hurt the local Tibetans carried against him for forsaking Buddhism in favour of Christianity"—an angst and hurt which, however, had been greatly eased over the years by the Babu's unrelenting anti-Chinese Communist editorial stance that was reflected in the many issues of his Tibetan newspaper.^{12a}

B. C. Simick Jr, the son of one of Gergan Tharchin's closest Christian friends in the hill station, is a second source who has remarked upon the resentment and opposition of some in the Tibetan community towards the Indo-Tibetan over his Christian proclivity. Simick Jr recalled to this writer how he would often deliver a letter from his father to the Babu; and on one of these occasions, having apparently noticed a keen interest this young lad had exhibited in wanting to learn the Tibetan language, Babu Tharchin had gifted him with a copy of Kazi Dawa Samdup's *English-Tibetan Dictionary*. He did this, reported Simick Jr, not only because he was the son of his good friend and fellow Christian but also because he loved young people and sought to help and advise them as much as possible. Moreover, always on

Christ's follower Paul to make oneself "all things to all men" that one "might by every means save some"—and "all for the gospel's sake." And for Rev. Tharchin, be it further understood, this modus operandi included what has just been described in the Text above; namely, the exercise of a broad-minded, tolerant attitude and conduct towards all people—regardless of race, creed or nationality—so that he might win some of them to Christ.

the lookout for potential candidates for gospel evangelism to his ethnic brethren, Rev. Tharchin may have perceived such a potential in B. C. Jr. And as it turned out, the latter would acknowledge long afterwards that because of his frequent interaction with Rev. Tharchin through the years, he was inspired by the Babu to develop a deep personal burden for the Tibetan people that they might come to Christ. And partly in line with that burden, Simick Jr eventually became a Lecturer in the Tibetan language at Kalimpong College. Furthermore, he had apparently been able to learn from the Tibetan pastor himself as well as from his own observation of the Kalimpong scene that Rev. Tharchin had experienced opposition from quite a few Tibetan Buddhists, who “though outwardly,” he remarked to the author, “were very nice, polite and held him in high regard, inwardly they resented his Christian faith and were non-receptive to the gospel of Christ.”¹³

A third source for one’s knowledge of such hostility was P. R. Pradhan, a younger son of Gergan Tharchin’s highly esteemed Christian friend of yesteryears, K. D. Pradhan. Born in 1923, P. R. Pradhan would become the Principal in 1965 of the Scottish Guild Mission’s prestigious SUM Institution. Having served with Rev. Tharchin on several civic and educational Committees in Kalimpong, P. R. was in a position to know and observe the Babu fairly well. Here is what he was able to relate to the author regarding the matter under discussion:

Both my father and I recognized and appreciated the fact that like ourselves among the Nepali Hindu community in Kalimpong, Gergan Tharchin would be something of an outcast within his own Tibetan Buddhist community here. This was because he, like we were, was a Christian who in consequence suffered some persecution and some ostracism for his Christian faith; though this situation was far from universal within the Tibetan community as a whole.

Nevertheless, both my father and I were amazed at the boldness and courage which, despite such opposition, he exhibited in fearlessly proclaiming to his ethnic brethren—whether high or low—that “Christ is Lord!” We were continually amazed because we, I must confess, were not bold as Tharchin-la was.¹⁴

Let it be said here that the resentment and opposition which some Tibetans had shown towards Rev. Tharchin more than likely stemmed from the fact that they simply could not fathom how it was possible that a Tibetan could be a Christian and at the same time feel, in the words of Rev. Biswas, “quite at home in the Tibetan culture.” They could not understand how it was that so many Tibetans, even some, perhaps, among these very critics of the Babu themselves, had found this devout Tibetan believer in Christ so approachable and winsome, and that many Tibetans accepted and esteemed Rev. Tharchin as a “truly great man” within the Tibetan community as a whole.¹⁵ They just could not believe that a real Tibetan could be a Christian. They may have had little or no problem in believing that a Tibetan could be a Hindu, but never a *Christian*. Nevertheless, as Tashi Pempa Hishey once declared to this writer: “Though Babu Tharchin was a Christian and not a Buddhist, he was through and through a *real* Tibetan” (his emphasis). And Pempa Hishey was himself a Tibetan Buddhist, had been one of Kalimpong’s most prominent civic leaders, and had known Tharchin-la very well.¹⁶ It may be helpful here to explore this issue more fully and to do so within the context of Gergan Tharchin’s exceptional life and career.



As best as could be determined, it can be said that at his death Gergan Tharchin had been the oldest living Tibetan Christian and the oldest living Tibetan Christian worker in India. In the lengthy interview granted by the elder statesman of the Tibetan Christian Church that has been alluded to several times in the present narrative, the interviewer, Dawa Norbu—who at the time was the editor-in-chief of the *Tibetan Review*—put to Rev. Tharchin an insightful final query that by the questioner's own admission was a rather personal one. The question was this: "I have observed that usually when a Tibetan becomes a Christian, he gets alienated from his fellow Tibetans, from those in his own community. But you are held in such high esteem by all sections of the Tibetan community, and the fact that you are a Christian [does not get in the way] in your relations with Tibetans. How is this?" To which the distinguished follower of Christ from Kalimpong replied: "Throughout my life I have tried to practice what Jesus Christ taught. . . . I don't tell lies or cheat other people. I try to be helpful. Tibetans even in my early days might not have understood what was meant by my being a 'Christian,' but they accepted me for what I am. Besides this, they know that my heart is with Tibet, though my body is in Kalimpong."¹⁷

Interestingly, Tibet's modern-day historian Tsering Shakya has himself noted this inability on the part of Buddhist Tibetans during and after the Babu's lifetime to understand this outstanding member of their community who had become early on in his life a follower of Jesus Christ and had ever and always remained so throughout his career. Observed the historian to this author: "I think the Tibetans had ambivalent feelings towards Tharchin; on the one hand, they admired him for his pioneering works and his innovation in bringing out the Tibetan newspaper and, on the other hand, his [Christian] faith confused Tibetans who could not understand it."¹⁸ Nevertheless, though they could not understand his adoption of Christ and not Buddha as his Master and Lord, they for the most part were not at all alienated from him because they saw that the results flowing from his embrace of Christ were wholesome, uplifting and benevolent in their impact upon the lives of all peoples the Christian Babu in any way touched: but especially upon the Tibetans themselves, wherever situated.

In fact, far from their having become alienated from him or his having become alienated from his fellow Tibetans because of his acceptance of the Christian faith, Gergan Tharchin was sought after by all and sundry within the Tibetan community, for they immediately recognized in him a true lover of all Tibetans regardless their religious understandings. It was reported in the mid-1960s by a friend of the Tharchin family that although he was "a conscientious Christian," this Tibetan pastor served "on the Council of [one of the local] Buddhist monasteries and its schools [a reference, of course, to his association with the Tharpa Chholing gompa], in lawsuits, and on various cultural and business matters" pertaining to others who were not Christian. The friend went on to say, in what was quite a significant observation, that "the people know he gets his wisdom from the Book of the Christians and therefore respect him in the deepest way."

Yet in all his relations with his countrymen, this converted Tibetan from Poo never once

compromised his own religious convictions. Miss Margaret Urban, who was just quoted from and who by now must be quite familiar to the reader, further relates in her little book, *Jesus unter Tibetern* (Jesus among Tibetans), an extraordinary example of Rev. Tharchin's knack for being able to identify in such a loving and helpful way with a people who are for the most part staunch Buddhists without in the least losing touch with or feeling insecure in his own Christian faith and practice. Some Tibetan Buddhist refugees had arrived at the Tharchin home one afternoon, having just returned from a pilgrimage to the exiled Dalai Lama in far-off Northwest India and bearing a gift from His Holiness for the beloved Christian pastor at Kalimpong. Here is how Miss Urban, who was a visitor in the Tharchin home at that time, has described the simple but quite marvelous and touching scene which took place in the living room that day in the spring of 1964 when the Kalimpong pastor was already in his 75th year. Here also are her perceptive concluding remarks which so clearly anticipated the sentiments about Gergan Tharchin expressed by the *Review's* editor-in-chief.

One afternoon I heard a stomping in the passageway outside my room. That was not the treading of the [orphan] children. I opened my door and saw ten to twelve women and a man being led by a boy, who is also the household servant, into the living room. I trotted quietly behind. Loudly and joyfully they greeted the Tharchins. Margaret Tharchin said to me: "They have returned from their pilgrimage. My husband helped them get their military passes, without which they are not allowed out of the Kalimpong district. Now they bring him a gift from the Dalai Lama." They stretched forth a bundle with red ribbon. They look fresh and shining from their long trip. How lively and naturally, not at all bashfully, these Tibetans speak! The man across from them now becomes completely quiet. Then he reaches into his clothes and lifts himself up. Immediately the women stand up. They gesticulate with their arms, so that there comes to my mind the image of a large fluttering bird. The man pushes a letter out from in front of his garments, and all bow very respectfully. They remain in this position, until Tharchin has unsealed and read the "Thank-you" letter from the Dalai Lama. Then they sit down and talk gleefully.

The respectful posture that this people have before the words of their Priest-King shames me. I compared this display to the lax regard with which we [Christians] hold the Word of the eternal and only true Priest-King [an obvious reference to the Christian Bible].

Now tea was served. Mrs. Tharchin gathered me close by. The Pastor said: "My wife will now pray with us."

The Buddhists immediately became quiet, bowed their heads, folded their hands. I was astonished, and saw but quickly for myself that the Tibetans are indeed a very devout people. They pray much and everywhere. Margaret Tharchin prayed in Tibetan. As she said, "Amen," all in a chorus cried, "Amen." Then I saw a woman, just beaming, say something. All clapped merrily with approval. "What did she say?" I wanted to know. "She said: 'Before we went on the pilgrimage, you prayed to Jesus. And now you do it again.'" I was gripped. I was no longer horrified over the religious crossflow. I had learned in the last days, and could only rejoice, that this Jesus in this house had already become a reality to them.

That the Pastor had helped them on their pilgrimage shows me further how very much he stands by the side of his people in all life's situations. The Word of God he simply sometimes cannot say, but to show love he can do now and always. It is similar

for him as for us in the secular West, wherein we often can no longer convey much through words; and because of this, our Christian influence, exerted as it were in secret—as salt—can work. As a Christian, Tharchin is through and through a Tibetan. In his living room, for example, hangs a picture of the Dalai Lama. That does not mean: here a reincarnation of a Buddha is worshiped. It simply means: here the national leader is held in respect.¹⁹

This quite natural ability by Tharchin to be both an ardent Christian *and* a thorough Tibetan points up a matter, incidentally, which up to this day the Tibetan community as a whole has not dealt with in anything like a fair and satisfactory manner. That was the view of a latter-day younger-generation Tibetan Christian leader, the late Rev. Stephen Hishey (1953-2006), who was mentioned in Chapter 28. At one time the pastor of the Moravian Tibetan congregation at the Ladakhi capital of Leh, Rev. Hishey would later serve the Tibetan Christian community elsewhere in Northwest India. A number of years ago he had been asked, in an interview later published in the *Tibetan Review*, whether he thought the existence of Tibetan Christians “should be [made] widely known?” In answering affirmatively, Rev. Hishey, who had been born at Kalimpong of a former Kumbum Monastery monk from Amdo and a mother from Kham, had gone on to comment on the difficult but necessary task which confronts the Tibetan who would share his Christian convictions with others of his ethnic community. Speaking rather candidly, Hishey had observed:

Tibetans tend to not accept and to ignore Tibetan Christians because they feel that they are outside the Tibetan culture. But let me say that they are Tibetan Christians *within* the culture. As I feel and know, I believe that Tibetan Christians have not accepted foreign cultures. They have become Christians within their own culture and have a form of worship that they follow. I think it is not quite right for other Tibetans to say that Tibetan Christians are foreigners.²⁰

It should be noted here that American anthropologist Beatrice Miller has attempted, admittedly in hesitant fashion, to grapple with this very question that she herself posed as reflected in the title she gave to a paper she had delivered in 1990 before an International Seminar on the Anthropology of Tibet and the Himalaya: “Is There Tibetan Culture(s) without Buddhism?” Unfortunately, nowhere in her presentation did she mention or make allusion to Babu Tharchin, though she did cite other Tibetan or Bhotia individuals as possible illustrations of those whose lives might reflect at least a personal, if not a collective, Tibetan culture minus a total or greatly diminished Buddhist identification. The venue and time period, ironically enough, for Miller’s first anthropological field work in which the initial explorations into this question were conducted was, she notes, “in the Darjeeling District—both east and west of the Tista River” during the early to mid-1950s, and took her, among other places in the District area, to Tharchin’s hill station community of Kalimpong itself. In the opinion of the present writer, Miller need not have looked any farther than into the life and work of Gergan Tharchin to discover a definitive and most positive answer to her fascinating question. There is no doubt that given their backgrounds and predilections, Tharchin and Hishey would both have strongly answered the question in the affirmative had they been afforded the opportunity to be interviewed by the anthropologist.²¹

Yet another instance ought to be mentioned here from the life of the Babu, for it particularly stands forth as a classic example of Tharchin's successful attempt—as he said to the *Review's* editor—"to be helpful"; in this instance, an attempt to be helpful in fostering unity among Tibetans, one effect of which was to contribute further to his being "held in such high esteem by all sections of the Tibetan community." A moving account of it has been preserved in the diary of an eyewitness-participant, the Tibet scholar from Austria, Baron René de Nebesky-Wojkowitz, whose close friendship with Tharchin has previously been pointed out. It had occurred in late July 1951, just a few weeks after the newspaper publisher's courageous confrontation with the new secular lord of Tibet, Chinese General Chang Ching-wu (see again Chapter 24 above). In addition, the religious ruler of Tibet, the current Dalai Lama, had himself met only days before with the General at Yatung in Tibet's Chumbi Valley not far from Kalimpong; and these two protagonists were even then traveling together by caravan towards Lhasa to begin a new and troublesome chapter in Tibetan history. In the face of such oncoming dangers as all knew lay ahead, unity among Tibetans was therefore a very timely theme to be emphasized and encouraged. And Rev. Tharchin, invited to be an active participant in the unusual episode now to be narrated here, rose to the occasion with Christian sincerity, and demonstrated great skill as a unifier among factious Tibetans in his home town who were not, significantly, of his own religious persuasion. The Austrian Baron wrote in his diary thus:

I was present at an extremely interesting ceremony today in the Tirpai Monastery²²: a solemn reconciliation between two rival groups of monks. Shortly before my arrival in Kalimpong [the Baron had arrived in February 1950] there was a serious dispute among the inmates of the monastery. When the newly appointed abbot took office he found that, under his predecessor, many of the monks had grossly neglected their duties. A section of the lamas opposed his [the new abbot's] efforts to tighten up discipline. The conflict grew more acute, and eventually fighting broke out between the opponents and the supporters of the abbot, in the course of which a monk was killed. The section of the monks dissatisfied with the abbot thereupon left the monastery and set up their own shrine in the immediate vicinity. After long negotiations, in which the Tibetan government [and also the Babu] and even the Dalai Lama himself intervened, peace has now been established between the warring factions.

The solemn act of the return of the renegade monks to the monastic community was celebrated in brilliant sunshine in the forecourt of the temple. Here a large white tent had been erected, open along its whole length on the side facing the temple ... The representatives of the Tibetan government and a few invited guests took their seats at a table inside the tent. Lengthways along the table sat [Tibet's former Finance] Minister Shakabpa, next to him Gyantse Khenchung²³—at present the local plenipotentiary of the Dalai Lama and liaison officer to the Government of India—the merchant Pangdatsang, ... and finally Tharchin, the publisher of the Tibetan newspaper. At one end of the table sat a few Chinese; at the other Prince Peter [of Greece and Denmark] and myself. In front of the tent stood the throng of monks, and behind them sat rows of Tibetan women in gala dress tirelessly rotating their prayer wheels. The rest of the quadrilateral was occupied by a dense crowd of Tibetan spectators.

The ceremony began with an address by Tharchin, who explained in well chosen sentences uttered in honorific Tibetan, and pointing his theme [*sic*] with a brief outline of the history of the Land of Snows, what ill effects even minor quarrels could have

and how great were the advantages arising from unity and pious life. The monks listened with bowed heads to his words of admonition, then the abbot stepped forward and gave the assurance that henceforth perfect harmony would prevail among the inmates of his monastery. Now Gyantse Khenchung arose to convey to the monks of the Tirpai Monastery the wishes of the Dalai Lama and the Tibetan government. Finally he read out a document concerning the renewal of the monastic community, to which the abbot and the Tibetan dignitaries present solemnly affixed their personal seals. With this the ceremony was over.²⁴

Rev. Tharchin, who by this time had been chosen and appointed by these very monks as the Secretary of their monastery's Management Committee, could not then persuade these men towards his own Christian convictions, but as a recognized Christian of considerable stature in the community, he could serve these same men as a compassionate peacemaker in a troublous and disharmonious moment in their lives. And as a result, the Buddhist community's estimation of this fellow citizen of theirs who was nonetheless a stalwart believer in Christ, rose that much higher. In Tharchin's words, they accepted him for what he was, realizing that though his body was in Kalimpong, his heart was with Tibet, Tibetans and their best interests. In short, he was a true son of Tibet.

As a fitting conclusion to this discussion, it ought to be pointed out that this unusual ability to bridge the gap between the mundane world of men and letters on the one hand and the kingdom of God on the other was one of the hallmarks of Gergan Tharchin's Christian life. Eloquent testimony to this trait in him has, in fact, been voiced by none other than the interviewer previously mentioned, Dawa Norbu (d. 2006), the late distinguished Professor of International Studies at Delhi's Jawaharlal Nehru University. His lengthy introductory remarks to the printed excerpts from the Tharchin interview are well worth quoting from here. A member of a much younger generation of Tibetans than Tharchin Babu, Dawa Norbu*²⁵ nonetheless came to admire deeply the longtime elderly Tibetan resident of Kalimpong. In fact, the younger Tibetan recalls, "when I was in school in Kalimpong, I used to occasionally visit the Rev. G. Tharchin, whose house at Tirpai was about twenty minutes' pleasant walk from Dr. Graham's Homes [School]. Most of my reading at that time was about Tibet and to visit him was to augment my book knowledge about Tibet's past. I used to enjoy visiting him and hearing his experiences with Tibet and Tibetans during the last 70 years or so." But what he remembered most, continued Professor Norbu, and which seemed to sum up all which has just now been said, was Tharchin's

innate generosity and robust warmth so familiar to the Tibetan race. And his catholicity. In him I saw no uneasy incongruency between his utter Tibetanness and his Christian faith. He has the serenity of a Tibetan lama and the action-oriented ethics of a Christian. Popularly known to the Tibetan-speaking world as Tharchin Babu, Gyegyen Tharchin was born in India's Northwest Himalayas in a village ... whose inhabitants are ethnic Tibetans. He was baptized when he was about three [Tibetan reckoning], and has remained throughout his life a staunch Christian. But he was also an uncompromising Tibetan culturally, and devoted his entire life to the study and propagation of Tibetan

* For a summary of Professor Norbu's early life and career as well as how he escaped death at the hands of his critics, see the end-note indicated at this point in the Text above.

language and literature, in which he excelled. Above all he was the father of the Tibetan newspaper....²⁶

Generosity—warmth—catholicity—serenity of a Tibetan lama—action-oriented ethics of a Christian: these terms which Dawa Norbu here applied to Rev. Tharchin reminds the present author of a passage he came across in the writings of Englishman Marco Pallis, one of the Babu's highly respected friends. Though written to describe the impact a Tibetan Buddhist lama from Kunawar had had on him, it could quite easily describe as well the noble character of the Kalimpongian Christian; for the passage contains echoes of much which Dawa Norbu has here said of Gergan Tharchin. Once in 1933 when Pallis and his trekking party were halted at Harsil village for several days prior to plunging across the divide between the river basins of the Ganges and the Sutlej, and on, then, into the ethnic Tibetan country of Kunawar (not far from Poo), this Western traveler was "cheered by daily visits from a little lama" who had come over from the Kunawari village of Sarang for the purpose of ministering to the horse-dealers, shepherds and others who were encamped in the vicinity of Harsil. According to Pallis, this little lama had been the first Tibetan priest he had ever met. His encounter with the clergyman prompted the Babu's friend of later years to record his impressions of what he and his traveling companions saw and so appreciated in the diminutive lama from Sarang:

With him ... we felt ourselves in the presence of an unseen power, which, if I must give it a name, might be called compassion. It is a virtue of peculiar flavor, not identical with, though not unrelated to, that charity which is radiated by the best Christian people. Our lama's love possessed a note of serenity that seemed to distinguish it from the similarly named but usually more passionately expressed virtue found among Europeans. I do not believe that this compassion, said by some to be special to Buddhism, really differs in essence from its Christian counterpart; but it is ... more consciously linked with a certain intellectual concept, of which it is the corollary—a recognition of the relations that exist between all creatures, including men, based on an insight into the true nature of the universe, and not dependent on a vague emotional appeal. This intellectual basis is, or ought to be, just as indispensable in the Christian doctrine; but in practice Christians often allow the sentimental side to predominate.

As a Christian, Gergan Tharchin, it could be said, was not of the latter ilk, but of the former. Whenever, and among whomever, he saw a need, he quickly extended a compassionate and helping hand, in the best tradition of the Christian faith.²⁷



As a matter of fact, it was this very trait of compassion observed by Pallis in the Kunawari lama's virtuous ministry among the Harsil campers which probably stood out as the single most praiseworthy quality in Rev. Tharchin's character. Compassion, charity (Pallis's other noteworthy descriptive term), generosity, helpfulness, *agape* love—whatever the word or phrase one might conjure up to define "the action-oriented ethics" of the Indo-Tibetan

Christian from Poo: it is clear that this was the one trait in G. Tharchin Babula's persona which almost without exception every single person this author interviewed unhesitatingly cited, and did so in the most glowing terms. For instance, it bears repeating here the already quoted words which Sonam T. Kazi had employed to describe to this writer this highly singular feature of the Christian Babu's character:

He exhibited his Christian faith in most practical ways. Indeed, he was "a good Samaritan" in the fullest sense of that phrase. An untiring humanitarian ..., he was genuinely interested in and concerned about the needs of anyone: whether that person have been a Tibetan, an Indian, a Japanese, Chinese, or whatever. Regardless one's background, his home was open to all in need 24 hours a day.

Here, also, are several personal expressions of gratefulness from those who were the recipients of Tharchin's unforgettable generosity, compassion and benevolence, as was referenced in letters they had written. First was one from the son of a Sikkimese Tibetan aristocrat in 1945: "I hope [the] Almighty will be sure to show His favour upon such generous, philanthropic and hospitable hosts like you two ..." The second letter came from the Head Lama of Darjeeling's Government High School in 1954 at the beginning of what would become a steady stream into India of refugees from Tibet: "Again, I thank you very much for doing such benevolent work for the benefit of our [Tibetan] people...." And a third and truly heartwarming letter arrived at the Tharchin home from a Nepali Christian lady in 1945 who had been overwhelmed by what she described as angelic kindness which the Babu and his wife Karma Dechhen had showered upon her at a most critical period in her life which had occurred during the Second World War:

My dear Babula & Babuni La,

I feel a great sense of guilt as I write this, since I have not written to you for such a long time.

I know this gross negligence is really dreadful on my part ...

... I will never forget your kindness to me during the days of my terrible poverty. Really, you were angels to me. I need not repeat what you did for me, as you yourselves know too. May God bless you a hundredfold for each kind deed you did, not only to me but to every needy person. Really, I will never forget you both as long as I live. Again, may God bless you richly.... So cheerio and God be with you all.... Please take my heaps of thanks and salaams from the one who never forgets your kindness and paternal and maternal care to her.²⁸

*

Exactly what concrete form, though, did Babula Tharchin's incredible giving of himself and his substance take? Incident after incident could be shared here, but space will not allow an exhaustive presentation. Yet a sufficient number of representative instances ought to be noted which collectively can provide the reader with an accurate and proper appreciation of this Christian man's extraordinary kindness, selflessness and charity.

Rev. Biswas has recalled how at any church meetings which were held in the Tharchin home at which poor people were in attendance—and no matter whether they were Christians, Buddhists, Hindus or Moslems—Rev. Tharchin would not permit them to leave at the conclusion of these meetings until and unless they had first been fed.²⁹

The *Himalayan Times* publisher, Mr. S. Jain, remembered one occasion when a guest in Gergan Tharchin's home that during a conversation he was having with his host, there appeared two poor elderly Tibetan women seeking help from the ever-hospitable Babu, who immediately gave them clothes and money for their needs. Jain also recalled that on another occasion when he as usual had been welcomed cordially by Rev. Tharchin and wife Margaret and served with tea and biscuits, he was even provided, at the end of his visit, with transport back down the long distance to his *Times* office.³⁰ Though unstated, the means of transport may have been by horse. For Gyan Jyoti recalls one example of the kindhearted and considerate nature of Babu Tharchin, in that the latter had set aside four or five horses at his compound which were specifically meant to serve the needs of foreign tourists to whom he would supply his servant as guide and a horse by which the foreigner would be taken along the various trails around Kalimpong and vicinity.³¹

But Jyoti additionally shared the fact that Babu Tharchin would also frequently provide employment to many of the poor and needy ones in the hill town and to others among those in similar straits who had found their way to Kalimpong from elsewhere. Indeed, Sonam Kazi has succinctly remarked to this writer that “if a lama was in need of a job, Tharchin Babu would immediately create one!”—more often than not it being a job he would create for the needy lama at his Tibet Mirror Press.³² Furthermore, apropos of the Press, Pandey Hishey made the observation that whenever the Babu felt unusually happy or would experience a prosperous moment in his life, he would always share his bliss or good fortune by always blessing Hishey and the others on the Press staff with extra pocket money.³³ Moreover, if members of his Press staff were in special need—for example, if school fees or stationery paper was required for their children, or if funds were needed to meet the expenses of, say, a marriage or for Christmas or for a *puja* (worship) ceremony—the Tibetan publisher, out of the goodness of his heart, would often graciously advance the salary payments to them.³⁴

And then there is the marvelous and quite humorous story told by Nini Tharchin concerning two particular members of Tharchin's Press staff: the Tibetan Ngawang and the Nepali named Phurman. Both would come up together from the Press shop to the Tharchin residence for the purpose of securing an advance on their wages. Phurman especially, who was a Christian, would approach the Tibetan publisher saying nothing but wringing his hands and bowing most humbly. And the Babu, well knowing before Phurman has uttered a word why he has come, would invariably say, “What happened this time?” “Oh, I'm facing a very difficult situation,” Phurman would reply. The publisher would then gently scold his staff member by observing: “This difficulty never seems to leave you, does it?” Phurman would laugh and respond with: “Babula, Babula, what to do?” Whereupon, Tharchin, being the generous soul that he was, would ask, “How much do you need this time?” And Phurman would tell him, and the Babu would unflinchingly oblige, because, said Nini, “Tharchin-la never ever sent anyone away empty-handed.”³⁵

Babu Tharchin was constantly showing kindness to children and young people. He especially loved the youngsters and, like the Pied Piper in the old fairy-tale, he drew many children to himself and would "often," reported S. Jain, bring both his own grandchildren and other children ("often poor ones," noted Jain) to the *Times* publisher's Himalayan Book, Newspaper and Snack Shop Store located in the center of the hill town. There the Babu would "treat them with all kinds of sweets and biscuits." Not only on weekdays would this occur, but especially after the Tibetan church service on Sundays, Rev. Tharchin could be seen taking them in tow to the Jain's Snack Shop.³⁶

Shanti K. Pradhan related how at age 12 or 13 his father, K. D., would frequently send him up to Babu Tharchin with messages, the latter always showing him "very good hospitality." One time, after delivering the message from his father, the Babu gave him what was then considered a luxury: a large piece of cooked yak meat!³⁷

Small children, it seems, could not irritate Babula. Gyan Jyoti fondly recalled to this writer that when he was five or six years old, his father, the head of the then prominent Jyoti commercial enterprises, would send his young son up to Gergan Tharchin to secure his service in writing out the draft in English of the father's business letters for sending to Calcutta firms that sold copper sheets. Father Jyoti would instruct his son what to have Tharchin-la include in the proposed English draft. But if the boy forgot to tell the Babu something for inclusion, his father would send him back up. Sometimes this might occur even a third time, yet Tharchin was never irritated or upset. This, incidentally, demonstrated not only Babu Tharchin's temperament towards children but also his helpfulness to others with a need.³⁸

It has been noted repeatedly throughout the pages of this biography of Gergan Tharchin how the latter had treated this youngster or that young man as his very own son and had extended to him the utmost kindness, help, counsel and advice: especially the latter as it might relate to the young person's education and/or career. Indeed, it is remarkable how many times this author has encountered this phenomenon in the life of the Babu. One particularly fascinating example of this giving of himself and his time in such manner is what happened to S. Jain. As pointed out elsewhere, his father had founded Kalimpong's weekly newspaper, *The Himalayan Times*, in 1947. But when his father died in 1956, S. Jain, at age 24, assumed the responsibility of editor and publisher of the weekly. However, when the newspaper failed to generate sufficient income for him and his family, the younger Jain closed the paper after four or five years and established the aforementioned Himalayan Book, Newspaper and Snack Shop Store. But at the beginning of his editorship of the *Times*, the younger Jain had approached the proprietor of the *Tibet Mirror* for some professional assistance. Immediately, reported the former weekly editor long afterwards, the Babu "began to treat me like his very own son." Particularly was this manifested in the manner in which the older newspaper editor/publisher would help the younger one in writing up newspaper articles and giving advice on various matters pertaining to the publishing world. Furthermore, whenever Jain had any *Tibetan* news story, he would always bring it to Babu Tharchin for his review concerning its accuracy; and often, the older editor would edit or even rewrite the entire story for the *Times* publisher. The Babu would also point out to the younger editor any news item which the latter had overlooked so that Jain could include it in the next issue

of his weekly paper. All this Babula Tharchin had done *gratis* for his “son” S. Jain.³⁹

But by far the most impressive demonstration of his fatherly love and compassion towards the young, even towards the poorest of the poor among them, was when Gergan Tharchin and his wife Karma Dechhen had taken into their family and household the baby boy Phubu Tsering who would become their son by adoption and be known to everyone later as Sherab Gyamtsho Tharchin. But there hangs a story of more than passing interest.

It will be recalled from an earlier chapter in the present narrative (Chapter 26) that as a consequence of the present author’s normal research which he had engaged in for creating this biography of G. Tharchin Babula, the late Pastor S. G. Tharchin, when shown one unexpected result of that research, had been made aware *definitively* for the first time that he was not the offspring of Gergan Tharchin but was his adopted son. And thus, his memory now prompted by the author’s “revelations” to him which indisputably confirmed his adoptive relationship to the Babu, the younger Tharchin was able to recall a long forgotten incident whose relating of it to the author many years later had uncovered a fascinating episode that among other things reveals much about the winsome character of the senior Tharchin. Especially does it reveal the immense love and fatherly affection which the latter had unceasingly bestowed upon his adopted son. Except for direct quotations, the following account which this author had received from the late Pastor Sherab Tharchin himself on 9 February 1992, and had then transcribed, has been couched in the third person, with but a brief sentence or two added by the author at the beginning by way of providing an appropriate introduction.

At a very tender age, in fact an infant just barely out of his mother’s arms, Phubu Tsering was adopted by Babula Tharchin and Karma Dechhen. Since the latter were all their years childless, they had instant compassion upon little Phubu when the infant’s plight—abandoned by the father and the mother’s inability to care for her child—was made known to them. Now the boy’s newly-adoptive parents had told him at some point in his early years that he had been born on the 16th of August 1936, but it was not until he was in his mid- to late twenties that Sherab Gyamtsho was to give any serious thought to his beginnings.

It was in the year 1962 or 1963, Pastor Sherab recalled, and after he had already been married several years, that one day he had a rather serious dispute about something with his third mother, Margaret Tharchin (Pastor Tharchin made it clear, in his telling this story to the author, that Margaret could not have been more kind, friendly, and giving of herself to him in so many loving and sacrificial ways throughout her relationship with him.) Overhearing the argument, his father came into the room and began to berate his son for speaking ill-manneredly to his mother. Because his father at this moment seemed to the son to be siding too much with Mrs. Tharchin in the argument, Sherab, now angered by this development, lashed out at the elder Tharchin whom he nonetheless loved greatly despite the present circumstance.

Said Sherab to his father in a fit of pique: “I’ve been hearing from some of my friends around town and from those who have visited here at home that I’m not your real son but an adopted child; and could that be,” he now asked his father, “why you are today ill-treating me this way by so strongly taking Mother’s side?” To which Father Tharchin—who, to say the least, loved his son most profoundly—responded at some length and with great feeling

as follows: "Why should you be concerned with that? If you were not my son—whether my own or adopted—would I have loved you more than any other father has ever loved his son? Here I have provided you the best of care, and have shown you the deepest affection possible! Therefore, you should not concern yourself with this matter."

Thus smitten, the younger Tharchin recalled later that upon hearing this, he withdrew from the room and went to his living quarters elsewhere in the Tharchin compound and told his wife Nini what had happened. Yet, still upset over the dispute he had just had with his mother Margaret and then with his dear father, Sherab needed a day or two to regain his composure. For several hours during this period he dwelt in particular upon the dialogue between himself and his father; but then, not taking any more seriously than he had done before about what he had heard around town, within a week after the dispute, Sherab quickly dismissed from his mind completely the question of his beginnings. For inasmuch as during this same period he had also dwelt on the goodness, kindness, generosity, deep affection and love which his father had continually showered upon him all these years (the late Pastor Tharchin stating to this writer that though he truly loved his father very much, the latter loved him far, *far* more), he had had little difficulty in dismissing the entire matter from his mind.

As a matter of fact, Sherab Gyamtsho never gave the event another thought from that moment onward throughout these many intervening years until more recently when the possibility of his being the adopted son of Gergan Tharchin was once again brought to his attention, but this time by the present author as a result of his research into the life and times of the elder Tharchin that had accidentally uncovered the fact and which proved to have been documented by a considerable number of independent sources (see again Chapter 26 and its end-note 12 in the present volume for the said documentation). Indeed, in three personal interviews held in three different countries with those who had at one time lived a lengthy period in Kalimpong, the author was told by all three that everybody in the hill station who knew the Tharchin family had been quite aware of this fact.

The younger Tharchin, as always heretofore, would continue to express his deepest gratitude to his God and to his father Gergan Tharchin for what the latter and Karma Dechhen had been to him and had done for him. Moreover, he had declared to the author in his interview that the final proof, if any were needed, that the late Babu truly loved him and treated him as his very own son was when, almost immediately after his wife Margaret's death in 1974, Gergan Tharchin—by means of a will he had freshly executed that now revoked all previous "wills, codicils and other testamentary dispositions by me"—bequeathed all his properties, personal possessions, and financial resources to his beloved son: "to my son, my only son" Sherab Gyamtsho Tharchin, who was declared to be his rightful heir—"the sole beneficiary and legatee of this will." (The document was in fact shown to the author in the course of his interview with S. G Tharchin.) "And even if it had turned out that I had definitely learned *back then* that I was indeed an adopted son," Sherab had recalled concerning his long-ago musings, "it would not have made any difference to me; for the indisputable proof of Gergan Tharchin's fatherly love was his willing all he had over to me. In fact, during his last years following my mother Margaret's death, my dear father kept saying to me again and again: 'You are my heir; all I have is going to be yours.'"

One further token, from among many which could be cited, of the senior Tharchin's love and affection for his adopted son ought to be added here. It will be recalled from earlier in this chapter that Gergan Tharchin had gone to Calcutta on an important mission in 1947 for the express purpose of searching out a better press for his new printing establishment: the Tibet Mirror Press. So important was this business trip that he had offered up a prayer immediately prior to departing on 10 August, committing his steps south into the hands of his God and Father. While in Calcutta, however, and barely into the third day of his stay there, Tharchin diverted his attention away from this important business matter long enough to visit a second-hand book shop where he must have spent a considerable amount of time rummaging through its many shelves and stacks of books in search of the kind of book he thought would be of great interest to his 11-year-old son. Sure enough, he found one. The present author came across the book at the Tharchin compound. And on its flyleaf there was inscribed by Sherab's father the following:

Tharchin, Editor Tibetan Newspaper, Kalimpong
Bought in Calcutta Second-Hand Bookshop 13/8/47
Presented to My Dear Son Sherap Gyamtsho.

The book in question?—Lady Minna Jenkins, *Sport and Travel in Both Tibets, with Map and Twenty-Five Coloured Illustrations Exactly Reproduced from the Authoress's Original Sketches* (London: Blades, 1909).

One final series of instances should be laid before the reader because in concrete form all of them together well illustrate, to borrow once more the insightful expressions of both Dawa Norbu and Sonam Kazi, “the action-oriented ethics” of this “untiring humanitarian” from Poo, who unstintingly gave of himself and his substance over and over again. Yet one can be certain that this Christian gentleman, so humble in all his ways, gave all the glory to his Father-God, Who by the power of His Spirit had enabled His faithful servant to fulfill what would be required of him in each instance. For throughout his many years Gergan Tharchin had constantly been asked to do favors of every conceivable sort for others, as his voluminous correspondence records abundantly reveal. What follows is but a sampling of such, culled from the Tharchin Papers; and, given the Babu's generous, kind and helpful nature, one can safely assume that he obliged in every instance, regardless whether the record indicated it or not.

An Indian gentleman employed as Manager of a Calcutta printing firm had engaged the Babu to find a suitable house for him to stay in during his October 1945 holiday period up in Kalimpong.

As requested to do so by a friend, Tharchin had developed and printed one or two rolls of photographic film and had then sent the resultant prints to the friend in Sikkim free-of-charge.

During July 1945 a certain British Lieutenant Colonel requested that Tharchin send him a Tibetan painting (Wheel of Life), which he obliged the Officer by doing.

A British Captain in the R.A.M.C. had taken two short treks, one to Tibet and one to Sikkim's Buddhist monasteries. And in writing the Babu afterwards he was “wondering” if the latter had “any ‘curio’ or memento which I should like to buy” as a way of reminding

himself of "two very pleasant treks." If so, he added, then "please let me know and the price ..." Babu Tharchin responded by sending the Captain some Buddhist bells and a Tibetan painting.

The former well-known British radio operator in Tibet, Reginald Fox, later a resident in Kalimpong, sent to Rev. Tharchin a letter by the hand of his and his wife's prospective cook-bearer, Bir Bahadur, requesting the Babu to "testify that [Bir] is a good man—a man of good character and not liable to give me trouble.... Bir Bahadur says you know him and would be prepared to speak on his behalf."

In 1943 a Chinese man in Kalimpong sent a note by a servant to Tharchin-la asking the latter to lend him some "simple Tibetan reading books" which he would return to the Babu "after a few days." Babu Tharchin did so by the hand of the note-bearer.

In July 1948 a letter came to Tharchin from another Chinese man, this one down in Calcutta, requesting the Babu to provide Kalimpong's Police Inspector a Statement of Evidence about him as a way to satisfy the Indian government whose permission to leave for China the gentleman needed to obtain before he would be allowed to depart India. "I should esteem it a great favour," he wrote the Babu, "if you would do so.... I thank you again sincerely for the trouble I am putting on you."

George Patterson from Scotland had given Tharchin's name and address to a member of the local Philatelic Society in Bournemouth England as a person who might be of assistance in this man's desire to collect stamps of Tibet. The time was November 1955. "It is understood," wrote the Englishman to Rev. Tharchin, "that the present Chinese issues [of stamps] for use in Tibet are available in Kalimpong and I would be interested to see these. You must also, as Editor of a paper, correspond with many people in Tibet and therefore receive envelopes with ... Tibetan stamps on [them] ... It is these envelopes that I would like to obtain and am prepared to buy them ... or exchange for anything that can be obtained in [my] country."

In July 1954 Kalimpong's illustrious resident of many years and intimate friend of Tharchin-la's, David Macdonald, requested his Indo-Tibetan friend to "recommend a Tibetan teacher" for three important people in the hill station who would be available to be taught by this teacher at the Tennis Club located near Macdonald's Himalayan Hotel.

Tharchin received a letter from a man in Calcutta in November 1947 whom he had known nine or ten years earlier. The man's father, he explained in his letter, had been a Forest Ranger at Buxa Duar and had purchased some land in Kalimpong. His father had meanwhile died and the land was now "virtually" his, he "being the only legal heir" left. And thus, he was requesting Tharchin to make inquiries for him at the Kalimpong court. "As you are a resident there of long standing," the writer concluded, "I dare say you could easily do this for me and then if necessary I can pop up later...."

In August 1962 a Tibetan-speaking Christian in Pedong sought a large loan from Rev. Tharchin for his son. The latter, because of encountering "irregular receipts of his monthly salary," had been falling in arrears in paying off his debts, and had therefore come to his father for assistance in his financial crisis. The father, however, not in any position to rescue his son, wrote his Christian brother and friend the Babu, stating: "In the circumstances, I do not see any other [person] than you who can tide over his difficulties. So could you possibly

accommodate him with a loan of Rs. 300/- which he says he will repay by instalment of Rs. 20/- per month [beginning] from September ... As he is coming to see you personally, he will himself explain ... I have every hope that you will help him for the Lord's sake...."

The Sikkimese Queen's Private Secretary wrote a letter to Rev. Tharchin from Gangtok's Palace on behalf of Her Highness in January 1956 requesting that the bearer of the letter be given "all the required information [he will need,] ... as he is going to visit the Holy Places in India for the first time in his life." Tharchin was also asked to provide the letter-bearer an "open introductory letter" which, "according to the presumption of Her Highness, would be useful to him."

In early 1947 a certain gentleman borrowed Rs. 200/- from Gergan Tharchin as a "temporary loan without interest."

A prominent Kalimpong Pleader (i.e., a lawyer or advocate), together with his wife and two children, were intending to go to Calcutta and would need accommodation sometime in the second week of February 1969. He therefore sent a note to Rev. Tharchin in January, in which he requested the following: "I shall be grateful if you would please send me a recommendation to the Salvation Army Hostel, Calcutta, to give me an accommodation in the Hostel ..." The Christian pastor did so, by letter dated 3 February.

In a note dated 26 November (but with no year indicated), a close friend and Christian brother of the Babu's, a prominent teacher at the SUM Institution, wrote of some financial difficulties he was then facing. He was unable, he explained in the note, to see Tharchin personally and therefore sent the note by the hand of a servant. He went on to write: "It will be a most helpful act if you will kindly send me some money—for the bill which is attached here. Frankly, I have to pay about Rs. 150/- for the Exam Fees of my [children] ... in the first week of December." If the amount is too high, he added, then "do consider, please, and help me as you think. With many apologies, thanking you ..."

Even when unable to provide the *full* amount of a loan request from someone, Babula Tharchin would nonetheless loan as much as he could spare at that moment. For instance, the son of one of the Babu's closest most intimate friends in Kalimpong was in dire need of a loan of Rs. 7/- for just one week to help pay for the repair of his car which had unexpectedly broken down. Because his father was away in Calcutta the son could not receive help from that quarter and so, he wrote in his note to Tharchin on 5 March 1938, "I am writing to ask ... if you could do this favour. I would indeed be very grateful. Thanking you in anticipation ..." Tharchin's notation written at the end of the missive reads: "Recd 6/3/38 & Rs. 4/- sent."

In February 1947 a Christian medical doctor, an Elder in a local church at Darjeeling, wrote Tharchin a letter of introduction concerning his friend and fellow M.D., who was desirous of settling in Kalimpong for his medical practice. He therefore requested the Babu to kindly help him find a suitable place in the hill station "so that he may proceed with his practice to help the poor suffering [ones]." He added that he was approaching the Babu because the latter was "the only influential person among our Christians and others.... I hope you will not take it otherwise but comply with my request.... Thanking you. Yours in the Lord Jesus Christ."

Throughout the Babu's life and career in Kalimpong there would sometimes be a much

different and special kind of favor that was requested of him. Now and then he would be asked to chair meetings of various organizations in the hill town—e.g., the Sherpa Association; or to chair joint meetings between groups having mutual interests—e.g., that between Tibetan and Indian merchant traders; or else at times the Babu would be asked to attend an organization's meeting so that he might provide helpful suggestions—e.g., the convening of a local branch in Kalimpong of a regionally- or nationally-known organization. All three such examples, when fleshed out in more detail, reveal a great deal about Tharchin the man and his standing in both the Tibetan and wider communities.

In the first example cited, a Tibetan-speaking organization in the hill station known as the Solu Khumbu Sherpa Association, two days in advance of its General Meeting, requested by letter that Rev. Tharchin, though himself not a member, and certainly not a Buddhist, take the Chair on this occasion. In his letter of acceptance the following day, Gergan Tharchin wrote, in sincere humility, the following: "It is very kind of you to select me as Chairman at the General Meeting of your Community which is going to be held on 1 July 1954, for which I am grateful to you. Although I am unworthy to take the Chair, but when you have so kindly honoured me, I shall do so. Thank you. Yours faithfully."

With respect to the second example, there had arisen a dispute in March 1948 between the Indian and Tibetan merchants concerning the price of the considerable quantity of cloth still remaining at the Cloth Syndicate Godown in Kalimpong and how this cloth would be allocated among these merchants. The Political Officer of Sikkim, Bhutan and Tibet headquartered at Gangtok had instructed these merchants to hold a joint meeting and come to an amicable settlement. The two groups agreed to meet together on 8 March and requested that "the Editor of the Tibetan Newspaper," though not a member of either group, be present. He agreed, and was elected as the Chairman of the meeting. According to the meeting's minutes further, both merchant parties requested that the Chairman present his suggestions for resolving the dispute. Chairman Tharchin did so, but only after requesting that both sides be willing to compromise, "even if there be some losses for both ..." Once reaching the compromise settlement based on the Chair's proposed suggestions, the two parties agreed and all merchants present—eleven Marwaris and eight Tibetans—signed the agreement which had been written out by Tharchin Babula.

One should pause and consider these two examples somewhat further, for they reveal several key qualities about the Babu and/or his relationship with others: first should be noted his willingness to serve various elements within the wider Kalimpong community; second, the profound trust which all concerned reposed in Tharchin Babula, even though he was not a member of any of their organizations or groups and was of a religious persuasion different from their own; third, the second example is particularly indicative of the Babu's considerable ability to help navigate people through India's commercial and business complexities of that day (the reader would need to peruse the pertinent documents to be able to appreciate more thoroughly this observation); and finally, the second example also reflects another of Gergan Tharchin's sterling qualities: his extensive wisdom and knowledge in being able, after listening to a lengthy discussion on the issues involved, to come up with workable proposals which would meet with the approval of various parties to a given dispute.

As to the third example cited above having to do with the much different kind of favor

that was at times requested of Babu Tharchin, it so happened that the Convener of what would be established as Kalimpong's branch of India's nationally organized China-Bharata Sanskriti Association had sent by hand to Gergan Tharchin a typed postcard inviting him to attend this Association's inaugural meeting in the hill station. Dated 23 October 1951, the card in part read as follows:

... a few prominent persons of this place have very kindly consented to open a center of the China-Bharata Sanskriti here. The idea of this association is to foster a friendly and cultural relationship among different nationalities of this place.

The inaugural meeting of the said association will be held at Chitra-Bhanu, the local residence of Sri Rathindra Nath Tagore [son of the celebrated Nobel laureate in Literature] on the 24th October 1951 at 6 p.m. S. Tagore has kindly consented to preside over the meeting.

I request you to kindly attend the meeting and help us with your very kind suggestions. Thank you.

The day chosen for this meeting, coincidentally, was the very day on which the Fourteenth Dalai Lama of Tibet brought to an end a chain of events which had been set in motion almost exactly five months earlier with the signing at Beijing of the infamous Seventeen-Point Agreement between Tibet and China. For up in Lhasa on this very day Tibet's Priest-Sovereign personally but most reluctantly cabled to his land's *new* Sovereign, Mao Tse-tung, an official letter confirming his Government's acceptance of the Agreement that to all intents and purposes brought his country under the sovereign control of Communist China. There would therefore be a great need, indeed, "to foster a friendly relationship among different nationalities" in the hill station, but especially between and among Tibetans, Chinese and Indians! Little wonder, then, that Tharchin, one of the recognized leaders in the hill town's wider community but particularly among the Tibetans, would be sought out to attend this potentially significant function. His ideas, talent and skill in the area of reconciliation and peacemaking—as was made evident just a few months earlier at the Tirpai Monastery—would be greatly appreciated by all and sundry.



Turning from these countless and varied requested favors which the Babu with kindness and generosity fulfilled, there are three exceptional incidents from Tharchin's life that exemplify in stunning ways the sensitivity, mercy and grace this man displayed towards others who found themselves in embarrassing situations of one kind or another. The third incident in particular is most telling in this regard. In all three cases the author is indebted to Nini Tharchin for sharing these extraordinary stories.

Babu Tharchin was always desirous of taking photos of his numerous guests who frequented his home. He therefore kept his expensive camera handy by hanging it, along with other objects like umbrellas and coats, on a rack, located conveniently in the vestibule

just outside his sitting room. One day a somewhat needy Tibetan lady happened to come by the Tharchin house for some reason and, noticing the camera hanging there, waited for an opportune moment when no one else was present, snatched it away and left the Tharchin compound. Upon discovering later that the camera was missing—but not knowing who took it—Tharchin immediately alerted all pawn shops in Kalimpong where the thief might seek to sell it, describing the camera in detail, and requesting that he be informed should anyone attempt to pawn it off. Sure enough, not long afterwards, a shopkeeper phoned the Babu to say that he was sending a woman up to his home with the camera to return it. And upon seeing the Tibetan lady who had taken the camera, Tharchin was told by the woman, when handing it back to him, that he should never leave the camera out in such an open place again because it would be too much of a temptation to others to steal it. In his usual graciousness, Tharchin did not press any charges against the woman, and even gave her a 60-rupees gift because he knew she was in difficult straits at that time! Needless to say, however, Babula Tharchin was extremely happy to have his camera back safe and sound.

One time a Tibetan man of considerable socio-political stature came to visit the ailing Babu in his bedroom. At one point during their time together, the host had to excuse himself in order to relieve himself. Margaret happened to observe, undetected by the visitor, that the latter took this opportunity to remove a rather expensive *chewri* (knife) from the bedroom table and hide it within the folds of his *chuba*. Shortly after Tharchin returned to the room the visitor took leave of his host rather hastily and made his way out the house. Margaret followed him outside and said to the Tibetan gentleman: “Please, Sir, let me see what you have inside your *chuba*,” quickly extending her hand as she did so and reaching inside the folds, thus retrieving the knife. When Babula Tharchin was subsequently told by his wife what had happened, he scolded her, saying: “You should not have embarrassed my guest like that. It would have been better to have suffered the loss of the *chewri* rather than to have humiliated him like that.”

S. G. and Nini Tharchin, as reported to the present author by Nini herself a long time afterwards, were both struck with surprise and amazement at one exceptional expression of the Tharchins’ incredible generosity, kindness, love and sympathetic understanding when faced with the needs of an exile Tibetan refugee couple and their family. This was the local Gyalpo and Gyalmo (i.e., King and Queen) of the Kham village of Lingsang in East Tibet. Having escaped from the invading Red Chinese, this King and his family had settled down in Kalimpong as poor refugees in a house nearby to the Tibet Mirror Press shop on Rishi Road. They had two sons and one daughter, and did not know anyone in the hill station upon their initial arrival here. But like most Tibetans in need, they had approached the helpful Babula for assistance.

Having heard about Babu Tharchin’s kindness and sympathy for the less fortunate, especially the Tibetans, the King sent a servant to Tharchin bearing a knife wrapped in paper, with a message inside requesting the recipient to please purchase it from him for Rs. 50/-. Feeling extremely sorry for the indigent state of the King and his family as manifested by this humble request, Tharchin immediately rewrapped the knife, enclosing with it not just 50 rupees but ten more, and said to the King’s servant: “Please take this back to the King as my gift to him and his family.”

As a consequence of this initial gesture of kindness by Gergan Tharchin, the royal couple began to come up to the Tharchin home for visits with the Babu and Margaret and continued to do so for a long time thereafter until the deaths of the elder Tharchins. In fact, the Queen made it a practice, on the twice-weekly bazaar days of shopping by the Tharchin family, to come up and receive from the elder Tharchin couple a monetary gift for the food needs of the King's family. Moreover, the royals would sometimes come up for an entire day to be with their hosts, taking tea and lunch with them almost as members of the Tharchin household. The visitors would also make special request for and receive from their generous hosts, wool to repair frayed or torn sweaters and other articles of clothing, curtains, and even cement for their kitchen floor. The Tharchins never once complained or got fed up with this but always gave happily of their substance.

On the other hand, the younger Tharchins—Nini and Sherab—after observing this routine for some little while, inquired of Babu Tharchin why he and Margaret were carrying on this way when it would appear that these royals probably possessed some wealth and jewels of their own by which to survive as refugees. Why, then, do these “big” people need help—and so much of it? “We ought to be helping the poor people,” they declared to the Babu, “for this King and Queen are not poor but are big people who should be able to take care of themselves.”

In his reply this humble Tibetan from the backwater of Poo village revealed his remarkably insightful character, a further demonstration of his knowledge and sensitive understanding of human nature, as well as an acute awareness of Tibetan society. For Tharchin replied as follows:

You mustn't think like that. Just now they are suffering far more than these many poor people who have come to Kalimpong as refugees. For these royals, not accustomed, because of their upbringing and longstanding social position, can't work, cannot rob and cheat as the poorer classes can and do do; nor can they beg. Furthermore, they feel very shameful that they have been reduced to such an economic plight. Therefore, they are hurting and are full of emotional and psychological pain. On the other hand, accustomed to their state and condition by birth and upbringing, the poor—when made even poorer by their newly-established refugee status—are used to laboring with their hands and doing backbreaking work and can rob and do anything else for the sake of their stomachs and not feel ashamed. For highly-placed people, though, these are not avenues of support open to them. Therefore, we have to try to understand the royals' dilemma and how inwardly their hearts are pained because though they are hungry, they cannot find any suitable way by which to satisfy their physical hunger; and hence, we must try to help them out.

Nini has reported to this author that she and her husband had difficulty, when first hearing all this from Babula, in understanding such an attitude and approach, and furthermore, had great difficulty in believing that he was right in his assessment of the royals' plight. Nevertheless, by continuing to observe the life of the King and Queen on a daily basis and their interaction with the senior Tharchin couple, they came to realize that Babula's evaluation was correct. They were also able to observe the implementation further in her life of Margaret's favorite Scripture verse which she often quoted from Jesus himself: “It is more blessed to give than to receive.”⁴⁰

It was further reported to the author by Nini Tharchin that she herself sensed, without their ever having said so, that the royals were truly thankful to the Babu and his wife for such kind generosity and that probably these two became two of the closest friends Babu Tharchin ever had in Kalimpong. Indeed, added Nini, the royals most likely had very few friends of their own in the hill station, for their continued presence at the Tharchin home would seem to suggest that they probably never went to many other homes in Kalimpong. Nini also noted that the Queen made it a habit of sitting quietly by for hours on end in Margaret's study watching her at work at her desk, for the Queen wanted to be with her hostess as much as possible. And because of this, Margaret had ample opportunity to witness to the Queen about Jesus Christ and would even pray with the Queen almost daily with regard to her salvation. But whether she and the King, the latter of whom had often received a similar witness from the Babu, ever became Christians cannot be stated with any certainty. Nevertheless, it can be said with absolute certainty that these royals were the recipients of Christ's love many times over from His two faithful disciples.

Now the royal family had shifted their residence from place to place in Kalimpong until at one point their final place of abode ended up being an old house situated near Bhutan House, quite distant from the Tharchins. And it was while they were residing here that the following stunning incident was played out that involved a pair of shoes. One morning the King paid a visit to Rev. Tharchin alone and politely inquired whether his host had any old pair of shoes. The Babu immediately discerned that the King was inquiring on behalf of himself, since at that very moment Tharchin unobtrusively noticed that his visitor's footwear that day was old and torn in places. Not wishing to embarrass the royal, Tharchin said nothing. Shortly afterwards, the King left. A few hours later that same day the Tibetan pastor spoke to Nini, saying, "Please call one of the servant boys and hand him my brown leather shoes to be cleaned. And when the boy has finished, then please, *Phumo* [Daughter], wrap them in paper very nicely." Phumo Nini soon brought the wrapped package of shoes to her father-in-law, who then said: "Call another boy and tell him to put the package into a bag and take to the King's house." Whereupon Nini got up enough courage to ask her elder-in-law: "Why all this double work of carrying this gift to the King who lives so far away, when you could easily have presented the shoes to the King directly when he was here earlier this morning?"

To which Rev. Tharchin gave a reply which once more revealed the great sensitivity and compassion he had towards this unfortunate man. Said the Babu:

No, no, we mustn't do it in that way. You see, the King must be in very great need, otherwise he would never have humbled himself to such depths as to have inquired, in even an indirect manner, concerning his need. Furthermore, for me to have had the shoes cleaned and presented to him personally while he was in my home would have been most shameful and very humiliating for the King to endure. And so, to avoid this we must offer the shoes in the way I have instructed and respectfully send them to the King's house.

As a consequence of all this, Nini humbly acknowledged that her estimate of Tharchin Babu had increased that much more in her mind. And in her subsequently relating the

incident to her husband, he had agreed that his father's handling of the situation had been absolutely correct.

The King was to die just a few years following Tharchin's own death in 1976. On the other hand, the Queen was still alive at the time of the author's interview with Nini Tharchin (1992) but had resettled herself over to Nepal's capital of Kathmandu, having received heretofore, along with her husband, a faithful gospel witness concerning Jesus. Yet even more than that, they had been the recipients, in uncountable ways, of Christ's unselfish love and compassion at a most critical juncture in their lives through His faithful servants, Gergan and Margaret Tharchin.⁴¹



Most surely, it can be said without the slightest reservation that if ever there was a person who deeply understood and thoroughly practiced the Christian concept of *agape* love (a self-giving without any thought of return), it was Gergan Tharchin. And no better long-lasting example of this from his life was exhibited than what happened in his relationship with the boy monk Bhuchung Tashi (Bhuchung: "little son"; Tashi: "auspicious" or "good fortune") who would later be known to the Christian world as Rev. Peter Rapgey. So taken by this episode in the Babu's life was David Woodward that he would cite this expression of love in his article that appeared in the Winter 1991 issue of the *Tibet Journal* entitled, "Examining a Significant Minority: Tibetan Christians." Here is how this former missionary/anthropologist, who himself had ministered the gospel for four years among Tibetans in eastern Tibet between 1946 and 1951, laid out for his readers the particulars of the story as he knew them: "Love and unselfishness," he began,

are far more important than signs and wonders. The Tibetan Bible carries that message in the words of St. Paul: "If I have a faith that can move mountains, but have not love [Greek, *agape*, or divine love], I am nothing ... Love never fails ... And now these three remain: faith, hope, and love ... But the greatest of these is love." [First Letter of Paul to the Corinthian Christians, Ch. 13, vv. 2, 8, 13]

With that as a backdrop, Woodward continued:

Every time I think of my friend, Peter Rapgey, in Kalimpong, I marvel at his story which begins with the story of two friends, one an old lama and the other a Tibetan minister. As the old lama lay dying, he sent for the minister and said, "I have one last request. The boy monk, Rapgey, who has cared for me so faithfully—will you take care of him when I die and bring him up?"

Tharchin accepted this gift and responsibility. On the death of the old lama Rapgey entered [Tharchin's] home after having spent seven years in a monastery. What I find outstanding is the level of trust between the two old friends and their understanding of what love is all about.

... Behind Tharchin's many activities [including this one] were the lessons he

learned at the feet of Sadhu Sundar Singh. He traveled with the Sadhu several times and witnessed the strength of his love and his commitment to be like Jesus Christ. These attitudes are attractive and contagious.⁴²

There naturally lay much more behind this brief narrative by Woodward. Having himself interviewed Peter Rapgey in 1992, the present writer is able to flesh out in some detail what would subsequently unfold in the lives of Rev. Tharchin and the boy monk whom the former had taken under his protective care. But first a brief sketch of little Bhuchung's family background can be helpful here.

His father had hailed from Kham, his mother, from Kyirong in South-Central Tibet. Both had come out of Tibet separately in the 1930s and settled down in the Darjeeling area where they would meet and marry. Their first son died accidentally, then Bhuchung came along shortly afterwards, which occurred in probably 1942. Rapgey would be the name given the boy when ordained a monk, bestowed upon him, incidentally, by Dhardo Rimpoche (from Dhartsedo, or known also as Kangting/Tatsienlu, the famous frontier town situated along the Kham-Chinese border of East Tibet), whose own name had itself been Rapgay [*sic*].

Little Bhuchung's mother would die when the boy was less than a year old. And his father would die when Bhuchung was only 12 or 13 years old. So the lad began living with his maternal grandmother at Ghoom (and later at Kalimpong), who had him admitted into a primary school located near the Ghoom gompa. Being very pious, however, the grandmother, shortly after the death of the boy's father, would enroll him in Kalimpong's Tharpa Chholing Monastery which happened to be very close to the Tharchin compound. In order that she might be near her grandson, the grandmother would now live in rented quarters not far from the monastery, where Bhuchung would remain for some seven years. While there he would come to within two years of achieving the Gelong monkhood (which involves the taking of more vows than the lesser of two lower monk levels). "My training at Tharpa Chholing," he explained to this author, "was devoid of much, if any, philosophical or theological inquiry but involved mostly the learning of those basic rituals needed in monkhood to serve the Buddhist populace at such times and events as births, deaths, funerals, weddings, cleansing of homes, etc."

Now Bhuchung's Tutorial Monk at the gompa, in an unusual action, permitted to be fulfilled the boy's desire for an academic education. This monk (who was the old lama friend of Tharchin's described by Woodward) now hired an outside academic tutor, a Nepali, to instruct Bhuchung in the basics of English, mathematics, history, geography and science. This would take place in the monastery cell which both lama and the boy shared together. But the boy monk would eventually enter Class 7 at one of Kalimpong's private schools, again with the lama's permission. However, some time after he had achieved Class 10, Bhuchung's Tutorial Lama fell quite ill, which was when the latter had called Rev. Tharchin to his bedside to request that upon his death the Christian pastor would take the lama's young disciple into his family. It must be remembered that all the religious at Tharpa Chholing were well acquainted with the Christian Babu because, as noted elsewhere in the present chapter, he had been serving for a number of years, and by invitation at the behest of the gompa authorities, as a member of the institution's Management Committee, even as its

Secretary, and even though they were very much aware that the Babu was a firm follower of Christ.

As promised, Babu Tharchin, upon the death of the Tutorial Lama, did indeed take this young Buddhist monk into his residential compound to live and grow up to manhood. This occurred in 1958 when the boy was about 16 years old. Though a faithful Buddhist, the lad quite naturally commenced hearing about the Christian gospel but at first showed no interest. But one day the Christian teacher of geography at his school happened to mention to his student a verse from the Old Testament prophetic book of Isaiah (64:6) which provoked some curiosity in the youth to make inquiry about the Christian faith. For this verse (“We are all as an unclean thing, and all our righteousnesses are as filthy rags ...”) presented a religious faith, Peter remarked to the author, “that in basic content and understanding stood precisely opposite to that of my Buddhist religion.”

The youth now began to associate himself more closely with the Christians in the Tharchin compound and in Kalimpong generally. Interestingly, Rev. Tharchin wisely made no move to influence or pressure Bhuchung to conform to the family’s Christian faith but committed his new “son” into the hands of his God and simply let him observe the Christian life of the believers around him. In fact, because of his various contacts with Christians both within and outside the residential compound, the teen-ager simply accepted the Christian faith as but one of several religious persuasions, including his own Buddhist religion, as a way of salvation; but now, he told the author, “I would identify myself as a Christian if anyone would ask me what I was, even though at this time I had no subjective experience of the personal Christ of Christianity.” Now this condition of heart with respect to his religious understanding would last for some 15 years: from the time of his marriage in 1959 through all the years thereafter till his attendance at a Christian Conference that was held at Lucknow in November 1975. It was within the Tharchin compound, incidentally, where he met his future wife, Matey, younger sister of the Babu’s daughter-in-law Nini, who was living in the compound with her and Nini’s parents, N.P. and Sarah Tshering. Obviously, at the time of his baptism and marriage—both held on the same day, 17 August 1959, and both conducted by Rev. P. S. Targain—Bhuchung, now called Peter, was only a nominal Christian. Peter and Matey would continue to live within the Tharchin compound but now as husband and wife. It would not be till several years following the Babu’s death in 1976 that they would establish their home elsewhere.

In time, the Babu would provide Peter employment at the Tibet Mirror Press. He also, recognizing the young man’s talent for learning, granted him access to his personal library, from which, Peter would say later, he “had learned much.” Not only this, but eventually the Babu even appointed him as Manager of the Press with office space set aside for him right within the family compound itself. This recognition by the publisher of his ability Peter greatly appreciated.

Meanwhile, Peter’s faith in Christ remained nominal for the longest time. Not until his attendance at the first Conference of the newly constituted Tibetan Christian Fellowship (till 1974, formerly known as the Christian Prayer Fellowship for Tibetans), of which Peter was reluctantly serving as its Secretary, did the ex-Buddhist monk finally surrender his heart and life to Christ. For five days he sat listening to the preaching ministry of the guest speaker.

Rev. Norman Meeten from Liverpool England. The minister first spoke on Simon Peter the Disciple and on the latter's Life with Jesus Christ. Taking this message quite personally, Peter Rapgey, by his own testimony, related how Rev. Meeten's sermon on Simon Peter brought the modern-day Peter under the Holy Spirit's conviction of his need to become a true believer in Christ from the heart; and so, he declared to this writer, "I surrendered myself to Christ privately" (indeed, he added, "no one at the Conference knew what had happened till later after its conclusion"). The date of his surrender: 5 November 1975. What Rev. Meeten then spoke about, which truly strengthened Peter's faith, was a follow-up message on how a remote Creator-God can indwell the Christian to become the believer's personal God by means of the inward ministry of God's Holy Spirit in leading, guiding and teaching the Christian in his walk with Christ Jesus.

"Rejoicing," explained Peter, "I returned to Kalimpong from the Conference and found that the Christian hymns had a different meaning for me, the prayers I had previously vainly offered up meant something real when I now prayed. Inwardly, there was no more striving and struggling for me, but all was today at rest."

Furthermore, like his esteemed benefactor Babula Tharchin, he now had a burden for his ethnic kinsmen. And to this end, but unbeknowns either to the Babu or to Peter as to what it ultimately signified, the Babu had felt led to do what Peter would long afterwards deem to have been something "quite remarkable." For even before Peter's genuine heartfelt conversion to Christ, the newspaper publisher had begun asking him to write up news stories in Tibetan that were then to be printed in the *Tibet Mirror*. Indisputably these editorial assignments in Tibetan were helping him to further his skill in the language of his ethnic homeland in preparation for the call which would come to him just a few short years following his conversion: the Bible Society of India appointed him to be its translator in translating the Old Testament afresh into Tibetan based on Today's English Version of the Bible, which development was touched upon in Chapter 28 of the present volume.

Now as to the "remarkable" aspect to Tharchin Babu's editorial assignments, Peter went out of his way to share about this with the author. For he could later see the hand of his God in it all. He laid out the significance of Editor Tharchin's assignments in the following way:

Though not realizing the significance of it at the time, I today [1992] recognize that he was purposely helping me to learn language skills in Tibetan for my future professional benefit by asking me to write up news stories in Tibetan to be published in his newspaper. What was remarkable about this is the fact that he could quite easily have done these stories himself and with far less time and trouble having to be involved; since, unlike with *my* doing it, the Babu would obviously not have to coach himself or review his own work for catching the kinds of mistakes which I the novice might make but which he the accomplished editor would not himself likely make at all. His aim, however, was to train me for the benefit of my future career. He voluntarily gave up his time and energy for my sake.

Thus did the agape love so richly exhibited by Christ's faithful follower Rev. Tharchin, manifest itself in countless practical ways throughout all the years and decades in which the ex-boy monk, who eventually became Rev. Peter Rapgey, had interacted with the Christian

Babu. In the apt words of David Woodward, what Babu Tharchin had so beautifully demonstrated in this lengthy episode in his life was “the strength of his love and the commitment to be like Jesus Christ.” Tharchin’s Master and Lord must have been profoundly touched by such “love and unselfishness,” which, as Woodward had reminded his readers, “were far more important [to God and humanity] than signs and wonders.”⁴³

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One of the Babu’s “sons” closest to him has remarked to this author that Tharchin had been a most “clever, venturesome, intelligent man from his youth up.” Continually “inquisitive,” notes Sonam T. Kazi, his surrogate father had particularly shown an aptitude for anything mechanical and had invented a number of mechanical devices. One such device which he had created, the Kazi pointed out, had incorporated the use of long reeds for the purpose of weaving woolen cloth into tweed material. Another and quite outstanding invention of the Babu’s—dating from as early as the late 1920s—had been a machine for making an especially effective carding brush for either combing or cleaning wool that was made of wood and toothed with good quality iron wires. In fact, so effective had this brush proven to be that Tharchin had gone into the business of manufacturing the product himself; which, as he indicated in a letter to a friend in 1949, had become early on “a very good paying business.”⁴⁴ Indeed, as word of his product had spread literally far and wide, there had quickly developed a great demand for the Tharchin brush throughout much of the Himalayan border region east to west!*

For instance, within the Simla Hill States area alone, an incredibly large number of people—from such places as Poo, Rampur, Kyelang, Kotgarh, Kulu and Simla—had placed orders for the brush during the late 1920s and early ’30s. (They had also ordered, incidentally, the *Tibet Mirror* newspaper in which Babu Tharchin had advertised his wool carder.) A wool merchant at Akhore Bazar in Kulu, Sukh Dass by name, had even ordered one hundred of them in May 1933. Moreover, two individuals on the staff at Gartok’s British Trade Agency in West Tibet had sent an order by postcard to Tharchin in July 1933 which read: “Would you be kind enough to send two ... wool cleaning brushes ... per VPP [Value Payable Post] ... as has been advertised by you. Please send best wool brushes.... Earliest compliance is solicited....”

One can obtain a further idea of just how popular Tharchin’s carder was by taking note of the *quantity* pricing in rupees/annas the inventor/manufacturer had had to establish by 1933 in order to keep up with the demand:

100 @ Rs. 2/- 50 @ 2/2/- 25 @ 2/4/- 12 @ 2/6/- Less than 12 @ 2/8/-

* See sub-plate 5 of Plate 41 in the Photographs/Other Illustrations section of the present volume for an illustration of its registered Trade Mark that shows a woman brushing her wool with the Tharchin carder and indicating as well that the brush had been patented by the Babu as a precaution.

Even the Private Secretary to His Highness the Maharaja of Sikkim, on behalf of the Sikkimese government, was desirous of receiving Tharchin's wool combing/cleaning implement. In a note to the Babu written in Tibetan on 12 August 1943, the Secretary wrote (as translated into English):

[To] the widely observant dear Mr. Tharchin La,
Please try to send immediately the Sikkim government's requirement of 12 ... superior quality brushes via the motor vehicles coming up to Gangtok. I will be sending you money by post immediately after receiving the bill.⁴⁵

Meanwhile, in order to protect his future interests in this and other mechanical devices he had invented which had brought him considerable fame, Babu Tharchin would take the precaution, whenever these manufacturing instruments would break down or need repair, of dismantling them and ingeniously distributing various internal parts to several different repair shops so as to avoid the possibility of any one person or shop replicating the entire device. So reported the Kazi to this author long afterwards. Nevertheless, by one means or another over time, some clever entrepreneurs were made sufficiently aware of enough information about Tharchin's machinery that, according to the Babu himself, certain people had "copied from me and [began] making very inferior quality [brushes]."⁴⁶

For example, a prospective customer at Rhenock House in Gangtok sent a postcard to Tharchin in June 1945 stating that he did not wish to buy from elsewhere "any inferior quality" wool carder; instead, he wrote, "I hope you might have finished making [your] superior quality wool-brush. If so, please forward 10 [of them] ... on the quotation quoted by you, per V.P. Post or through anyone coming up."⁴⁷ Even more to the point, when Tharchin's and Sadhu Sundar Singh's former co-evangelist in the gospel, Tamyed Nasib Ali, wrote the Babu requesting on behalf of a friend that two of his "first-class wool brushes ... manufactured in your factory" be sent as soon as possible by VP Post, he added the following piece of disturbing news: "Wool brushes like yours are being manufactured at Amritsar ..., but it is said they are not as good as yours." That was in 1946.⁴⁸ Some seven months later, Tharchin would receive a letter from another prospective buyer, this one located in Kanum, a community just down the river Sulej from the Babu's ancestral village of Poo. He could report similar disturbing news:

Dear Sir,

It has been understood that you got this year some good wires of iron for preparing wool carding combs of the same standard as that of prewar days. I am in need of this standard wool carding comb if you have got such ready for dispatching, but I am not [interested] to have any other inferior kind which is available from some other firms [such as] especially M/S Ram Narain, Doga Brothers, etc.

Please send three of the best wool carding combs by VP Post at your earliest ... Orders for more ... will be placed, on receipt of the present demand for the best [quality] ...⁴⁹

Unfortunately, the Babu could not fill these orders, as explained in part by him in a letter he wrote to a friend in 1949: "I used to manufacture wool carders, for which I have the machinery ... [However,] since 1945, owing to much literature work, I had to give up the

carders business, but I still have the machines and I am thinking to restart the work as there are demands for my brand....”⁵⁰ Two other reasons for ceasing to make the brushes were the uncertainties caused by World War II and the “non-availability of the best quality of wires.” This the Babu had explained in an advertisement he had placed in a 1952 calendar which his Mirror Press had printed and distributed from the beginning of that year. But he could report in the same ad that there would be a resumption soon of his manufacture of the brushes because “perfect wires are now available”; and hence, he could shortly commence supplying once again “the previously perfect long-lasting wool brush ...” But the Babu cautioned that prospective purchasers should first inquire about its availability from his Press as well as make sure that the brushes which they might purchase have displayed on them the Tharchin “Trade Mark of the Woman Wool Brusher.”

One final incident in this saga of the wool brush, fascinating in the extreme, needs to be told, for it points up how clever the Babu could be and once more reflects Tharchin’s penchant, like his hero Mahatma Gandhi, for exposing and confronting unrighteousness whenever and however it might appear. The author is indebted to Sonam Kazi for sharing the story, which in all its details was subsequently confirmed to this writer by S. G. Tharchin. It so happened that a Marwari merchant in Kalimpong, Shiri Ram, had stolen the Babu’s machine for making the brush and had attempted to manufacture it as his own invention. Upon learning of this, Gergan Tharchin brought the thief to court, and after a lengthy legal battle, he won the case. This had come about when the Babu finally suggested to the judge that the mechanical device be dismantled and that the merchant be ordered to demonstrate in court how the device was to be put back together again. The judge agreed, and when the Marwari was unable to reassemble the parts but Tharchin was able to do so quite easily, the judge awarded the case to the Babu, the latter having thus proven to the judge’s satisfaction that the machine was indeed his invention and not Shiri Ram’s.⁵¹



Still another facet to G. Tharchin Babula’s persona—his scholarship as a Tibetologist, especially in the area of Tibetan language and literature—has been well substantiated at various places throughout this multi-volume study on the Babu’s life. It would do well in this regard to repeat here the testimonial from Sonam Kazi.

With respect to the Tibetan language and related areas of scholarship, Tharchin Guru Babu was a wonderful writer, an excellent grammarian, and published a very good Tibetan newspaper. His study—whether at the Tharchin compound or down at the Mackenzie Cottage Press office—was always crowded with dictionaries, his search for knowledge being inexhaustible. He had an extraordinary mind.

The present author can confirm the Kazi’s observation about the numerous Tibetan dictionaries which Gergan Tharchin had privately collected. For he counted no less than 25 different Tibetan dictionaries and grammars in the Babu’s personal library, still intact at the Tharchin

compound, and which had been published in such widely diverse places as India, China, Japan, Germany, England, Italy and the United States: thus reflecting favorably upon his scholarship as an excellent Tibetan linguist. One prominent Indian scholar's testimony in this regard is that of Nirmal C. Sinha, who at the time of his testimonial concerning the Babu was the Editor of the Information Service of India with his office situated at the Residency of the Political Office in Sikkim's capital, Gangtok.^{51a} In a letter to Tharchin found among his personal papers and dated 23 April 1958 Sinha (much later to become Calcutta University's Centenary Professor of International Relations) mentions the next issue of *The Bulletin on Tibetan Culture and Affairs*, to be published soon. He then states:

One of the articles will be on the 13th Dalai Lama ... Among other articles there will be one on the Tibetan element in Indian music. The English script's ... translation into Tibetan will undoubtedly be a tough job [for you], since it contains many technical terms on music. These terms are familiar in English and Sanskrit, but I wonder whether their Tibetan equivalents are readily available. However, no one can do a better job of it than you....

Also reflective of the Babu's scholarly interest and work in Tibetology is the fact that he, together with Sinha and 22 other individuals, would found at Gangtok that same year (1958) the Namgyal Institute of Tibetology (indeed, Sinha would be installed as its Founder Director).^{51b} Found in Tharchin's library were a number of gift volumes from the Maharajkumar of Sikkim, Crown Prince Palden Dhondup Namgyal, President of this same Institute, in recognition of Tharchin Guru Babu's founding support and continuing contribution to the work of this prestigious scholarly institution. One such volume, entitled *Rgyan-Drug Mchog-Gnyis*, had affixed on its flyleaf a pre-printed gift label on which was indicated that this was a gift bestowed with the compliments of the Maharajkumar, etc.; and typed below, but still on the label, was found the following: "To: Sri G. Tharchin, Founder Member." And written in ink by the hand of the Babu was added: "Recd with thanks. G. Tharchin 5/6/62"—i.e., 5 June 1962.

Not only was Babu Tharchin a scholar and linguist in his own right but also many other scholars in Tibetological studies frequently sought him out for scholarly assistance of one kind or another. As noted earlier, Rev. Biswas, Achu Tsering and Dr. Sonam Wangyal were in a position to have observed the following:

There was not an instance among the many times I was at the Tharchin home that there were not educated, scholarly Tibetan Lamas present during meal times, evening prayers, or whatever.

Many scholars—both Western and non-Western—would visit Gergan Tharchin at the Mirror Press and in his home.

Tharchin Babu ... was a teacher in great demand: his knowledge of classical and colloquial Tibetan was excellent, and to tap this gift numerous European Tibetologists came to study grammar under him.

As a matter of fact, throughout his many years as resident and civic leader in the strategic frontier hill station of Kalimpong, Tharchin came to enjoy an association with prominent academic scholars from all over the world who excelled in various fields of endeavor. His

Press credentials also contributed in gaining for himself an entrée into the circle of distinguished individuals who made their presence known in the hill town from time to time. Besides the many different personalities whose scholarly association with Tharchin in one way or another has previously been noted and discussed here and there in these several volumes, there are a few others who ought to be mentioned here. For in discovering the Babu's singular interaction with some of them, this writer was able to learn a great deal more about Tharchin and his character. In fact, in two of the four vignettes now to be narrated, the results of this author's research has uncovered some truly splendid qualities in G. Tharchin Babula which would not otherwise have come to light.

The first outstanding scholar who should be mentioned is Professor Dr. Helmut Hoffmann of Germany, one of the great Tibetologists of the twentieth century. Through his contacts in the 1950s with the Babu at Kalimpong both men became very good friends, and the Tibetan greatly assisted the German scholar in providing him with hard-to-obtain historical and biographical works of Tibetan literature. An indication of their close interaction and friendship can be found in the Professor's letter to the Babu of 15 December 1954 from Munich. In part he wrote the following:

My dear Mr. Tharchin!

After my return to Germany I am sending to you my sincere thanks for all the interesting hours I have spent with you. Anyway, I expect to return to Kalimpong next year, probably in September or October. I was so sorry that I didn't find you at your bureau [office], neither at your private house, as Dr. Hamm will have told you. With great pleasure I remember our meeting when we had the privilege to see you at the Himalayan Hotel.

Please remember that you have promised to me to procure a complete copy of the *bKa thang sde Inga* which is indispensable for my study. If you have got this print, Dr. Hamm will pay the price and will send it to Germany.

Please don't forget [to send] your interesting Tibetan newspaper which I am eager to peruse.

With my best wishes and greetings ...

Hoffmann would visit India again in 1956, sending an alert to Tharchin from Bombay in a letter he sent to his Indo-Tibetan friend dated 16 October. In it he wrote: "I expect to depart for Delhi this evening [and] look forward eagerly to see you again and think to arrive at Kalimpong about the beginning of November...."⁵²

The prolific Indian author of numerous volumes on Central Asia, East Asia, and the Himalaya borderland, Ram Rahul,^{*53} was another prominent scholar who interacted, and considerably so, with the Babu. In fact, his association with Gergan Tharchin over many years could almost be described as one of "son to father" and "father to son." A distinguished political science professor and eventual Head of the Central Asian Studies Department at Delhi's Indian School of International Studies, Rahul's relationship with the Babu began as early as 1949 and perhaps a year or so earlier. This was when Ram was in his mid-twenties and Tharchin was nearly 60 years old. Not to be overlooked in their budding relationship

* For a list of many of this distinguished academic's publications, see the end-note herewith indicated.

was the fact that as always, whenever the humble newspaper editor recognized particular talents in someone who might be helpful in providing suggestions for improving his news organ, he had solicited input from that individual. So was it with the rising scholar Ram. This is evident from a letter which the Indian academic had sent Babu Tharchin in response to the latter's action in having dispatched to him for this purpose a copy of the latest issue of the *Tibet Mirror*. Dated 25 August 1949, the relevant part reads as follows:

My dear Tharchin La:

I have just received the Tibetan newspaper and would like to congratulate [you] on its clear program. Of course, there are ... many things which you ought to improve as soon as possible. We shall discuss these when I visit Kalimpong next.

Sure enough, some nine months later Rahul, now intent on visiting the hill station once again, wrote Tharchin-la in May 1950 inquiring:

... Can I stay with you for some time? I shall be doing some work for you in your Press matters [most likely this signified his wish to follow through on his commitment to offer his advice on improving the Babu's newspaper]. I know my friend Dr. [George] Roerich may insist that I stay with him. But then, if I stay with you I may learn something about a Tibetan press.

The Babu replied the very next day after receiving his young friend's letter, and no doubt had insisted that Ram stay with him.⁵⁴

Yet not only could Ram be helpful to the Babu, the latter could be helpful to this rising Indian scholar on Central Asia. For instance, he was able to supply, at Ram's request, data on Tibetan government leaders and other Government information the academic needed in writing an article on Tibet for one of India's influential newspapers, *The Statesman*, as well as provide him with Tibetan language books which Tharchin had published—both his own *Hindi-Tibetan Self-Taught* and the several Gould/Richardson works on the Tibetan language.⁵⁵

What made the association between these two even more special was their mutual interest on the personal level as it pertained to cultural and religious values as well as to the intangible things of the spirit. Especially does this come across in some of the other letters of Rahul to the Babu that are extant among the Tharchin Papers. For example, in an unusually composed, highly personal letter under date of 31 January 1966, Professor Rahul wrote from Delhi to his "surrogate" father at Kalimpong as follows:

Dear Rev. Tharchin:

I am leaving here in the next few days for field work in the Himalaya ... in connection with a research project on the land and the people of the Himalaya. I am hoping to be visiting you for a couple of days around February 10th. On this occasion I should like to discuss with you certain questions which I would have discussed with my own father if he were now alive. Therefore, I am making this letter wholly personal, mainly to enable you to have an image of the nuances of myself.

I have grown up in the whole breadth of Nature. Both the wide open plains

immediately northwest of Delhi, the country of my birth, and the great Himalaya mountains, the playground of my youth, came to condition and discipline my early life. The Himalaya came wholly to fill the years of my youth. My explorations into the question of life also began early. On 15 August 1947 [India's day of independence from Britain, incidentally], I came on the way of the Buddha and changed my name Ram Narayan to Ram Rahul [the reader will recall that the name of Gautama Buddha's only son was Rahula]. The ethical idealism of the Buddha, above all, has come to influence all my human values and attitudes as well as my eyes and ears.

[Here Rahul next laid out important details for Tharchin regarding his academic and scholarly career from 1943 to the present moment. He then continued with what follows.]

My interests are more than scholarly. I am for a world where there is no fear of any kind. I would never like anybody to suffer any harm or insult by or on account of me. I have always lived dangerously [in various Himalayan exploits he had undertaken] but have never allowed personal aggrandizement or self-gain to deflect me from this course.

This resume is not fully comprehensive. For instance, it includes neither my connection with expeditions such as the 1952 Mount Everest one nor all my abiding values. Anyway, I hope it conveys to you the sense of my life thus far.

With my high regards and respects to you both and my affection to all the young folks....

There was obviously something quite winsome about Gergan Tharchin which throughout his adult life had drawn so many youths and young men to his side. And they were not only Tibetans, either, as has just now been attested by the case of Ram Rahul. Inspired by the Babu's approachability, Ram and other young men were highly appreciative of his willingness to take a genuine interest in their personal lives and the furtherance of their careers and of his availability for counsel, "fatherly" advice, and assistance in a variety of ways. Indeed, another of Professor Rahul's letters found among the Tharchin Papers is particularly revealing along this line, and serves as a most moving tribute to the Babu's selfless character, indicative as it also is of the father-son relationship which had grown and flourished between these two over the years.

Speaking first of his dear ailing mother now nearly 90 years old, Rahul is readily reminded of the Babu's sterling qualities whenever he thinks of her immense contribution to his life. Dated 26 July 1965, when by this time he had been serving as the Indian School's Central Asian Studies Department Head for over six years, Ram wrote from Delhi in part as follows:

... She has been a wonderful mother to me in spite of my having lived most dangerously. My great regret is that I have not even been able to stay with her for any considerable period of time. I shall always remain deeply beholden to her, not as a son but as a man, for her having lived her entire life for my growth and development. Frequently when I think of her, I also think of you. You have been always so kind, affectionate and gracious to me, more fatherly than friendly. I always long to run up to you in the hour of both joy and sorrow, but the circumstance of my life is always so dampening....

Please do let me know if there is anything you may want me to do for you or on your behalf here.... Do you have any plan for a visit to the Dalai Lama? If so, do please stop by here for a couple of days.

References here and there have previously been made to yet another outstanding personality from academia with whom Tharchin had been associated off and on during his adult life: the world-renowned Buddhist scholar, David L. Snellgrove. It will be recalled that when these two first met, which was in 1943, the would-be scholar was then a Captain in the British Indian Army's Signal Intelligence Directorate at New Delhi handling top-secret information and documents, a position which he continued to hold till the end of World War II. Having become interested in Tibetan language, literature, history and religion during his travels then and during the years immediately following the War, Snellgrove would frequently visit Kalimpong where he began to interact with Babu Tharchin in pursuit of his Tibetan language and cultural interests. And over the years a substantial correspondence had developed between the two on a variety of subjects. The present writer came across a number of letters between them which are a part of the Tharchin Papers. And the Professor was kind enough to provide this writer with photocopies of still more letters which had passed between the two men.

One particular letter from among those provided the author by the British scholar is of special interest, for it reflects again Tharchin's ongoing encouragement of young men with potential or actual linguistic talent and interest to pursue a scholarly career—especially, if possible, in Tibetan and related fields. The letter, one sent by the Babu to Snellgrove, was written only a few months following the end of wartime hostilities in the Asia-Pacific theater. Dated 5 January 1946, its relevant passage is as follows:

We are very glad to hear [from your previous letter] that you had a nice time [at Delhi] during Xmas with Maharaj Kumar [Sikkim's Crown Prince] and Kazi Sonam [Sonam T. Kazi] and we hope in time to come you may be able to join in Sikkim or Tibet. We always remember you and hope in near future we may see you again. I am sure you are longing to be back home [in Britain]. But please do try your best to continue the study of Tibetan and come out for Tibet. And in time to come you may be a great scholar for Tibetan literature work, which is so vast that up to now no one has been able [to go] into it thoroughly except some time past by German scholars, but [even] they were not [able to] enter into the depth of the ocean [i.e., they were not able to plumb its ocean's depth].

And when Captain Snellgrove later became Professor Snellgrove, Tharchin—along with the latter's wife Karma Dechhen, his nephew Ringzin Wangpo, and his close friend Geshe Wangyal—would be counted among the British Tibetologist's many "friends and helpers" at Kalimpong who assisted him in his various Indo-Tibetan studies during the 1950s.

One final scholar from among many with whom Tharchin Babula had had frequent, close and friendly association was the famous European anthropologist, Prince Peter of Greece and Denmark, and for that matter, his White Russian wife, Princess Irene. It may be recalled from previous chapters of the present work that the Prince had first become acquainted with Gergan Tharchin back in 1938, would later renew his acquaintance with the Babu upon his second visit to Kalimpong in early 1950, and had secured Tharchin-la at the time of his earlier visit to the hill station as one of his more important Tibetan-language *munshis*. But because of the invasion of Tibet by the Communist Chinese in October of

1950, these royals would have to be content with marking time in the frontier town for many years thereafter, since the Prince's intention of leading out Group 2 of the Third Danish Expedition to Central Asia to further his anthropological research in Tibetan polyandry would be postponed indefinitely and ultimately canceled altogether.

Meanwhile, Prince Peter was taking pleasure in reading and benefiting from Tharchin's newspaper. And as was noted earlier in Chapter 23, he was most happy to provide the paper's publisher a Note of Appreciation extolling the virtues of the *Tibet Mirror* for inclusion in the news journal's Silver Jubilee issue that would appear in January 1951. But the Prince was also working closely with the Mirror Press publisher in the content and preparation of a small scholarly volume on Tibet's aristocracy for eventual printing and publishing by Tharchin's Press. There hangs a most interesting story, however, whose conclusion reveals Tharchin's readiness to humbly accept deserved criticism, to suffer justifiable financial loss without complaint, and also reveals his apparent willingness to be transparent about his having committed a major blunder in his printing career. In fact, no one would have known of this episode and its humiliating consequence for Tharchin unless he had himself preserved among his personal papers the one document which would provide all the evidence necessary to establish the indisputable fact of his gross error in judgment.

Yet this preservation of documentary evidence was not something accidental on Tharchin's part (as a subsequent discussion of other incidents in the Babu's life will shortly make clear), and is indicative of something of the greatness of this man's character, in that he never attempted to hide from others his weaknesses, mistakes or flaws or to gloss over unflattering, embarrassing or humiliating events and episodes in his life. If he was found to be in error about some matter, Tharchin Babu was quick to admit it, take full responsibility, and suffer the consequences. Thus did he conduct himself upon receiving a scathing letter of rebuke from Prince Peter, the one piece of evidence alluded to above which Rev. Tharchin saw no reason to conceal or destroy.

The letter in question was neatly and perfectly typewritten on the Prince's personal stationery that was adorned with a crown logo signifying royalty and sent from his Kalimpong residence known as Tashiding under date of 10 August 1954. The letter's opening single-sentence paragraph is a double exclamatory declaration that sets the tone for the entire missive that is excruciatingly grim in its unrelenting criticism of the Babu:

Dear Mr Tharchin,

You have printed the 250 booklets and have dismantled the type!!

Then of course you can't correct the mistakes. You say that you printed [the manuscript] after Mrs Muir had read two proofs, but who told you to print then and not to send further proofs until the text was correct?

Really, I am astounded. No printer I have ever dealt with before has ever printed before I have given him a *written slip* ordering him to print. And I certainly never gave you that. I shall ask Mrs Muir, but I am sure she never told you to print either.

The fact is that you were still sending us "proofs". Why, your last letter speaks of a "proof"! If you had dismantled the type, these were not proofs, they were actual printings. That is why I never realised that you had printed, and was under the impression you were still sending me genuine proofs.

What do we do now? I really can't accept the booklet in its present form; it has too

many faults. Remember I am going to send it round the world, to scholars and libraries, and I really can't send such bad work to them.

I realise that it will be a loss for you to reprint and also to destroy the 250 bad copies. But you should not have printed without orders!

Of course if I can help you avoid a loss I shall do so. However much it is your fault, I don't like you being in such a mess and would like to help you. But how?

Perhaps you can print for me, 250 new copies, after sufficient proofs have been read to make the text perfect, and try and sell the 250 bad ones for yourself. That would be a way out of it.

But please come and see me, and we shall talk it over. In any case, I can't take the 250 bad copies. They have been printed without my approval and I feel no obligation to take them from you.

Really this is a most unfortunate business. I still can't get over your printing without my telling you to do so!!

Yours truly,

[Signed] Prince of Greece

G. Tharchin Esq.

The small volume thus referred to, consisting of 41 pages when published, is entitled, *Aristocracy of Central Tibet; a Provisional List of the Names of the Noble Houses of U-Tsang*, and was finally printed and published by Tharchin's Tibet Mirror Press on 10 November 1954. Tharchin-la must certainly have gone to Tashiding with "his tail between his legs" fully prepared to offer up one *mea culpa* after another to the furious Prince, who by this time had most likely regained his composure, as must be assumed from the few softer, gentler statements expressed in his letter. For he nonetheless counted Babu Tharchin as one of his very good friends. And apparently what these two gentlemen had agreed upon in resolving this unpleasant business was that Tharchin, acknowledging his blunder, would most willingly provide Prince Peter 250 perfect new copies *gratis* and that the publisher would offer for sale on his own the 250 "bad ones" at a very low price. For the publisher had indicated elsewhere that of the total 500 copies ultimately printed, he had provided "half [of them] free and half at Rs. 2/- each." That the Prince—despite the *contretemps*—was still appreciative of the Babu's scholarly assistance and printing expertise in making this English-Tibetan publication a reality is clear from the fact that he left standing and unchanged on page 3 of all 500 copies the following statement of gratitude: "I should like to express my most grateful thanks ... to G. Tharchin ... for all the names [of Tibetan aristocrats] with which he had supplied me and for publishing this paper ..."

Finally, this particular embarrassing episode in Rev. Tharchin's life lends added weight to this writer's firm belief that the preservation of Prince Peter's letter was no accident since it was very much in keeping with the Babu's customary practice throughout his career of not having discarded any of his personal and professional papers, and even if a particular item could prove to be humiliating or damaging to his reputation. He wished his life to be, as it were, an open transparent book to all. In this connection, it may be recalled from the present narrative's initial volume (see its page 528) that on one occasion six years before his death the Babu had instructed his daughter-in-law Nini not to discard any of his letters,

documents, scraps of paper or whatever which she might have noticed lying about; for, he had remarked to her, these might be “of value someday.” Any random perusal of the Tharchin Papers today will bear out the truth of this report which Nini passed on to this writer in an interview with her and S. G. Tharchin in 1992. Even if the “value” of an item to be preserved might connote something negative or unflattering about himself, the Babu would not discard or destroy it, as is clear in the instance of the Prince’s letter. On the contrary, he would save the document in the interest of full disclosure concerning himself—“warts and all.”

A further example of this practice of the Babu’s transparency was the fact, previously commented upon (see Chapter 26 earlier), that he did not destroy a considerable number of his and his wife Margaret’s most intimate “love letters.” Additionally, twelve years later there would occur yet another and highly revealing incident in his life that adds further support to the notion that Gergan Tharchin had no intention of concealing anything from others, regardless if a given item preserved among his papers might, as this later incident will show, appear on the surface to be true and therefore extremely unattractive or even potentially damaging to his reputation.

The incident now to be mentioned was a letter from someone in Poo sent to him in March 1966 which had indicated that there were still living in the Babu’s old home village three sons of his, that the letter-writer was a son of one of these three, and that he was therefore Tharchin’s grandson. Knowing that the contents of this and a previous letter of the sender’s were totally false as it pertained to the above claims, Tharchin had completely ignored them. Not only did he not respond to the letters—at least not to the first missive; he also made no attempt to conceal or destroy the second letter but had faithfully kept it among his papers. An investigation into the matter conducted in several directions by this author in conjunction with the Tharchin family yielded no evidence of any kind which supported the Poo villager’s claims; and the very fact that Tharchin *preserved* the March 1966 letter lends immense weight to the belief that the letter’s contents were entirely specious and that if anything it represented an unsuccessful effort to blackmail the senior Tharchin, who had risen from the total obscurity of Poo to become the famous publisher of the *Tibet Mirror* newspaper. If so, it would constitute the first of two such blackmail attempts against the now-renowned Tharchin clan living in Kalimpong.

For twenty years later the Babu’s son, Pastor S. G. Tharchin, would become the “victim” of a second such instance of a blackmail letter, this one, undated, having been received on 19 November 1986 and shown to the present author by the pastor. It had demanded 1200 Indian rupees and also, of all things, a Nepali New Testament! Full of nonsensical charges and statements, not one of which had a shred of truth, the letter was signed anonymously as: “Government official,” and stated that if the demands were not met, he, in league with two other such officials, would take action against the Tibetan pastor. Like his father before him, Pastor Tharchin completely ignored the letter, and, as had been the case with his father and the latter’s two “bombshell” letters, nothing further was ever heard from the letter-writer. Both Tharchins knew who they were before their God and simply filed away the correspondence.



As a man of many recognizable talents and abilities Gergan Tharchin was called upon on countless occasions to assume various positions of civic responsibility throughout his long residence at Kalimpong. He was most willing to serve in these capacities over and over again. Yet how he found the time amidst his own unbelievably busy schedule—and even more so, how he had the necessary energy—to serve his fellow residents at the hill station in so many ways is something quite exceptional. By no means an exhaustive list, what follows is an incredible record of membership on the Boards and Committees of civic, religious, governmental and humanitarian organizations and institutions which he had occupied at one time or another and for longer or shorter periods during his long and distinguished life in Kalimpong. They are listed in no particular order (and all such service rendered by the Babu can be well documented in countless places throughout his personal papers):

Founder and longtime member, Tibetan Welfare Association, Kalimpong
Catechist, and then ordained Pastor, Tibetan church, Kalimpong
Head, Tibetan Mission, Kalimpong
Moderator, Kalimpong Tibetan Kirk Session
Member, Kalimpong District Committee, Eastern Himalayan Mission Council
Member, Executive Committee, Kalimpong Sub-Divisional Committee for the Gandhi Birth Centenary Celebration, 1969
Member, Managing Committee, Kalimpong Government High School
Member, Board of Directors, Kalimpong Industrial Co-Operative Society (formerly aka: Kalimpong Industrial Arts and Crafts Association)
Member, Advisory Committee, Charteris Hospital
Member—along with David Macdonald, George Roerich, B. C. Simick Sr—of Kalimpong’s local Committee of India’s Central Board of Examiners responsible for creating and administering Tibetan Language Examinations to Indian Civil Servants, prospective Civil Servants, missionaries, et al
Member, Standing Finance Committee, Kalimpong Municipality
Member, Institute of Culture, Kalimpong
Member, Managing Committee, Institute for the Blind, Kalimpong
Member, Health Welfare Committee, Kalimpong
Member, Management Committee, Tharpa Chholing Gompa and School*
Member, and at one time Chairman, Managing Committee, SUMI
Teacher, Tibetan Language Classes—Sponsored by Kalimpong’s Sub-Divisional Government Office
Member (for some five years), Kalimpong Municipality Committee

Obviously civic-minded to the core of his being, Tharchin was one who could never say “No” to public service on behalf of his town’s citizenry, so long as his health permitted. If

* The Christian Babu was not only a member, he also in 1950 became by appointment the Secretary of the Management Committee, and remained so for some five years. The later Abbot of the gompa, the Ven. Kusho Wangchuk, reported to this author in 1992 that it was because Rev. Tharchin was tolerant of all people, regardless their religious background and because his aim was to help all people, again regardless their religious background, that the Tharpa Chholing monks had appointed him as Secretary, since they wished to have in that

this Indo-Tibetan frontier community's name could rightly be attached to the name of another former illustrious Kalimpong citizen, the Rev. Dr. John A. Graham ("Graham of Kalimpong"), in recognition of his remarkable selfless service to the community spanning more than half a century, then perhaps it could equally be so, in the opinion of some, with respect to Rev Tharchin.

This, in fact, was the sentiment expressed by one of the most prominent more recent leaders in the hill station, Tashi Pempa Hishey. He had come to know Babula Tharchin very well, having known and interacted with the latter from 1952 till the Babu's death in 1976. At the time of this author's interview with Pempa Hishey in November 1992 this senior Kalimpong leader was serving as the Commandant of the hill town's Home Guards; as Chief Warden of its Civil Defense; and as a Patron of the Graham's Homes Establishment, into whose school he himself when seven or eight years old had been the first Tibetan ever to be admitted, which act had been arranged for personally by Dr. Graham in 1939. Because both Pempa Hishey and Gergan Tharchin would serve together for some five years as fellow Commissioners of Kalimpong's most prestigious Committee, its Municipality Committee, with Pempa serving as its Chairman, the latter was able to observe Tharchin Babu up close. Because of these impressive credentials, therefore, the following laudatory testimonial offered up by this prominent Tibetan Buddhist that favorably juxtaposed the two prominent Christians of Kalimpong—the Revs. Graham and Tharchin—cannot be lightly ignored or dismissed but must be taken rather seriously. Declared this latter-day Kalimpong leader to the author:

These two most senior gentlemen of Kalimpong were both most highly respected and revered by the local citizenry. Indeed, because of their Christian way of living, thinking and doing, the influence of Protestant Christianity had spread far and wide throughout these hills. Due to their inspiring and exemplary lives, each of them gained a large following from among both the Christian and non-Christian communities. This was the consequence not of sword or force but of love, affection and devotion which they so generously rendered on the behalf of others. And even today [1992], long after their deaths, Rev. Dr. Graham and Rev. Tharchin are both still greatly respected and revered in the memories of those yet alive who knew them and benefited richly from their humanitarian service for the welfare of others.*^{55a}

In view of these effusive words of praise, it surely would not be inappropriate for many

office "a real good religious man, even though they all knew he was a devout Christian." Moreover, added the Venerable, whenever he had himself gone to the Tharchin home to seek advice from Rev. Tharchin, which was quite frequent, all such advice received would "without exception" prosper and bless the monks and monastery. Indeed, the death of Gergan Tharchin, the Abbot noted with feeling, was "a great loss" to Tharpa Chholling and to the Tibetan people. Interview, Nov. 1992.

* For another favorable, even fuller, delineation of the place which Rev. Tharchin had assumed in the life of Kalimpong, and though expressed by a non-resident Western scholar, see the end-note indicated at this point in the text above. It was provided by none other than the well-known British scholar and writer on Tibet and Tibetans, Heather Stoddard. She had conducted a rather extensive period of research into the lives of those at Kalimpong, including the Babu, whose careers had significantly intersected with the celebrated Amdo monk-scholar, Gedun Chopel. She had even been able to interview Tharchin Babula at great length a year before he died.

Kalimpongians and non-Kalimpongians who knew and appreciated Gergan Tharchin for his exceptional life of service rendered in the hill town he loved and helped so much, to honor the Christian Babu by bestowing upon him the same mark of distinction as had been frequently conferred previously on Rev. Graham; namely, "Tharchin of Kalimpong." One is reminded of what was reported in the preceding chapter as having occurred on the occasion of the marriage of Tharchin-la's eldest granddaughter Ruth in late 1991. Some four to five thousand Tibetans and non-Tibetans alike had come from far and near to attend the reception which followed at the Tharchin compound. Indisputably, this was a palpable demonstration of just how great in the hearts of so many was the lingering fond memory of Babula Tharchin: an amazing testament, indeed, to the widespread influence he had had on so many—whether rich or poor, high or low, Bhotia or non-Bhotia.



There was one very special feature of Rev. Tharchin's character which all those who ever encountered it could *never* forget. It was alluded to by P. R. Pradhan in one of his testimonials among all the others which were included within this chapter's opening pages. This was the Babu's habitual unyielding stand he took on the matter of principle, righteousness or justice. It was no better displayed than when he served on this or that committee within the infrastructure of the Scots Guild Mission. And it was probably most insistently exhibited by Rev. Tharchin in the meetings of one specific Guild Mission committee, the all-important Eastern Himalayan Mission Council (EHMC). For it was in the meetings of the EHMC, of which Gergan Tharchin had been a longtime member, that the Tibetan pastor would never hesitate to speak out forcefully if others present championed what he perceived were wrong—even unjust or unrighteous—policies, programs, proposed actions, or decisions of the Council; and he would boldly do so regardless if the subject or issue being discussed pertained to the Tibetan Mission under his care or concerned matters unrelated to it. Furthermore, he would speak out in such manner even if he were the lone voice to be heard when others present, who knew the true situation involved, preferred to sit back and say nothing.

In one Council meeting, for instance, at which not only Rev. Tharchin but also his son Sherab and Tibetan church Elder Napa Tshering (Nini Tharchin's father) were present, the Tibetan pastor stood up and spoke most vigorously on the specific issue then before the Council, declaiming his point with great feeling and passion. Dr. Albert Craig, who was present as well, and who at times had attended the Babu as his physician and who therefore was aware of Babula's heart condition (enlarged), would urge the pastor to please sit down and be calm, for, he added, "You are my patient, Babula, and this, if continued, will be very harmful to your heart." To which the passionate pastor rang out with: "Never mind my heart! If I die in this meeting, it does not matter; but I cannot sit by and say nothing!"⁵⁶ Rev. Tharchin was willing to sacrifice his health and even his life itself for the sake of standing for what he believed would be the furtherance of truth, integrity and righteousness on a given issue. In short, he was Rectitude Incarnate!

Appropos of this very line of discussion, it had come to the knowledge of Nini Tharchin, who shared it with this author, what Rev. S. Molommu had had to say about these EHMC meetings and Rev. Tharchin's robust conduct. Rev. Molommu had at that time been serving as the shepherd of a small church congregation at Kizom near Darjeeling. During the time when he had himself served on the Mission Council he had been able to observe Tharchin's conduct at the meetings, and described it in the following terms: "Babula always stood for what he felt was right. He was absolutely fearless in his confronting fellow members of the Council—no matter whether white- or dark-skinned, whether of high stature or low in man's estimation—who took a position he believed was wrong." "No one except Rev. Tharchin," he added, "was brave enough among us locals to speak out. He's the only one among us who can fight!"

Many were the times, further reported Nini, that she heard the Babu lament openly about the docility of the indigenous pastors in failing to speak up at the EHMC meetings. "Why is it," he would often say, "that these people always remain silent? They are nothing but 'yes men'—whether what is said or proposed is right or wrong! But when outside the meetings, in their conversations among themselves or with others, if these same people had not liked something which had occurred in the meetings, they would readily complain when outside; yet they never complained or spoke up in the Council for what is right, as I myself do."

Moreover, it would come to Nini's attention that these same so-called yes men would admit later that they had kept quiet on a given matter during the Council meeting when actually, they acknowledged, Babula had been right in speaking up.⁵⁷



In one of the meetings of this same Mission Council there would be played out in part a most unusual episode in Rev. Tharchin's life that demonstrated (a) his sense of what should be his pastoral responsibility to members of the flock under his care, and (b) his loyalty and faithfulness to individual Christians whom he had committed himself to support. It all began when in the early 1950s a young Christian brother arrived in Kalimpong from a far distant place elsewhere in India who began to engage in Christian ministry in some of the surrounding area. This brother frequently attended the Tibetan Christian congregation's Sunday services held at the Macfarlane Church building; and in consequence he became acquainted with a young Christian sister in the Tibetan church. Both began to show interest in each other to the point of expressing a desire to be married. Because Rev. Tharchin was pastor, he naturally had a shepherd's concern for the welfare of all the members of his flock, including this young sister. Not knowing hardly anything at this time about the background, family and lifestyle of this recently-arrived brother to these parts, Pastor Tharchin harbored reservations in his heart, sensing before his God a certain unease in his spirit regarding the suitability of this brother as a prospective husband for this sister in his flock.

Now Kalimpong's Tibetan church, like all other congregations within the Scots Guild Mission, had its own Kirk Session (later called the Tibetan Church Executive Committee), of which at that time Rev. Tharchin's son Sherab was himself a member and could therefore vouch to the present writer that this very matter had come before the Kirk Session's membership which at that time consisted of four or five individuals selected by the pastor from the congregation. Such a matter would thus normally never be brought up and discussed at a meeting of the EHMC but would be handled at the pastoral level of any given church congregation through its Kirk Session that was always chaired by the church pastor. Somehow, though, word of this prospective marriage and Pastor Tharchin's acute reservations about it came before the Mission Council. In the course of the discussion which followed, it developed that all the Council members except Rev. Tharchin expressed happiness about the marriage proposal and voiced their encouragement. Tharchin, on the other hand, stood and explained his objections to it, and did so quite strongly as a pastor with a sincere shepherd's concern for a member of his flock.

Nevertheless, at this point in the Council's deliberation on the matter, one of its members, a young lady missionary from the West, rose up and commented directly to Rev. Tharchin: "What's the harm? Let them get married!" Now it so happened that this young woman had only arrived in Kalimpong a scant few years before. Upon hearing this comment from her, Pastor Tharchin immediately arose and responded with a strong rebuke: "Sit down and keep quiet!" Then employing a well-known colorful saying which was often uttered by both Tibetans and Nepalis alike, the pastor promptly added with great feeling: "Yesterday you were an egg; and even today you are but a chick! What do *you* know about this Kalimpong situation!?" The young woman immediately burst into tears and rushed out of the meeting, declaring between sobs: "I don't want to stay here any longer!" Another Council member, a brother, ran out after her and brought her back into the meeting. But Tharchin-la stood his ground and made no apology. "To this day," noted the Christian pastor long afterwards, "this is the reason I believe she has never liked me."*

It should be added here that the couple went ahead with the marriage anyway, but were married by another Christian minister. Yet, from his perspective, as remarked upon by him many years later, Rev. Tharchin felt that subsequent events had confirmed the merits of his contention that it was not a suitable marriage, and spoke rather candidly to the husband himself about it face to face. Even so, and despite his ongoing negative assessment, Tharchin-la, in keeping with his profound sense of loyalty, never turned his back upon the husband but remained a loyal supporter of him through the "thick and thin" of the young man's life thereafter. In fact, one day just a few years before Pastor Tharchin's death, the latter, not in a spirit of self-justification, pride or egoism but in a spirit of humility, helpfulness and spiritual enlightenment, took the opportunity to observe to the husband the following:

See, all in the Council were your friends and supporters who favored your marriage, and I was your lone "enemy." But look at your situation today: I am the only one who

* See later in this chapter for a brief discussion of the way Rev. Tharchin had confronted this lady missionary, which is viewed by the author as evidence of a flaw in the Babu's character at this time in his life.

is helping you and showing you the Lord's love and care. Where, though, are *they* who earlier were your "friends" and supporters?

Babula Tharchin, though unafraid of speaking candidly to someone, never turned his back on anyone, no matter what the circumstances.⁵⁸



The Mission Council meetings were also the venue for what would witness two unpleasant miniature verbal tussles between Rev. Tharchin and Dr. Albert Craig, events which would elicit from the Babu an insistence on right and just conduct from a fellow Council member. Dr. Craig, it may be recalled, had been the major "encourager" in having Babula Tharchin decide to return to the Guild Mission and its Tibetan work; and he had also been the major catalyst in recommending that Tharchin be ordained as a minister in the Scots Mission. Nevertheless, it was intimated earlier in the present volume (see Chapter 25) that the relationship between Rev. Tharchin and medical missionary Craig had not always been amicable when it involved issues having to do with the use of certain Tibetan church property or of funds which the Mission Council had allocated to the Kalimpong Tibetan Mission for its missionary ministry among the Tibetan community. From Tharchin's perspective, Dr. Craig's conduct in these two specific areas created a great deal of trouble for the Christian pastor.

The first of these revolved around the use of the Tibetan Mission House, a spacious structure that was situated up the hill slope from Mackenzie Cottage. During the late 1950s and early '60s and even onward, the House was being used by Rev. Tharchin and the Kalimpong Tibetan Mission for various aspects of the Tibetan missionary work, such as meetings and social events, and for providing shelter for guests of the Tibetan Mission and other Tibetan Christians. At any given time, however, not all of its space was being utilized on a permanent basis. So on a number of occasions in the early 1960s, the Charteris Hospital Superintendent Craig would go up to Rev. Tharchin's home to speak about the Babu allowing him to "borrow" temporarily part of the Mission House space to house Hospital staff till such time when additional staff quarters that were anticipated would soon be built by the Hospital were erected. After several such conversations Tharchin, taking Craig at his word that he would vacate the House space as soon as the other quarters were built and being assured by the Hospital Superintendent that these new quarters were going to be erected not long hence, gave his consent. Year after year went by, however, without the medical missionary fulfilling his word, despite the Tibetan pastor's strong reminders made repeatedly to Craig and the Mission Council at the latter's meetings, with the Superintendent responding again and again that the quarters for his staff would soon be erected and the Mission House vacated. Craig, though, left the mission field in the late '60s without having fulfilled his word given before God and man.

A further issue which from Tharchin's viewpoint would additionally mar Craig's

relationship *vis-à-vis* the Tibetan pastor had to do with the financial account of the Tibetan Mission. Apparently, Dr. Craig had for some time had his eye on the account that though a part of the overall Guild Mission funds had been separately earmarked specifically for the ministry of the Tibetan Mission among Tibetans. The latter's account funds had consisted of what in those days was considered to be a handsome sum: something like 12,000 to 13,000 Indian rupees. In a Council meeting on one occasion Dr. Craig had sought permission to divert this account's funds for financing his travels to Bhutan and his medical work among the royal family there. At this EHMC meeting as "observers" were Tharchin's son Sherab Gyamtsho as well as Nini Tharchin's father, N. P. Tshering—both of them Elders of the Tibetan congregation. Now when Craig sought this permission, Rev. Tharchin arose and vigorously objected to such an unjustifiable request since the said fund had been exclusively allotted by the Council for Christian work among Tibetans.

It so happened that a few days later a Lepcha member of the Mission Council, L. P. Rongong, who had been present in the meeting that day, met N. P. Tshering on the street. The Lepcha had been most sympathetic to the Tibetan work, and upon meeting Elder Tshering on the street he took him aside and told him "to never let Craig touch that money" and that it should only be used for the missionary work among the Tibetans. Brother Rongong added, meaningfully, that Rev. Tharchin had been right in objecting to Craig's high-handed attempt to divert the funds for his own personal ministry in Bhutan. Nevertheless, as in so many other Council meetings dealing with other issues, Rev. Tharchin was disappointed that though no one in this current Council meeting—whether Westerner or local—spoke in support of Craig, neither did anyone—including the Lepcha—speak up in defense of the Tibetan pastor's position on the issue.

Now because of these and other instances of what Rev. Tharchin viewed as improper conduct on the part of Dr. Craig, the Tibetan pastor would subsequently say the following privately on several occasions to family members:

I at first thought that Dr. Craig was truly a follower of the Lord, that he was an honorable and sincere man. But I do not now feel that way about him because his intentions were not good, his heart was not clean, and he had no sympathy for the Tibetan work but only cared about the work among the other ethnic peoples being ministered to by the Scots Mission. He deceived me in the entire matter regarding the Tibetan Mission House, and when he finally left the mission field permanently, he never took any responsibility to settle the matter with me, he having departed with his Hospital people still occupying the borrowed quarters in the Mission House. If he were a true and honorable Christian he would have made every effort to make the matter right, even if it required an outlay of his own money to resettle those occupants elsewhere as a way of resolving the problem he himself had created at the Mission House.⁵⁹

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Still another quite impressive trait in the character of G. Tharchin Babula was what B. C. Simick Jr had perceptively referred to in the testimonial of his that was quoted among the

litany of testimonials laid out at the outset of the present chapter. It definitely bears repeating here:

Tharchin Babu was no “mouse” but was a fearless man who could not be intimidated by *anyone*. He stood adamant for what he thought was right and righteous.

And in no more appropriate context was this so vividly and clearly illustrated than in the following narrated series of “run-ins” which Rev. Tharchin had experienced with that confounded nuisance of his concluding years on the earth: the Darjeeling Diocesan Council of the Church of North India (CNI).

The Guild Mission’s Eastern Himalayan churches, as learned earlier in the present narrative, had at one point in the 1950s all become affiliated with the United Church of North India (UCNI). However, in late 1970 the UCNI’s District Darjeeling churches, including Pastor Tharchin’s Tibetan congregation, had come under the CNI. With the establishment of the CNI, the newly-formed administrative council, to be known as the Darjeeling Diocesan Council (DDC), commenced passing all kinds of new ecclesiastical rules and regulations, and created as well a new Constitution: all of which legal developments were now to govern the administration of the various churches comprising the Diocese of Darjeeling. And among these new ecclesiastical regulations that were proposed in the DDC meetings and soon passed was the requirement that all pastors must undergo a re-ordination under the new “umbrella” of the CNI. However, at the time this particular provision was being proposed at the Diocesan Council meeting, Rev. Tharchin stood up and objected with vigor by declaring:

All these years I have served the Lord and his people, and now my hair is gray. I already long ago had been ordained by the Lord [at his ordination service back in 1952] and there is therefore no need now for the hands of you younger people to be laid on my head. I must say here and now that I shall never permit your hands to be laid on my head in any re-ordination ceremony, for it is not necessary.

Naturally, the resolution was passed over his lone objection, all other pastors present (all of whom by this time in the Council membership being indigenous not foreign, dark-skinned and not white) having remained silent. And within a short time thereafter all pastors, including Rev. Tharchin, were informed that they were to gather in Darjeeling at the Bishop’s residence on a certain date and at a certain hour for their re-ordination as CNI pastors. All of them except the Kalimpong Tibetan pastor (and perhaps one or two others) went and had hands laid on them. When Rev. Tharchin’s absence was noted, the Diocese began to send personal letters of reminder to him that he had not yet been ordained again. But with the receipt of each reminder Tharchin-la answered back politely but firmly with a negative response. To Nini Tharchin’s best recollection, this spate of letters back and forth went on for more than six months.

But then one day, who should show up at the door of Rev. Tharchin’s home but the Secretary of the Diocesan Council, Miss A. Dorothy Wallace, together with the CNI Moderator who had traveled all the way up from Calcutta! These two had arrived at the Tibetan pastor’s residence to talk with him specifically about his failure to agree to be

re-ordained. Inasmuch as the Moderator of the entire CNI had never heard Rev. Tharchin's explanation directly (though Miss Wallace, of course, had at the Council meeting), the Kalimpong pastor would now repeat for this High Dignitary's benefit the reasons he had presented already to the Council that explained why he had refused to submit himself to any re-ordination. These two Church officials then put forth a proposal, couched in terms of compromise, as a way for them, as representatives of the CNI and the Diocese, to resolve the impasse which had been created by Tharchin-la's adamant refusal. The Moderator, recalled Nini Tharchin, who was herself present during this entire and rather humorous scene,* spoke first, explaining the nature of the compromise, followed by a few words from Miss Wallace.

The substance of the proposal was that if Rev. Tharchin did not wish to have hands laid upon his head, then would he be willing, they asked, to simply shake hands on the matter with the Moderator and let it go at that? To which the Tibetan pastor replied by saying, "Yes, I am willing to shake hands with you, Moderator, Sir, but I am not willing to have any hands laid on my head." And with that, these two gentlemen—the lowly pastor from Poo village and the High Church Dignitary from Calcutta—shook hands, after which, following an exchange of a few pleasantries, the two visitors took their leave of the "troublesome" Babula!

Interestingly, according to Nini, Rev. Tharchin subsequently reported to his family that he had heard that some pastors, like P. S. Targain, C. T. Pazo and others who had been present at the DDC meeting when Tharchin Babu had voiced his objection to the entire re-ordination idea, admitted, upon their reflection over the matter afterwards, that Rev. Tharchin had exercised "correct discernment" (their words) on the issue and that they now wished they had not agreed to such a proposal and were sorry they had remained silent. Instead, they acknowledged that they, without thinking, had impulsively gone along with the action taken and had consented to be re-ordained. Yet thereafter, they added, their hearts had grown very uneasy; as though to say that their God's Holy Spirit had inwardly spoken to their consciences by having raised the central question at issue: How could you men, who for so many years had served your Lord so faithfully and had baptized so many believers, feel the need to be ordained as servants of God all over again?

Pastor Peter Rapgey, Nini's brother-in-law, whom the author interviewed in December 1992, has shed further light on the reactions of these same pastors and others, as well as on the reaction of Rev. Tharchin to their negligence in speaking out. At the time of the unfolding of this controversy, Rev. Rapgey was still living within the Tharchin compound. He could recall that some of these same pastors had come up to the Tharchin home sometime following the DDC meeting at which the re-ordination proposal had been discussed and passed. He reported having overheard them say to Rev. Tharchin that "what you said in the Council

* Babu Tharchin often liked to have members of his family sit with him and his guests. So from time to time his wife, or his son Sherab and his wife, or if Sherab was out of station, just Nini, would be present when visitors came by. And on this occasion, it happened that Tharchin's son was away, the Babu's wife was absent, and thus Nini, immediately after bringing in refreshments from the kitchen at the very outset of the proceedings, was requested by the host to sit with him; and hence, she was an eyewitness to this bizarre scenario.

meeting was good and right.” To which the Babu had responded: “Then why did you not support me at the meeting itself instead of remaining silent?” Their answer was: “We were afraid of hurting the feeling of others [read: missionaries] who were present there.” To say the least, Rev. Tharchin had occasion once more to have been greatly disappointed with his pastoral colleagues in the Christian gospel.⁶⁰

Nevertheless, Mr. Rectitude Incarnate had had the last word with the DDC in having stood his ground in not allowing its ecclesiastical officials to lay hands on his head. In this entire episode he had demonstrated that he “could not be intimidated by *anyone*,” not even by the High Church Dignitary from Calcutta!

The second of G. Tharchin Babula’s “run-ins” with the troublesome DDC would occur but a year or so following the unfolding to its conclusion of the first one just now narrated. It would be the occasion once more for Rev. Tharchin to display the strength of the singular trait in his character which is currently under discussion: the Babu’s inability to be intimidated, he adamantly standing for what he thought was right.

Now it so happened that in late 1972 a group of dissenters split away from the CNI’s Macfarlane Memorial Church (MMC) and formed a separate church group that came to be known as the Presbyterian Free Church of Kalimpong (PFCK). According to S. G. and Nini Tharchin, the factual background to account for this split is as follows. Rev. P. S. Targain, the pastor of the large Nepali-speaking congregation that comprised the MMC, died in 1973. But a year or two earlier, he had retired from the pastorate, with the understanding, said many at the time, that Rev. M. H. Subba, who had been ministering for many years with the youth and young people of the MMC, would be Rev. Targain’s “hand-picked” successor. But the few Western missionaries who still remained in Kalimpong in 1972 began to stir up controversy by spreading word that a very qualified person of Targain’s stature should be selected as his successor; meaning, by implication, that Rev. Subba was *not* qualified. Yet all thought that for sure it would still be Subba who would be selected. However, by this time the MMC had become affiliated with the CNI, which finally chose—*not* M. H. Subba but—Rev. *H. D.* Subba. Almost immediately supporters of M. H. Subba within the MMC commenced leaving by twos and threes until well over 100 members had left, along with M. H. Subba, who became their pastor in what became the PFCK. Yet this breakaway church group had no place to meet and no property.

So, this Free Church sought permission to meet at various venues in the hill station. Its leaders approached Rev. Tharchin and obtained his permission to meet in a hall on the grounds of the Tharchin compound the very next Sunday following this group’s organization as the PFCK. This hall, a very large room that later would become the Boys’ Dormitory of the Himalayan Children’s Home, had been set aside for many years by Rev. Tharchin for spiritual activities such as prayer and morning and evening devotions with the children of the orphanage. Without any hesitation Babu Tharchin had given his assent to this Free Church’s request to meet, because he always wished to help others, especially Christians, no matter who they were or what were the circumstances. And thus, this church group met just this once on Gergan Tharchin’s property.

Additionally, this group of Christians had also been allowed several months earlier to hold a Christmas Service and Love Feast on the grounds of the Graham’s Homes

Establishment on 25 December 1972, and a week later on New Year's Day 1973 they were permitted to meet on the SUM Institution's Carmichael ground. According to the younger Tharchin couple, the leaders of all three of these places were in sympathy with Rev. M. H. Subba, in that either (a) they felt he and his supporters had been ill-treated by the MMC, or (b) they believed any group who wished to meet to worship and serve Christ should not be ostracized but be granted freedom to worship as they pleased, or else (c) they subscribed to both these reasons.

However, CNI officials within its Darjeeling Diocesan Council were anything but pleased with the above-described developments, they deeming such meetings to be anti-Diocesan in character and purpose, and believing they should be stopped. Accordingly, the Council took aim initially at the Kalimpong Tibetan pastor. For during the DDC's Executive Committee meeting held at Darjeeling on 15 March 1973—attended by Darjeeling's Bishop, the Rt. Rev. D. D. Pradhan, along with six Presbyters, four Messengers (including the Treasurer, Mr. H. Lama of Kalimpong) and the Committee's Secretary, Miss Wallace—it was decided, "on hearing [read aloud] a letter [to the Council] written by Mr. H. Lama regarding the situation in Kalimpong, ... to write Rev. G. Tharchin La asking for an explanation as to why the dissident group in Kalimpong were allowed to hold a meeting in his hall ... on 25/2/73...." In pursuance of this decision Secretary Wallace sent a letter to Tharchin, quoting the above minutes of its 15 March meeting and asking for a "reply as soon as possible." Not in any hurry to respond, the Tibetan pastor waited an entire month to provide a written explanation to Wallace.

Coincidentally (or perhaps on purpose?), the Babu's letter of 24 April happened to fall just one day before the plenary Diocesan Council was scheduled to meet in Kalimpong at the MMC. Present at both morning and afternoon sessions of this day-long meeting as the ailing Rev. Tharchin's representative was his son, the Tibetan church elder S. G. Tharchin. And at its morning's opening session that day, the DDC discussed the Kalimpong dissident group's activities and its support from various quarters. Quoting from this session's minutes, it is learned that the "DDC decided that (i) No anti-Diocesan activities be allowed to continue in the [Darjeeling] Diocesan area; and (ii) No member of the CNI shall allow any anti-Diocesan activities even in their private property...."

Meanwhile, and at the same 25 April meeting of the plenary DDC, but later that same day, the Council, having become aware that Miss Wallace had just received Rev. Tharchin's letter dated the day before in response to hers of 24 March, would now tone down the resolution passed earlier that day and quoted above. This had occurred as a consequence of not only Pastor Tharchin's letter just received, which was soon read aloud before the Council (see below for text), but also his son's declarations expressed at that very moment in the meeting. For Sherab Tharchin asserted that the DDC had no authority whatsoever over any religious event or activity which might take place within the private residential compound of Rev. G. Tharchin, and even if he wished to allow a Buddhist or Hindu gathering of some sort and even though Rev. Tharchin was a member of the CNI. And the Tibetan pastor's letter was equally forthright in demonstrating that he would not be intimidated by the Council's assumption of prerogatives it deemed legitimate but which he considered bogus. Wrote Tharchin to Secretary Wallace:

... the question ... concerning my hall being given [over] to the dissident group in Kalimpong to hold a meeting does not arise at all as the hall does not belong to the DDC [but] ... is entirely my private concern with which the DDC has nothing to do. Besides my private hall, I learned that the same group was allowed to hold [their] Christmas Service and Love Feast at the Dr. Graham's Homes ground ... and they were also allowed to hold their meetings at the SUMI Carmichael ground ... I wonder why the DDC dare not ask these respective institutions for an explanation as it has done to me without any hesitation even for my private concern. Therefore, I would like to ask the DDC to withdraw this point from the minutes with an apology.

Smitten by this "double whammy" from the Tharchins, father and son, in what the latter had perceived to have been an unwarranted arrogation to itself by the Council of a right not its own, the DDC, though it offered no apology, did withdraw, under obvious pressure from the Tharchins, the wording of the earlier session's minutes by passing a considerably watered-down new set of minutes on the issue. For whereas in the discussion on the matter during the earlier session of the DDC that day the Council had asserted its right, by virtue of the Graham's Homes Chapel Church being CNI, to exercise its authority over the Homes ground as well, it now noted in the day's later session of the Council meeting "that the Dr. Graham's Homes Church, and not the school [grounds] is under the Diocese." And with respect to the day's earlier DDC session minute which had categorically stipulated that "no member of the CNI shall allow any anti-Diocesan activities even on their private property," the Council, "in supersession" of this earlier minute, now minuted that "the DDC decided to *request* members of the CNI not to allow anti-Diocesan activities or encourage such activities even in their private property" (emphasis added).⁶¹

Obviously, the Council members had met their match and more in the person of Rev. Gergan Tharchin, and had been forced to retreat from their previously enunciated arrogation of powers not their own. Once again, Mr. Rectitude Incarnate had proven that he could not be intimidated by anyone, not even by the full force of the DDC in their attempt to do just that.

A still further example of the Diocesan Council's cavalier treatment of Rev. Tharchin and of his refusal to be intimidated by its members in what he deemed to be their unjust decisions collectively arrived at is the incident in summer 1973 involving Mackenzie Cottage, medical missionary Dr. Janet Duncan, the Tibetan church pastor, and what was apparently becoming a perverse DDC.

At Darjeeling on 21 July the Executive Committee of the DDC met and made several decisions which, if carried out, would impact negatively on Gergan Tharchin, still very much the pastor of the Tibetan church in Kalimpong. This meeting's minutes reveal that the Committee, having requested Dr. Duncan "return to Kalimpong as soon as possible," had decided that from 1 January 1974 Kalimpong's White Flat structure (aka: the Anderson Building) was to be her residence. But the Committee also stipulated in these same minutes that once repairs to Mackenzie Cottage were completed and a "kutcha kitchen"* provided

* More correctly spelled *kacha*, a Hindi word meaning "weak" or "fragile"; thus, "a kacha kitchen" would be one that, usually situated on the floor, is created by using soft, clayish material in its construction.

for her there, the Cottage would be her temporary residence till New Year's Day 1974. Furthermore, the Committee tasked its Treasurer H. Lama, based at Kalimpong, to implement the said repairs and kitchen installation: actions which obviously meant Rev. Tharchin would need to entirely vacate, almost at once, the Cottage premises which at that time was still Pastor Tharchin's Church office. Yet nowhere in these minutes was there any mention of Rev. Tharchin, nor had there been any thought expressed of consulting the Tibetan pastor in advance of the Committee's decision. In fact, only when on 31 July a copy of this meeting's minutes was handed to Rev. Tharchin by one of his church members who had received it from Treasurer Lama (which in itself betokened a cavalier attitude on the part of the Committee) did Pastor Tharchin learn of this entire matter.

Immediately "greatly insulted" by the offhand, discourteous, even unrighteous treatment the DDC was intent on meting out upon him, Tharchin sent off a registered letter the very next day to the Committee's Secretary, Miss Wallace, with a copy of it forwarded to Mr. Lama that was accompanied by a personal cover letter addressed to the Treasurer himself. In the letter to the Executive Committee he excoriated its members severely for the way they had handled the matter:

I am very much surprised to read the minute No. 121D(b) about the residence for Dr. J. C. Duncan. I wonder how you could pass this resolution without my consent, knowing that Mackenzie Cottage is in my charge, since its construction [had been undertaken to provide] residence for the Tibetan Pastor, and you are all well aware that I am still in service as Tibetan Pastor. To pass such a resolution in my absence or without my consent and to decide to take away my residence while I am still in service is nothing but a great insult to me.

Before taking the decision about Mackenzie Cottage you could have at least consulted with me, but now I am not going to vacate it for anyone else. The house requires repairs for which I had been thinking since long ago to request the Property Committee to grant some financial help, and in case of refusal by the Property Committee to sanction any grant, I have been thinking of doing it myself [presumably at his expense].

And in his personal cover letter of 2 August to Treasurer Lama, who was of course himself a member of the Executive Committee, Rev. Tharchin did not spare him of criticism, either. In fact, he was nearly as severe in his excoriation of him as he was in his letter to the whole Committee, and was quite frank as well:

... I do not understand how the Executive Committee could take such a random step like this....A copy of [my response to the Committee's minutes] is being sent herewith for your information, since you are being entrusted to implement the decision of the Executive Committee.

I am very much sorry to point out that although the Executive Committee appointed you to implement their decision to get Mackenzie Cottage vacated for the so-called accommodation of Dr. Duncan, yet you could have suggested that the Executive Committee take my consent, like any sensible man would do, instead of boldly accepting the responsibility to turn me out of Mackenzie Cottage.

Having thus been made aware of how deeply hurt and insulted the Tibetan pastor was

by the Committee's decisions, the Treasurer should have instantly realized that he and his fellow Committee members were truly at fault here and should have moved quickly to try to help make amends. For example, Lama could have immediately gone back to the Committee to seek redress of an obvious wrong inflicted on Rev. Tharchin and to suggest that the Committee extend an apology for its gross insensitivity and mishandling of the entire matter. Instead of doing something like this, however, the Treasurer, assuming a defensive mode, hastily replied to the Tibetan pastor the very next day with a letter of his own, dated 3 August, a letter whose contents can only be described as pathetically irresponsible, petty, and cowardly. For in it he neither addressed the central issue raised in Tharchin's two letters to members of the Executive Committee—the cavalier and unethical treatment of the CNI's Tibetan church pastor—nor was he manly enough to accept the Babu's justified criticism of him and to offer an apology for his own inaction at the Committee meeting by having failed to do what he, "like any sensible man," would and should have done: he should have suggested to his fellow Committee members that they consult with and take consent first from the Tibetan pastor before making the arbitrary decision they unwisely and incorrectly made.

On the contrary, in his letter the Treasurer tried to associate Tharchin's "sensible man" criticism of him with the issue of sanctioning repairs and the equally unrelated matter of who might ultimately benefit from them. Here is how his short letter reads, a classic example of a bureaucrat or politician in office who in very few words is found (a) skirting the core issue which had been presented to him for his consideration by raising a bogus one, (b) deflecting a critic's justified criticism of him by cutely attempting to turn the critic's words back upon their author, (c) admitting no wrongdoing, and (d) offering no apology for an incorrect, even perverse, decision made by him and his fellow Executives in positions of leadership:

Dear Mr. Tharchin;

Thank you for the letter just received with a copy of [the] letter to the Secretary, DDC.

I am not a sensible man; therefore, I am not at all keen to repair Mackenzie Cottage for the temporary stay of Dr. Duncan because ultimate benefit of the repairs and construction of a kitchen will be yours after December.

Yours sincerely,

H. Lama⁶²

Despite the decisions wrongfully made by the DDC's Executive Committee and its members' failure to acknowledge their mistakes and make redress, Mr. Rectitude Incarnate had in essence had the last word once more in his "run-ins" with the DDC: he had adamantly stood his ground in the face of unethical, unjust conduct of the most unbecoming kind and had refused to vacate the Cottage. Once again Babula Tharchin proved to be the better man, and would not be intimidated by anyone, especially by those in positions of authority who had abused the power of their office.



Before concluding this chapter, whose purpose throughout has been to take the measure of the man G. Tharchin Babula, it is needful to focus briefly on this extraordinary personality's flaws, failings and weaknesses. However, as was indicated at the outset, the author has had to acknowledge that his extensive research did not uncover very much which could be described as blameworthy. As a matter of fact, by the time of his passing, there was little in his life one could point to which could be classed as a lingering ongoing flaw in his character, so great had his God's Spirit of Holiness transformed his character and persona. Yes, there had been the Babu's debilitating addiction for most of his life to tobacco—whether that had been his smoking of the hookah or of cigarettes. But thanks to his God's "severe mercy" in the mid-1960s, the Babu was able to conclude his earthly life with nearly a decade of total liberation from the deleterious habit.

And, yes, Babu Tharchin had been in considerable debt to the Indian government over the installation of a better press for his publishing activities which had been made possible by a hefty Government loan having been extended to him. His debt problem had been further exacerbated by his having perhaps been far too generous in contributing financially to the needs of so many people, forcing him at times to seek loans from others to enable him, his family, and his publishing career to survive. Yet, before his passing from this life, G. Tharchin Babula had been able to pay back every single paisa he owed, and still leave to his heir, Sherab Gyamtsho, something like Rs. 10,000/-.⁶³

Then, too, there had been the matter of his fiery short temper, which—like his tobacco addiction—had been one of Tharchin's few life-dominating weaknesses with which he had to struggle throughout most of his adult life. Even so, he had possessed the humility to acknowledge his angry outbursts whenever they occurred, consoling those at whom his anger had been aimed, and offering an apology after having calmed down. Furthermore, this Christian man had followed the Biblical injunction of not allowing "the sun to go down on [one's] anger" but had kept very close accounts on this score.⁶⁴

And finally, one could probably fault the Babu on a good number of occasions for the manner with which he had sometimes leveled his justified displeasure at people for what they had said or done out of ignorance or immaturity. A case in point, as noted earlier in the chapter, was the harsh manner with which he had shown his displeasure and disagreement with the young lady missionary, recently arrived in Kalimpong, against whom he had employed the "egg-chick" analogy during one of the Mission Council meetings. Babula Tharchin could have expressed his disagreement with her in a courteous fashion and still have been able to convey the substance of his displeasure without publicly humiliating her the way he did. One could also fault him for not having apologized to the woman for the *manner*, not the *substance*, of his disagreement and displeasure over what she had obviously uttered out of gross ignorance of the true situation then under discussion at the meeting.

Nevertheless, other than these few though noteworthy blemishes in his character, much of which the Babu had nonetheless overcome by the time he had reached the twilight of his earthly pilgrimage, one is compelled by the entire sweep of this chapter's contents to give

wholehearted assent to the observation which, as quoted earlier, Gyamtsho Shempa had once made, that if Gergan Tharchin “*had* any faults, his many good qualities far outweighed any failings or weaknesses he may have had.” Moreover, after reviewing this chapter on the character of Tharchin Babu, the reader can perhaps understand how Rev. Tshering Wangdi could have declared, after having lived as a guest in the same house for five years with the elderly Christian pastor, the following glowing encomium:

I never saw anyone else like Babu Tharchin; in fact, the Christian faith was lived out in his life as I have never seen it lived out in any other person in all my years ... on this earth.



By way of conclusion, the author would remind the reader of what he had said in the Preface to this entire multi-volume study on the life and times of this humble Christian servant from Poo:

Here was an outstanding Indo-Tibetan personality who, though far from faultless, was nonetheless a man of great character and integrity, of intense courage and boldness, unquestioned loyalty and patriotism, deep sensitivity and compassion, and, not least, a man of faith, hope and love.... It is therefore to be hoped that those who [have now] read this work will [have] come away from it with a profound understanding and appreciation of just who Gergan Dorje Tashi Tserima Zering Tharchin was and what he meant to so many.

To quote again one of G. Tharchin Babula’s many admirers:

HE LIVED A BEAUTIFUL LIFE.

C H A P T E R 30

The Vision of Future Tibet

Where there is no vision the people perish.
The hope set before us ... we have as an anchor of
the soul, a hope both sure and steadfast.

Proverbs 29:18 AV; Hebrews 6:18b-19

SHORTLY BEFORE HIS DEATH in 1976, Gergan Tharchin had in hope and with prophetic insight declared much about Tibet, Tibetans and their political and religious future in the light of the past. Especially did he often speak about and hope for a Free Independent Tibet. Yet some, if not all, of what he had to say, as the reader shall soon learn, has failed to be realized. Ultimately, only time will tell if the core essence of his prophetic vision is still to be taken seriously. For if the longstanding and still current deadlock between Dharamsala and Beijing can serve as a trustworthy guide, one is forced to concede that time is fast running out for the Babu's vision to fully come to pass. Nevertheless, nothing negative or defeatist, it seems, could dampen Tharchin's ardent optimism concerning the future of his ethnic homeland and people.

First of all, Tharchin opined, "I have full faith that Tibet will regain its independence. The doctrine of Chinese suzerainty over Tibet will be thrown to the winds. Many will be able to go back to the land. By that time the country will be altogether changed. It will be a new Tibet."

"Tibetans," he continued, "have seen the outside world. They have received education abroad. As a result of this, their outlook on life and modern political affairs has to a large extent changed. Formerly, education had not been as widespread. Whatever little education had been obtainable had primarily been given in and through the monasteries. There will still be some monasteries, but they will not be as before. Too great a change has now been wrought by the present Chinese occupation for them ever again to be the same. Even so, according to a Tibetan proverb, 'A bad cause will be changed into a good cause.'"¹

What the Han invaders from 1950 onwards had done, of course, was to set about, in the words of one writer on Tibet, "disbanding the several thousand monasteries, enjoining monks, nuns, and lamas to take productive jobs and cease their 'parasitic' existence."² An even more severe judgment on the matter had come decades earlier from Gergan Tharchin's American Buddhist friend, Theos Bernard, for whom the Kalimpongian had served as guide and interpreter to Gyantse and Lhasa in 1937. At Gyantse's rather small but prestigious monastery, Bernard, having been uniquely favored there when the lamas had burned a thousand butter lamps in *his* honor, was nonetheless—even prior to his arrival at Lhasa's much vaster monastic centers—already commencing to observe the contrasts of existence then current in the "spiritually" governed land of Tibet. From atop the Dragon's Back wall guarding the monastery heights of Gyantse he was able, in his words, to "peer for miles over the peasantry, who maintain this enormous population of religious dependents.... In Tibet

the easiest avenue which leads to the greatest power is that of religion.” “The whole thing,” Bernard in summary suddenly blurted forth, “is a crime against nature.” Similar sentiments to these, though somewhat more muted, were voiced a few years later by Tharchin’s good friend and fellow Tibetan, David Macdonald. It will be recalled that before his conversion to Christ, Macdonald, whose mother had been a Sikkimese of Tibetan stock, had been a staunch Buddhist. Writing in 1943 after spending twenty years at Gyantse, Yatung and elsewhere in the country, he was regretfully compelled to comment that “the maintenance of the monasteries forms a great drag on the lay portion of the population, for the lamas are non-productive, and have to be fed and clothed by their lay fellow countrymen.... The people put up with this state of affairs partly on account of their superstition, and partly because practically every family in the land has at least one member, a lama.” And more recently yet, the Indian Prime Minister Nehru, while on a visit in July 1949 to Ladakh’s most famous Tibetan Buddhist monastery at Hemis, was overheard to say during the performance of ceremonies and ritual dances by the hundreds of monks there: “What a waste of time. I’d like to be able to draft all these monks into the army and make them work. What they’re doing is no good to anyone and doesn’t improve anyone’s life.”

Yet such observations about Tibet’s monastic institution were not voiced only by outsiders. Even the second highest prelate in the Tibetan Buddhist Church, the Panchen Lama himself, waxed quite candidly about it. For it is recorded by Gordon Enders, an American adviser to His Serenity during the late 1920s and ’30s, that this high Lama, while in exile in China from his native land, had expressed similar criticisms. One day in the future, he told Enders, “I can see a free and happy Tibet—a Tibet wherein the common folk are not slaves to a cumbersome and top-heavy priesthood.” It was his belief, wrote Enders, that were Tibetans provided with “a healthy internal economy,” an “overcrowded priesthood” would naturally thin itself out. “Then we will have as priests only those who belong in the priesthood,” while for those “intelligent boys who are unfitted to be priests, commercial pursuits will be provided. Marriage and family life will revive; and my country will grow fat and prosper.” Another Tibetan, in this case a well-known Communist from Kham, expressed similar sentiments concerning his country’s huge monastic population. Asserting retrospectively on how he, as a young revolutionary and would-be reformer, had viewed the matter back in 1945, Phuntsog Wangyal long afterwards had this to say: “I ... felt that there were too many monks in Tibet who simply lived in monasteries and did not contribute directly to society.” Still another Tibetan, Dawa Norbu (d. 2006), writing about recent Tibetan history, had been equally forthright in his criticism of his country’s monastic system as it had developed to the early 1950s. A native of the ancient and prestigious monastic town of Sakya, whose hillsides were studded with numerous monastic institutions, Norbu was most indignant when assessing the life and character of many of these institutions and their inmates throughout his homeland. “In those days,” he first explained, “the monasteries were run like feudal estates, possessing a third of the country’s land, and employing the lay population to farm and do other manual work.” But he then added that many of them “had degenerated considerably since their pious beginnings. The monks’ scholarship, assuming they had any, benefited hardly anyone except themselves; and except for the occasional monk, they were possessive and materialistic.”

But probably the most severe assessment of the monkish situation in the Snowy Land came from the noted ornithologist of Bombay, Dr. Sálím Ali. In 1945 he had made a lengthy scientific journey throughout the Sacred Lakes-Holy Mt. Kailash region of West Tibet to study the life and habits of the birds of that high elevation area. A self-confessed “down-to-earth materialist” skeptical of all religion, Dr. Ali could understandably, therefore, not be viewed as a very sympathetic witness to what he beheld of the religious environment in Tibet; nevertheless, his views confirm those made by others. “On the whole,” wrote Ali later of his impressions,

I was repelled, and sometimes nauseated, by what passed for Buddhism in Tibet at the time of my visit and amazed at the profound reverence given to its philosophy in the outside world. There must doubtless be, and certainly are, some devout and deeply learned scholars of the prevailing brand of Buddhism in Tibet, but I could discern no spark of spirituality or enlightenment among the swarms of initiates and young lamas who hung around every gompa and dzong. They seemed to me just a pack of dirty, lazy, ignorant louts leading a life of idle parasitism, who could have been more useful to themselves and to society as normal human beings.

In an apparent recognition of these and other serious defects in Tibetan Buddhism, the current Dalai Lama has himself not hesitated to add his own voice of criticism. Indeed, in an astonishing admission which even included a word of gratitude towards his country’s hated Chinese oppressors, Tibet’s Fourteenth Grand Lama humbly acknowledged that what had been needed for too long a time in his homeland was a thorough cleansing of the entire Tibetan Lamaist religion. “You have to admit,” he has been quoted as saying, “that our religion needed purifying. For that, at least, we can be grateful to the Chinese.” This the Dalai Lama had declared sometime prior to 1988. More recently, though, His Holiness has not hesitated to criticize as well the monastic emphasis which the upholders of the Tibetan Buddhist religious tradition back in his homeland had for centuries continually fostered. In an interview he gave to the editors of the influential *Himal* magazine in February 1991 at his Dharamsala residence, His Holiness remarked quite openly and frankly on the past religious excess among his countrymen: “Some younger Tibetans feel that Tibet had too much religion in the past, that we lost our country because of this. They are partly right. There was too much concentration on monasteries and too little contact with the outside world.”³

Such isolation and consequent ignorance of the outside world meant that Tibet had few if any friendly nations who could be counted on in a crisis; and this had thus played right into the hands of the Chinese Communists who could with near total impunity march into its smaller neighbor to the west and proceed to thoroughly overturn an ancient culture and attempt to eradicate religion from the Land of Monks and Monasteries with little or no interference from outside powers. Nearly six decades have now passed since China’s invasion of Tibet; and although Tibetans there still refuse to give up their religion, the Communist attempt to wipe it out completely has been, willy-nilly, remarkably effective thus far—at least with respect to most of its external appearances. Indeed, declared Dawa Norbu, by the end of the 1960s the Red Guards of Chairman Mao had been able to destroy some 95 percent of Tibetan Buddhism’s material manifestations so central to the religious

life of the Tibetan people. That this is not an exaggerated estimate is attested by what Heather Stoddard, Head of the Tibetan Department at the Institut National des Langues et Civilisations orientales of the University of Paris III, had asserted in an academic article she wrote in 1994. Citing this very estimate of what the Cultural Revolution had inflicted, Stoddard went on to declare: "I have been to Tibet four times, traveling extensively through Amdo, Gyarong and Central Tibet, and sincerely believe that this figure is not an exaggerated one."⁴

Actually, this frightful statistic should not be surprising when one is apprised of the true nature and aims of the Cultural Revolution, particularly as it was played out in Tibet. For it must be understood that this Revolution, unleashed at the behest of Chairman Mao himself against the entire People's Republic of China, had nonetheless been more vicious and had lasted longer in the Land of Monks and Monasteries than in any other part of Mao's Great Motherland. In the words of Professor Lee Feigon, the Cultural Revolution was an attempt "to obliterate all local and regional distinctions and to amalgamate everyone and everything into the Great Proletarian Culture." Aimed as it was at "'sweep[ing] away the freaks and monsters' of political power and traditions," explains Professor Feigon further, Mao's infamous Red Guard groups "struck minority areas [like Tibet] particularly hard. Hatred of superstition easily melded with traditional Chinese prejudices against non-Han minorities. In any case, foreign religious traditions were overwhelmed by a movement striving to carry out a radical vision of sameness."⁵

At its core then, the Cultural Revolution, as personally enunciated by the PRC's Great Helmsman, had been launched for the purpose of erasing the past by annihilating "the Four Olds"—old culture, customs, habits and ways of thinking; with the definition of "old" having been left to Chairman Mao's young Red Guards—his brutal agents of implementation—to determine. Let loose by Mao in the summer of 1966 "in a crazed attempt to restore his flagging personal power," the Red Guards, writes Mary Craig, "were allowed to rampage at whim." And especially for Tibet, the "last bastion of 'the old,'" this meant, adds Craig, "an orgy of undiluted horror." She went on to describe in the most gruesome detail what happened in Tibet during a ten-year "period of collective insanity" now known as the Cultural Revolution:

Buddhism was the main target. Most of the remaining monasteries ... were destroyed [from 6,259 monasteries and nunneries which had existed in 1950 there remained only *five* by 1979], sacred scriptures were burned or used as paper for the latrines, statues—stripped of their gold and silver—were mutilated and beheaded. Tibetans were forced to throw their prayer-wheels into the river and replace their mantras with the Thoughts of Chairman Mao. Even to be seen moving one's lips in prayer was a crime punishable by death. Celibate monks were made to copulate in public, abbots of great monasteries were crowned with dunce caps and ritually humiliated before being murdered or sent to the gulags in the far north to be worked and starved to death. [In fact, of the some 600,000 monks, lamas and other institutional religious practitioners present throughout Tibet back in 1950, most by 1979 were either dead or had disappeared beyond any trace!] Anyone remotely connected with the Dalai Lama or the old system was thrown into prison and subjected to *thamzings*. "The word hell," wrote one observer [Harrison

Salisbury of the *New York Times*], “is too soft to describe what happened in those years.” ...*6

As a matter of fact, all this was very much in line with a variant of Mao’s earlier and most famous dictum—“Religion is the opiate of the masses”: which variant the Communist Party Chairman had expressed personally to Dalai Lama XIV in private at Beijing in March 1955. China’s Great Helmsman had wanted to give the High Priest of Tibetan Buddhism some parting advice about governing his land during their last meeting before the Dalai Lama would depart back to Tibet. As was always the case in their previous private conversations together, the nineteen-year-old Tibetan spiritual leader was currently seated with his host busily taking notes of their talk. Suddenly Mao drew closer to his guest and said: “Your attitude is good, you know.” Abruptly thereafter, however, the Chinese dictator, having misinterpreted the youthful Buddhist leader’s enthusiastic support for reform in his country as signifying his openness as well to what would be destructive religious reforms, would now reveal his true hand by brashly commenting as follows: “Religion is poison. Firstly, it reduces the population, because monks and nuns must stay celibate; and secondly, it neglects material progress.”

To which His Holiness, made immediately fearful by Mao’s arrogant candor but able to keep his reaction to these startling statements inside himself, would later write down what had gone through his mind at that moment. “‘So,’ I thought, ‘you *are* the destroyer of the Dharma [the Buddhist law for all things], after all.’” Fortunately for the Dalai Lama, Mao ended the conversation after only a few minutes more; yet not before the teen-aged Priest had felt a violent burning sensation sweep over his face. Until that moment the unsuspecting Pontiff of the Tibetan Buddhist Church, heretofore quite entranced by “the sweet reasonableness” of the much older Mao, had naïvely supposed that a peaceful solution to the Communist Chinese occupation of Tibet could be achieved. Now, though, the Dalai Lama, having perceived in an instant the Communist leader’s deceptive conduct, realized that China’s anti-religious despot had totally misread him, was “fundamentally opposed to what he stood for,” and was bent, indeed, on annihilating religion from the World’s Roof.⁷

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Now among those fortunate enough to have escaped the carnage and destruction which

* For an excellent well-documented exploration into the history and implications of the Cultural Revolution, in particular as it related to Tibet, consult Warren Smith Jr, *Tibetan Nation*, its Chapter 13, “The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in Tibet.” Smith’s opening paragraph (page 541) sets the tone for the entire chapter:

The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution began as an attempt by Mao to overcome revisionism and bureaucratism in the CCP [Chinese Communist Party] by means of a revival of the forms, spirit and consciousness of collectivism. Mao preferred to create the new by first destroying the old, rather than building the new on the foundation of the old. This method, Mao said, was like “writing on a clean slate.” As the Cultural Revolution was to demonstrate, however, destruction was much easier to accomplish than creation. Mao unleashed the Red Guards to destroy the “four olds” ... The cultures and traditions of minorities [like those of Tibet] epitomized the “four olds” and were thus a particular target.

followed in the wake of the Chinese invasion and occupation of Tibet were a number of monks and lamas who subsequently found themselves having to grapple with the new realities of life down in India. And for some of them Rev. Tharchin was able to provide succor in various ways as well as he made attempts to reach them for Christ. Interestingly, in the mid-1960s the Tibetan pastor could report the following development to a guest in his home who happened herself to be a Christian missionary: “As the great exodus began in 1959-60, the Tibetan monks [who had fled first to Kalimpong] said to me: ‘Arrange a Protestant monastery in your house, and we can thereby learn to read the Bible!’—‘The Evangelical [Protestant] Church knows no monasteries,’ I had to answer sadly.”⁸ “Surely,” Tharchin went on, “some monks think only about external provisions, but I have noticed it well, that not a few are internally torn apart and restless. The monks are the unhappiest. Surely, the whole of Tibet is now one huge Concentration Camp. But the monks have never learned to work, and are now being forced to build streets and the like, [as though the Chinese are] following the Biblical injunction: ‘If any will not work, neither let him eat’!⁹ The Buddhist monks cannot work, but they also don’t want to, because they are not accustomed to it;* only spiritual exercises do they wish to fulfill. So thousands [of them back in Tibet] are perishing, mostly from starvation. [But for those monks who are now safely here,] a Protestant monastery would in their eyes mean: ‘Our living would be cared for, then we would have time to carry out the things you would want us to do. It would be a type of Bible School.’ In any event, these are their thoughts ...”¹⁰ It was because of what he saw as the consequences of the Communist occupation for the above-mentioned monks and lamas at that point in time (1964), together with even more terrible results of the so-called Cultural Revolution during the ensuing ten years or so that ended in 1976, which had prompted Tharchin to state in his prepared “memoirs” shortly before his death that same year that whatever monasteries would remain in the free, independent Tibet to come “would not be as before.”



On yet another note, in what was often a warmly enthusiastic and quite frank expression of his thinking, the elderly Tharchin continued by saying: “Some are doubtful regarding the bright future of Tibet. Their faith is shaky. Formerly, they had believed that no outsider would be able to invade the country. They had believed that the gods would protect the people of Tibet.¹¹ But now they are disillusioned about it. Their false beliefs did not bring any comforting fruits.”

* Indeed, their Buddhist religion forbade them to do any manual labor. Explained Dawa Norbu: “To touch an agricultural implement was an act of sin; for agriculture entailed the sin of killing insects.” He went on to describe what had happened to the monks at Sakya, his home community in southern Tibet. Previously, he wrote, there had been some 500 inmates at the Great Sakya gumpa, but by late 1959 there only remained 36 aged monks. Given their share of land, animals and agricultural tools, this large number of monks had been turned out to pursue “earthly,” not “heavenly,” work. Yet the Monastic Ordinance had forbidden them “even to touch an agricultural instrument, let alone work with it.” Nevertheless, these reverend lamas had now “to labor like mundane farmers.” *Red Star over Tibet*, 22, 222.

These who were doubtful and fearful did not, in Babu Tharchin's view, possess the "Anchor of the soul" that is the birthright of every Christian and that can produce an unshakable faith in the face of the most awful contradictions of existence. This tremendous phrase just now quoted from the book of Hebrews in the Christian New Testament Scriptures has reference to the Christian's "sure and stedfast" hope in Jesus Christ, based as it is on the sure promises of the Christian's God. Tharchin was now greatly possessed of this quality of faith and hope that was so deeply anchored in the innermost recesses of his being, and those who ever met him in the twilight years of his earthly walk came away from even the shortest contact with him fully aware of it.

A case in point was Englishwoman Lois Lang-Sims in her brief encounter with the resident publisher of Kalimpong in April 1959. This was at the height of the turbulent and fearful crisis then besetting Tibet itself, the terrible effects of which were beginning to be so much witnessed among the rising tide of forlorn and helpless refugees coming in droves across the border into India. Already a Tibetophile for some time now, Miss Lang-Sims had at the time been the Organizing Secretary of the well-known Tibet Society in London whose membership included Tharchin's longtime friend, Marco Pallis. Her previous training had been as a Catholic; nevertheless, she had joined the Buddhist Society in London, although she later said, "I never regarded myself or wished to be regarded as a Buddhist." Yet because of what was happening among the Tibetans, Miss Lang-Sims had come to India a second time so soon after her first visit of November 1958 with the hope that she might be able to render some form of service to them if only she could receive guidance from someone which could make her life more meaningful in the face of such traumatic and tragic circumstances. For in a sense, though still claiming to be a Christian, she herself was in quest of an abiding practical faith that had thus far eluded her.

Staying at the Himalayan Hotel of the Macdonald family in Kalimpong, she had developed a close friendship with Annie-La, the eldest daughter of David Macdonald, who managed the Hotel with her usual efficiency and no nonsense. "At Annie's suggestion," wrote the English lady, in her book *The Presence of Tibet*, "I went to see Mr. Tharchin, who was the editor of the only Tibetan newspaper in India, the *Tibet Mirror*, and one of the ministers of the local [Tibetan] church." It was on the morning of her last day in Kalimpong. "He was an old man," she continued, "and I found him recovering from an illness, having got out of bed in a dressing-gown to welcome his guest." "It had been my hope," she confided in her volume, "that in this fragile old Tibetan, whose reputation for simple goodness extended throughout the neighborhood and whose newspaper was the one existing publication to carry to the Tibetans in India news of their country's struggle for independence, I might find someone at last who could suggest to me how I could be of use."

After the customary introductions, Miss Lang-Sims was treated to a sample of that simple yet stalwart faith for which Tharchin had come to be respected if not altogether understood. "Mr. Tharchin," she continued, "had no suggestion to make." "'What can one do, you ask?' he replied. 'One can pray. There is nothing else.' I asked him why it was that he alone of the Tibetans I had met in India appeared to be unafraid" for the future of Tibet "and unembarrassed" about declaring it so. "I am a Christian," said Mr. Tharchin, as if the explanation were obvious."

This quite artless, unstudied response from the 70-year-old Tibetan Christian left Miss Lang-Sims puzzled. "I wondered, and have many times wondered since," she mused, "how far he was justified in replying to my question with this simple statement." Yet, upon further reflection, she came up with a most perceptive though admittedly brief analysis of the weakness of Buddhism when compared with the Christian faith; and it went a long way in explaining and even justifying in her mind the kind of crisp, unalloyed answer of faith Tharchin had indeed given her. She shared in her book the conclusion to which she had come:

... it is probably true to say that the teachings of Christianity provide for the ordinary man and woman a far more positive weapon against fear than is available to their Buddhist equivalents. In fact, I believe it to be true that Buddhism is essentially a limited religion, intended exclusively for the Sangha or community of monks, who alone are the true Buddhists—and that this is why in Tibet the idea grew up that the laymen were totally dependent upon the Lama priests. The question would require a book to itself if one were to attempt to deal adequately with it: I intend no more here than to suggest a possible justification for Mr. Tharchin's claim that his courage was a direct product of his Christian allegiance.¹²

The tentative conclusion which Miss Lang-Sims came to here with respect to the inadequacy of Buddhism—that is to say, *Tibetan* Buddhism—may have within it a kernel of truth, perhaps even more than a kernel.

Certainly, the intellectual inquiry into human consciousness which the scholarly lamas had diligently conducted for countless centuries was not sufficient to fortify the Tibetan masses spiritually for the traumas which the twentieth century had brought them, beginning with the decisive—and for them, quite shocking—defeat of the nation at the hands of the small Younghusband-Macdonald Expedition of 1904. It is one thing for Tibet's monastic system to have stimulated the intellect to heights of incredible achievement in the realm of human psychology that is probably unparalleled in the history of intellectual thought. As University of Chicago Psychology Professor William Soskin has perceptively declared: "In an unbroken line extending back nearly two thousand years, Tibet's lamas have conducted some of the most systematic studies of human consciousness the world has ever known. It is quite probably no exaggeration at all to assert that what Tibetan lamas over the time span have learnt about the human mind is the full complement to the achievements of Western science in unraveling the mysteries of the physical universe...." But it is quite another matter for that same universally adhered-to religious system in Tibet to have apparently been unable, in a time of crisis, to provide to "the ordinary man and woman" the strength, courage and solace needed. The people were spiritually ill-prepared by their lamas for the terrible decade of the 1950s; moreover, they could not look to their lamas or the latter's achievements to sustain them; for even many of the priests, on whom, as Lang-Sims has accurately observed, "the laymen were totally dependent," had themselves become disillusioned and fearful and were themselves left bereft of a sufficient anchor to their own souls. To paraphrase the earlier statement of Gergan Tharchin: "Their false beliefs and their inattention to the *whole* man did not bring any comforting fruits."¹³

Certainly the younger generation Tibetan, Dawa Norbu, quoted already several times

earlier in the present chapter, was one who had also had misgivings about Tibet's monks and lamas—at least some of them—and their apparent inability to have been of real service to the ordinary people of his country. Writing in his semi-autobiographical volume on his early years in his homeland, he made the following critical observations: “The monks’ scholarship, assuming they had any, benefited hardly anyone except themselves; and except for the occasional monk, they were possessive and materialistic.” And in another place in the volume, he writes: “As for the monks themselves, few of them lived up to their ideals. Most were mediocre, though sincere and religious enough. Their material dependence on the working population was not parasitic according to the Tibetans for in the old world they had a specific function which they discharged conscientiously. But there were some hypocritical monks who, under the robe of religion, exploited the masses, as the Chinese Communists say. To them, entering the *Sangha* was a religious vocation which provided a lucrative living, and they led a life within the confines of a holy monastery as earthly as the lay Tibetans outside, if not more so.”¹⁴

*

Though quite advanced in years even at the time when approached for counsel by Miss Lang-Sims (1959), and though he had seen and experienced and read about much that was negative and defeatist in Tibetan history, this ever sanguine elderly man nonetheless refused to wring his hands in abject resignation; he instead was able to continually bring a positive, forward-looking outlook to the Tibetan situation. For instance, in 1965 the Christian pastor could write for inclusion in a Darjeeling District Church Newsletter the following passages full of nearly totally unrestrained optimism:

Thousands of Tibetan refugees used to be here at Kalimpong but now most of them have gone to various places to settle down. They have heard the Gospel & the seed has been sown; but at present, it seems that there is no result or fruit; yet the seeds which have been sown will never return [empty]. In due course and in God's own time Tibetans will be saved, for whom also Christ suffered on the cross and shed His precious blood....

Seeing the small number of the [Kalimpong] Tibetan Congregation, some may possibly think to wind up the work and the few Christians can be combined with the local [Nepali-language] church congregation [that meets at Macfarlane]. But some of us still have the hope that the time may come [when] thousands of Tibetans may be saved. Some may also be thinking that Tibet herself is now finished and there is no hope for evangelising. But I am hopeful that the prayers and hard labours of many devoted missionaries on behalf of Tibetans for many years may be heard and the time may come when Tibet regains her independence and opens the door which was formerly shut and that many missionaries may be able to go in. The Communists in China will not last long and then the Communists in Tibet will go [away] automatically.¹⁵

Moreover, even a decade later at the very close of his life—with the situation in Tibet appearing no brighter than before—Tharchin was still forecasting better times for his countrymen. “After regaining independence,” he predicted, “the exiled refugees, headed by

His Holiness, will return and establish a new government in Tibet*¹⁶ which will be kind and favorable to the Christians, for they have helped Tibetans very sincerely and sacrificially.”¹⁷ It is for this reason, he believed, that the Dalai Lama himself has had such a high respect for the Evangelical Protestant Church.

Perhaps as he uttered these words this good friend of the Fourteenth Dalai Lama had had in mind an instance in the then recent past in which was demonstrated this high regard that His Holiness has had towards the Christian faith.¹⁸ But first, some background must be given. It is more readily known today that back then Tharchin had been instrumental in bringing a young Incarnate High Lama, later known as David Tenzing, to heart acceptance of Jesus Christ and, when earnestly requested by the former Tibetan priest, had even baptized this young man. As far as the Kalimpong pastor was aware, this had constituted the first time ever that an Incarnate Abbot of Tibet had identified himself with Jesus in the rite of Christian baptism. And shortly afterwards, Tharchin had briefly recounted the event in the *Tibet Mirror* which, as Margaret Urban observed, he well knew “all educated Tibetans would read.”†^{18a} As could be expected, said the publisher-pastor to Urban, “the response

* Many Tibetans today, especially many of those among the Tibetan exile community, would not share this sanguine view which the Babu had expressed with regard to the reestablishment of Tibetan independence and the return of his Holiness and exile Tibetans to their homeland. This is because of adamant Chinese opposition to any and every proposal for negotiation of the so-called Tibet issue put forth by the Dalai Lama. As is now well known, the latter had caused much controversy back in 1988 as a result of his “Strasbourg Proposals” which he had publicly enunciated before members of the European Parliament who met in that French city to hear His Holiness speak. The division of opinion among Tibetans still continues to this day over what he had announced there in terms of basic conditions for talks with Beijing on the future of Tibet.

The fundamental premise underlying these Proposals was that Tibet’s Priest-King would be satisfied with an arrangement whereby, so long as the Tibetans could be guaranteed self-government in Tibet, her foreign affairs and defense could be left up to the Chinese to manage. And thus the Dalai Lama, in the interests of the general happiness of his people, would be willing to withdraw his longstanding claim for independence and would seek “a voluntary association with China.” In Tibetan historian Tsering Shakya’s opinion, this offer by the Dalai Lama “was in many ways realistic, and historically this had been the position of the Tibetans since 1950, as long as China could guarantee that Tibet would enjoy ‘genuine’ autonomy.”

Chinese reaction was not long in coming. On the central issue raised by these Proposals, Beijing was quick to point out that their entire premise was grounded in the assumption that Tibet had from time immemorial been an independent country and that therefore the Chinese invasion of Tibet in 1950 was a hostile act against a sovereign nation. Furthermore, the Dalai Lama’s concept of “association” with China again presupposed that Tibet was an independent country and that the 17-Point Agreement concluded back in 1951 could be considered not unlike an agreement arrived at between two sovereign states. This, for the Chinese, was “a distortion of history” and completely unacceptable. And hence, so far as China was concerned, His Holiness had not conformed to Beijing’s fundamental demand—as a basis for talks between the Dalai Lama and China—that Tibet must acknowledge that she had always been a part of the Chinese motherland.

Because of China’s out-of-hand rejection of the Dalai Lama’s Proposals and because of the strong opposition within the exile community and within its Government administration at Dharamsala (principally from the Dalai Lama’s eldest brother Thubten Jigme Norbu and from another elder brother, Gyalo Dhondup, who at the time was Chairman of the Tibetan Cabinet), His Holiness would be compelled to withdraw his Proposals in August of 1991.

For more on this issue and the still ongoing controversy surrounding it, see the end-note indicated at this point in the Text above that includes as well all the relevant sources for this Text and end-note discussion on the matter.

† A fairly complete narration of this unusual event—much more detailed than the Babu’s newspaper account—is provided the reader in the end-note herewith indicated.

was prompt." A representative sample of the kind of reaction to this story by the general readership was one particular letter sent to the newspaper's editor. In it, reported Tharchin to Miss Urban, the correspondent wrote to him that though "his work was held in high respect," he nonetheless "should refrain from converting highly-ranked Tibetans." "Understandably," added Urban, the Christian editor could only reply to this reader of his newspaper that "he himself does not convert—Another One does." By which response the Christian pastor was making clear here an important distinction in accordance with his orthodox Christian theology: that human beings do not and cannot convert others to Christ, only Christ himself by the gracious drawing power of God's Holy Spirit can do so.

Now the Dalai Lama, who was known to have read the *Tibet Mirror's* account of David's remarkable conversion and his even more startling submission to baptism, never himself offered any response to this quite newsworthy religious event among Tibetans. Yet he did not really need to do so as far as Gergan Tharchin was concerned. For the pastor-publisher had already been made well aware of the high respect His Holiness had for Christianity and that the position previously enunciated by Tibet's Highest Buddhist Priest with respect to such instances of conversions of Tibetan Buddhists to the Christian faith was quite tolerant and accepting in tone. As reported by Tharchin to Miss Urban and translated from her German, the statement of the Fourteenth Dalai Lama on the matter was as follows: "A change of religion [by a Tibetan] does not abolish [that one's] national affiliation." By which His Holiness meant, explained the Babu to Urban, "that a Christian, too, can be a Tibetan." Further, she reported, "It is his opinion also that a Christian can find official [that is, Government] employment, but naturally only in the Tibetan civil service."* Tharchin made clear to Miss Urban that this type of thinking on the part of the Dalai Lama was completely new and quite modern in outlook in Tibetan history, "and stands in sharp contrast to tradition, where a separation of spiritual and secular service had previously been unthinkable." And hence, even though the lamas, as reported by Urban, had "stiffened their stance since the baptism of David—the young people having especially been admonished to close themselves towards the Christian message"—it was nonetheless refreshing and encouraging to the Christian pastor of the Kalimpong flock of Tibetans to witness a far less conservative and certainly more tolerant attitude on the part of His Holiness.¹⁹

Just here a passage from an article by the Rev. Dr. David Woodward on the Tibetan Buddhist-Tibetan Christian dialogue is most apropos. An Asian-born teacher theologically educated at Princeton Seminary in the USA and sometime literary consultant, Woodward is very much acquainted with Tibetan communities in India and Nepal, having also previously lived and labored in the Christian gospel as a missionary with the Worldwide Evangelization

* Interestingly, it has been reported to the present author on two or three occasions by Tibetans whom he has interviewed—all of them Christian individuals—that at some point early on in the exile period of the Dalai Lama (?the 1960s?), he had issued a pronouncement to the effect that any Tibetan who wished to embrace the Christian faith could do so, free from any persecution or oppression from the Tibetan community, and could live therein with all the rights and privileges which all other Tibetans enjoy. As this volume goes to press, the author must acknowledge that he has been unable to confirm this as fact; although it should be added that such a pronouncement would not be inconsistent with numerous other statements which His Holiness through the years has uttered dealing with the exercise of religious liberty within the Tibetan community.

Crusade in Chinese-controlled Kham east of the Yangtze River between 1946 and 1951. In addressing the problem of the ongoing tension that has existed in many quarters between the conservative, tradition-bound Tibetans—who insist that in order to be a true Tibetan one must also be Buddhist—and the Tibetan Christian who considers himself as yet a part of “the Tibetan family” though now no longer a Buddhist, Woodward has pointedly remarked on the Dalai Lama’s efforts to eliminate such tension and to foster instead a sense of community and openness among Tibetans towards those within their ranks who have opted for a different faith by which to live. He writes:

... there exists a custom in parts of Ladakh, that when family members gather, they have the right to share the same cup as it is passed around. In fact, that sharing is a symbol of their family unity. Even if one member is not a Buddhist (for instance, if he has converted to the Islamic faith), he is still welcome to drink of the same cup.

Within the Tibetan family the small Christian community had often been excluded from sharing the family “cup.” As late as 1987 two Tibetan families who had become Christians were unceremoniously expelled from the Tibetan camp in India in which they had lived.* This, of course, is not in the spirit of His Holiness the Dalai Lama and his continual preaching of tolerance and acceptance of people of other faiths than Buddhism. He makes no compromise with die-hard Tibetan conservatives on the issues of love and unselfishness. What a refreshing and surprising religious leader he is with his pursuit of knowledge and openness to progress! He even jokes about some of the more recent revisions in Buddhist practice, saying on one occasion, “When we were in Tibet, there were certain ceremonial activities that took up a lot of time, but the substance was not much. All those exist no longer. That’s good, I think. Also, because we are refugees, we have become more realistic. There’s no point now in pretending ... We must conduct research, and then accept the results. If they don’t stand up to experimentation, Buddha’s own words must be rejected.”²⁰

That Tharchin in the 1960s and ’70s had not misunderstood the Dalai Lama’s reported liberal attitude towards Christianity and other world faiths is confirmed by subsequent statements voiced by His Holiness. In his latest autobiographical volume published in 1990 entitled *Freedom in Exile*, the Tibetan Buddhist Pontiff exhibits an approach not too dissimilar from that found in most countries of Western Christendom where different religious persuasions can compete freely for the allegiance of men’s minds and hearts. Certain is it that in the following more recent expressions of his views on the subject His Holiness has

* The present author needs to relate something along this very line of what he himself was able to learn when he spent a week at New Delhi in early 1992. While there, the author had occasion to visit a large Tibetan refugee camp nearby. In the process of interviewing a Tibetan family of Christians whose former connections with Kalimpong had brought the author to the camp in the first place, it was learned by him that the members of this family, who had carried their newfound Christian faith with them to this Indian-created refugee camp, had suffered persecution and various forms of ostracism of the worst kind in the course of their early months, perhaps even years, of residence there. This Christian family reported to the author that only by the grace and mercy of their God in conjunction with herculean efforts on their part in convincing others at the camp that they were as Tibetan as they themselves, were the members of this family finally accepted, though quite reluctantly at first, as a part of the Tibetan camp community. Happily, it can be reported, small Christian meetings for prayer and the Breaking of Bread (Holy Communion) were by that time taking place at the camp, with this particular family forming the nucleus of such Christian gatherings.

waxed extremely tolerant when compared with the attitude and actions which had been manifested by the generality of Tibetan lamas in the past (see the early chapters of the present narrative), notwithstanding the reputed liberal approach to other religions with which Buddhism itself has long been identified. As a Tibetan Buddhist monk, asserts the Fourteenth Dalai Lama,

I try to contribute what I can towards better harmony and understanding between different religions.... It is my firm belief that all religions aim at making people better human beings and that, despite philosophical differences, some of those fundamental, they all aim at helping humanity to find happiness.

And in another passage from the same volume he declares:

Whilst on the subject of the spread of Buddhism in the West, I want to say that I have noticed some tendency towards sectarianism amongst new practitioners. This is absolutely wrong. Religion should never become a source of conflict, a further factor of division within the human community. For my own part, I have even, on the basis of my deep respect for the contribution that other faiths can make towards human happiness, participated in the ceremonies of other religions.

And in a final utterance, in which His Holiness, by his choice of words, would appear, without actually saying so, to make the distinction which nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Westerners had constantly drawn between the Tibetan people ("society") on the one hand and the Tibetan monastic institution on the other (see earlier in Volume I, Chapter 2), the Dalai Lama takes pains to distance himself from every kind of religious sectarianism, whether within the Tibetan Buddhist Church itself or among the world's religions:

... Following the example of a great many Tibetan lamas both ancient and modern, I continue to take teachings from as many different traditions as possible. For whilst it is true that some schools of thought felt it desirable for a practitioner to stay within his or her own tradition, people have always been free to do as they think fit. Furthermore, Tibetan society has always been highly tolerant of other people's beliefs. Not only was there a flourishing Moslem community in Tibet, but also there were a number of Christian missions which were admitted without hindrance. [It needs to be pointed out, however, that without exception the typical pattern was, that after an initial welcome by the *secular* rulers of the time, a growing opposition by the Tibetan *priesthood* ultimately forced the termination of these missions; see the next paragraph below and especially its documentation—present author.] I am therefore firmly in favor of a liberal approach. Sectarianism is poison.²¹

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It was no wonder, then, that Gergan Tharchin could late in life express the view that "there will one day be freedom of religion in Tibet. Because of the gratitude of Tibetans towards Christians, Christianity and Christian evangelism will find open doors and open

hearts. Christianity will spread, inasmuch as no restrictions will be imposed on its propagation. The [permissive] establishment of the Roman Catholic Church in Lhasa [long ago, and then abandoned,] evidences the fact that former Tibetan governments were tolerant [to a very large extent] towards the Christian religion.²² Actually, the pre-independence (British Indian) government, for the sake of its political interests, had discouraged and even prevented evangelistic activities in Tibet.²³ But this is now a different age with a different set of circumstances which will be conducive to the spread of the Christian message and its attendant literature.”

Not long before the utterance of these words, which were in fact voiced but a short while prior to his death, Tharchin had expressed himself in similar vein as part of an article which he had co-authored with David Woodward that appeared in a collection of essays and reports on the general theme of *The Church in Asia*, published in 1975. Writing in the third person, he made these various observations in the chapter entitled “Tibet”:

Tibetan churches today ... are small. There are no doubt also isolated Christians in various places, perhaps from fifty to one hundred ... True to their nomadic traits, Tibetans can be found today all over India as well as in Nepal, Bhutan, and some [more distant] foreign countries, where there are a number of settlements for Tibetans ... Many of them at some time during their journey have had Christian witness, especially in Kalimpong and Darjeeling, and many have had contact with Christians in schools and hospitals on the border.

Tibetan Christians are eager to prove to their fellow Tibetans that, if anything, their faith in Christ has made them more ready to serve their countrymen. Tharchin has consulted with the Dalai Lama on educational matters. Chekub [a TEAM Mission evangelist] has received the commendation of the Dalai Lama for his labors with the sick. Phuntsok [i.e., E.T. Phuntsog (d. 1973), the Ladakhi Tibetan Moravian Mission pastor mentioned elsewhere in the present work] has the wide respect of many Tibetans for his help to the colonies of Amdo refugees in Rajpur and Clementown. Thus increasingly the [Christian] witness to Tibetans is coming from fellow Asians and from among their own people. And there is strong hope that the tiny church, now meeting in quiet Bible study and prayer groups along the border, will grow steadily.... The prospect for Tibetan evangelism today is the brightest in history. The accessibility in settled communities and the relative openness of the refugee Tibetans, particularly in India, are resulting in conversions and the birth of tiny churches. And with possibly relaxed tensions between East and West, the future may see some of these new Christians able to send in Christian literature or even to return to their homeland to witness openly for Christ.*²⁴

* Tharchin’s co-author Woodward, a much younger man at that time than he himself was, has more recently provided an update on the presence, thinking and numerical strength of Tibetan Christians existing both inside and outside Tibet as of the early 1990s. In an article which he published in 1991 Woodward wrote the following passages extracted at various places from his fascinating essay on the then current situation of Tibetan Christians, whom he termed “a significant minority” within the Tibetan community at large:

... the significance of Tibetan Christians is not in numbers. They are a tiny minority in the larger Tibetan society, but they are not just numbers. They are living examples of the adventuresome Tibetan spirit. They are people with feelings, hopes, prayers, and compassion....

As far as Tibetan Christians are concerned, they realize that they can be misunderstood. The result is

Were Tharchin alive today he would most surely rejoice to see that the first essential steps in making possible these advances by the Christian Church into the Tibetan homeland has long since occurred; namely, the generally peaceful democratic revolutions which so unexpectedly broke out in the Soviet Union and throughout eastern Europe as a whole during 1989-91, and the much further *rapprochement* that has occurred over the years between the United States and Communist China since the initial renewal of ties had haltingly begun in the early 1970s. Both of these developments have markedly eased the tensions between East and West—an outcome for which the aged Tibetan pastor had hoped and earnestly prayed.

But now Rev. Tharchin would go on to make a most interesting theological assertion as he continued to gaze prophetically into the future of Tibet. “It has been pointed out,” he reasoned, “that God never judges a nation unless and until He has given that land an opportunity of freedom. Otherwise, any nation could easily speak up that since her people had been in slavery they were not free to worship the true and living God.” In that case, “such a plea would be justifiable and the divine judgment of such a slave people would therefore be meaningless. Only after Tibet regains her full freedom will God judge that nation in the light of the gospel of Christ (Romans 2:16).”²⁵



On the then local church situation at Kalimpong the retired pastor repeated some of the same observations he had made before: “The Tibetan church congregation in Kalimpong is very small. It consists of a few families comprising a handful of Christians. It is truly a little

that they tend to aim for their best behavior. They have to try harder to convince their Buddhist neighbors that they are normal, productive, and unselfish citizens....

... Christianity did not become a religion of Tibet until Tibetans themselves embraced it. Now the Tibetan Christian community, affiliated and unaffiliated, whom I estimate at 2,000, is sufficiently visible to merit serious study. Its significance is not its size, but that it is representative of another world religion in the Tibetan context....

Now let us address ourselves to a consideration of Tibetan Christians. A study has been made of 32 who became converts as young people or adults. They were asked what was the length of time from when they first heard of Christianity until they actually decided to become a follower of Christ. The average length of time was ten and a half years, obviously not a matter of impulsive choices.

They were also asked, “Was there anything related to your Tibetan history, culture, or religion which heightened your interest in Christianity?” Eighteen percent listed “parallels in the sacrificial system” while 12% also listed “religious doctrine” and “family structure” as the most significant factors.

... Some Tibetan Christians have been strongly influenced to believe by the beauty and clarity of Christian scriptures while others attribute their initial response to be the result of dreams or healings or other manifestations of power from a Christian source.... The climate of our age has moved towards a scientific examination of the varieties of religious experience, strange as some of them may appear. It would be a mistake to limit ourselves to philosophical questions or to assume that Christianity in Tibet is simply a “teaching” rather than a dynamic “practice” which in its own way addresses life’s major crises.

... How much religious faith has been tested in the past 40 years and how effective it has proved! After the years of silence I was to discover eight different places in eastern Tibet where Tibetan Christians live today. They are also in Lhasa....

flock. Some shortsighted persons have thought of destroying the existence and identity of this small church by amalgamating it with the local Nepali church.²⁶ These so-called leaders presume that Tibet is finished and that it will not be possible to evangelize it anymore. I strongly believe that in the future as at present the Tibetan congregation will, at all costs, resist the attempts which have as their intent to nullify the cultural motif and congregational wishes of the Tibetan church. Moreover, the nearness of Kalimpong to the neighboring areas of Tibet, Sikkim and Bhutan make it even more necessary to maintain the identity; and in fact this has been the farsighted vision of many saints who love these ethnic groups.”



As to the future evangelization of the Land of Snows and its Tibetan people everywhere, it might be well to take notice here of what Rev. Tharchin’s son Sherab Gyamtsho said in an address to a large international assembly of Christian workers on behalf of his absent father. In 1974 the well-known American evangelist, the Rev. Dr. William (Billy) Graham, and others of like mind, assembled thousands of evangelists from 150 nations for the Lausanne Congress on World Evangelization held at Lausanne, Switzerland. This international gathering produced what came to be known as the Lausanne Covenant which provided a banner and umbrella under which evangelicals could work together in spreading the Christian message throughout the earth. While there, many of those present were given an opportunity to address the assembled delegates. Rev. Tharchin had been invited to attend the gathering and to speak, but because of his age and failing health he himself could not be there to deliver the address he had been prepared to give. Instead, he sent his son in his place to deliver it for him. On behalf of his ailing father, therefore, the younger Tharchin spoke before the assembled Congress on 17 July 1974.

In the address he noted that though the occupied land of Tibet “is closed to the proclamation of the gospel of Jesus Christ, we still believe and pray with hope that God in His good and great Providence shall liberate this land so that the doors will be open for the entrance of the Christian gospel.” There is a prayer group, he went on, called the Christian Prayer Fellowship for the Tibetans in India. For these many years the members of this group have been praying for Tibetans “that they might be brought to the knowledge of the true and living Savior, the Lord Jesus Christ.” Continuing to speak from his father’s prepared address, S. G. Tharchin requested prayer “so that when the opportunity comes, both the national and refugee Christians may be willing and prepared for service in taking the message of the Cross all across the Himalayas to the heart of the closed land of Tibet.” Ultimately, he concluded, “with this hope alone in view, we are preserving our Tibetan culture, language and literature, and we want to claim *Tibet for Christ*.”²⁷

As if to underscore and amplify upon what his son had declared on his behalf at Lausanne, the elder statesman of the Tibetan Christian Church as a whole had this to say later concerning recent developments then occurring among the displaced Tibetans living in India:

Many of God's people are burdened for the evangelization of Tibet. Many already are taking the gospel to the Tibetan refugees in different places in India. Young men are being prepared and trained to enter their homeland to preach about the Lord Jesus Christ when the door [finally] opens. The Bible Society of India has been keenly burdened for Tibetans. They are printing tracts and portions of the Bible for them. Moreover, some Tibetan ... Christians have long since prepared themselves in Tibetan translation work; for example, one is Daniel Sechung, a Tibetan refugee convert. Another Tibetan young man, who studied and graduated from college as a result of Rev. T. J. Pratten's helpful and encouraging ministry in Pedong and Kalimpong, has gone to Simla to help in the area of Christian literature.

Then, too, Gergan Tharchin himself, along with his youthful assistant Peter Rapgey, became involved in writing, revising, correcting and translating a great amount of Christian materials that proved to be quite suitable for radio gospel programs.²⁸ A strong living Tibetan Christian Church that would carry on with the responsibility of bearing the torch of the gospel of Christ to Tibetans everywhere, but especially to those in the Closed Land of Snows, was the constant hope and prayer of Rev. Tharchin to his very last hour.*

*

By way of conclusion, the ever hopeful, optimistic, lowly man from Poo gave his prophetic summation to the whole matter: "All these indications point" to the belief "that in God's good

* From the Christian perspective it would appear there has recently been a Heavenly response to the prayers of this Tibetan pastor, as well as to those of others concerned with the spread of the Christian gospel among peoples affected directly by the Tibetan religious culture. For there is tangible evidence today of renewed and successful evangelistic efforts among Tibetans in both Nepal and India, as well as within the as yet for the most part Closed Land of Tibet herself. The reader is directed back to what was reported in the latter part of Ch. 28 as having begun to occur in these very areas during the opening decade of the 21st century. The same is currently true with respect to the Indian frontier area immediately adjacent to, and even inside of, the generally closed Tibetan-speaking country of Bhutan; see again the concluding page of Ch. 13, Vol. II.

But there has been another interesting development in the religious situation in Tibet which most likely has a malicious political dimension to it. For the longest time, of course, Beijing has pursued a relentless opposition to the current Dalai Lama and greatly persecutes those inside Tibet who exhibit any semblance of loyalty and/or reverence towards His Holiness, classing such adherents of the Dalai Lama as nothing more than "a splittist clique" of malcontents who seek to divide the Chinese people and lead them away from the Communist ideal of a unified great socialist motherland.

Apparently utilizing any and every means at hand to defeat this "divisive clique," the Chinese, it would appear, are not above compromising their principles and laws if such furthers Beijing's attempts to eliminate the Dalai Lama's followers inside the World's Roof. Commenting on how Communist China has supposedly viewed "all religions to be the opiate of the masses" and that one should therefore expect Beijing to enforce Chinese law against every kind of missionary activity wherever found within the motherland, an article appearing in the *Tibetan Review* during 1997 went on to cite recent reports which intimated that Chinese authorities in Tibet had been "conniving with the activities of Christian missionaries" on university campuses inside the Snowy Land. The substance of these reports, if true, would thus seem to imply that "the battle for a Christian Tibet will not have a Chinese obstruction to contend with" so long as such a battle between Buddhism and Christianity "holds the potential to wean Tibetans away from the Dalai Lama." See "Chinese Bibles for Illiterate Tibetan Buddhist Monks?" *TR* (Mar. 1997):15.

time Tibet will enjoy true political freedom under His Holiness the Dalai Lama.²⁹ This will provide opportunities for the proclamation of the kingdom of God in the hearts of men. The kingdom of God is not of this world. It is a spiritual kingdom. It is to be birthed within man.

“The thought has continually come to me of how the Germans, the Swiss and other people once turned to Christianity; so, it can also happen to my people. I see a glorious picture before my eyes: the Fourteenth Dalai Lama—if not he, perhaps his successor—bends his knee before the true High Priest, Jesus, and takes his whole people with him in this [act of] homage. I pray for this. The door to Tibet in the past [had for the most part been] closed to the only Saviour. There was, however, success for Him in that during the last one hundred years or so, a few Tibetans along the border regions were won to His service. Now, hundreds and perhaps thousands more have come to Him in the exodus that has been scattered to many countries. Can it be that all [other Tibetans] will still be able to resist Jesus,... the true God?³⁰

“This is a great task, an impossible task, and therefore we see that only God can achieve its fulfillment; for what is impossible with man is most certainly possible with God, even as the Christian Scriptures have said.”³¹ In conclusion, declared the aged Tibetan pastor in his end-of-life “memoirs,” and now quoting from the very last book of the Christian New Testament:

“... Behold, I have set before thee an open door, and no man can shut it ...” (Revelation 3:8)



As was intimated in Vol. I's first Photographic Essay, the author was extremely indebted to S.G. Tharchin and his wife Nini (both shown here with the author in Jan. 1998 at the Tharchin compound), for providing him with a wealth of information about Tharchin Babu that is nowhere else available and without which the multi-faceted narrative of Gergan Tharchin could never have been written. David Tharchin took the photo.

All good wishes. This
is the first product
of the Sikkim Press,
B.J. Gould

Pl. 1a-g In early 1940 Political Officer for Tibet, Basil (later Sir Basil) Gould (top left) requested Gergan Tharchin (GT) to accompany him to Lhasa. He had originally wished the talented Indo-Tibetan to assist him in preparing for publication a volume on various aspects of the Tibetan language. Later, however, this project would spin off into several books—with the emphasis to be on stressing vocabulary and spelling, but also including aspects of grammar and syntax, all for the sake of assisting beginners in learning the Tibetan language: written and spoken. The first and

primary volume among the three would be a Tibetan word-book, the other two—the spin-offs—being a sentence-book and a syllable-book. Tharchin (who at this time must have looked very much as he appears in the top center photo, taken one or two years after his visit to Lhasa) would enjoy laboring together with several outstanding scholars in assisting Sir Basil in preparing for later publication this trilogy of volumes on the Tibetan language. Two of these scholars was Ringang (shown top right with his servant), with whom Tharchin would lodge, and the recognized incarnate Lama, Tshatrul Rimpoche. Ringang had been one of the four young lads who had been sent to England in 1913 for higher studies. Having spent nearly ten years there studying at both Rugby and London University, Ringang had come to know English very well and became a considerable asset to the Tibetan government upon his return, serving as interpreter, translator, engineer, and in several other key capacities. These three scholars would sit together daily to check and revise the meaning, construction, composition and spelling of each word or syllable. Gould was very grateful to all three, especially to the Indo-Tibetan, who, wrote the Political Officer in the Preface to the first volume published, “did much of the work on the Word Book, Sentences, and Verbs [the latter, one of a number of other language volumes that would be published in the late 1940s].”

“The preliminaries” of the printing of the word-book would be handled by the Sikkim Durbar (or State) Press at Gangtok, whereas the remainder of the printing work on the book would be done at Calcutta. On the way back to Kalimpong from Lhasa GT would himself stay at the Sikkimese capital for some little while engaged in further scholarly work on the word-book for Gould. It was shortly after this that Sir Basil would pen a quick covering note to Tharchin (see immediately above) that was probably attached to the aforesaid preliminaries. The note reads: “All good wishes. This is the first product of the Sikkim Press. B.J. Gould.” By May 1943 the *Tibetan Word Book*, co-authored by both Gould and Hugh Richardson, was finally published at Calcutta under the imprint of the Oxford University Press (of London, New York, Bombay, Calcutta, etc.). So also were the other two works of the trilogy which GT had labored on for Sir Basil. Entitled *Tibetan Sentences* and *Tibetan Syllables*, they, too, were issued in May 1943, and likewise published by Oxford, although both were entirely printed exclusively at Gangtok's Sikkim Durbar Press. All three title pages of these published works are displayed on the following plate page.

Finally, it should be mentioned that in 1949 several more Tibetan-language works by Gould and Richardson were issued, and were either reprinted or originally printed by Babu Tharchin at his Tibet Mirror Press in Kalimpong. These were entitled: *Tibetan Language Records, Etc.*; *Tibetan Medical Words*; and *Tibetan Verb Roots*. All in all, Gergan Tharchin served Sir Basil very faithfully and well.

TIBETAN WORD BOOK

By
SIR BASIL GOULD, C.M.G., C.I.E.
INDIAN CIVIL SERVICE, POLITICAL OFFICER IN SIKKIM AND BRITISH
POLITICAL REPRESENTATIVE IN TIBET AND BHUTAN
AND
HUGH EDWARD RICHARDSON
INDIAN CIVIL SERVICE, FORMERLY BRITISH TRADE AGENT AT GYANTSE,
TIBET, AND IN CHARGE OF THE BRITISH MISSION AT LHASA

With a Foreword by
SIR AUREL STEIN, K.C.I.E., F.B.A., PH.D.

TIBETAN SYLLABLES

TIBETAN SENTENCES

By
SIR BASIL GOULD, C.M.G., C.I.E.
INDIAN CIVIL SERVICE, POLITICAL OFFICER IN
POLITICAL REPRESENTATIVE IN TIBET
AND
HUGH EDWARD RICHARDSON
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TIBET, AND IN CHARGE OF THE

John By
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INDIAN CIVIL SERVICE, FORMERLY BRITISH TRADE AGENT AT GYANTSE,
TIBET, AND IN CHARGE OF THE BRITISH MISSION AT LHASA


London, New York, Bombay
HUMPHREY MILFORD
OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS
1943
OXFO



Pl. 2a-e Discovery of the 14th Dalai Lama. The search began in spring 1935 for Tibet's new Priest-King. In photo is shown Regent Reting (center figure with dark glasses) and members of the National Assembly on their way to the sacred lake of Lhamoi Latso in south central Tibet. There the Regent would see a vision in its waters that would yield vital clues for where the Great Thirteenth's successor could be found. Not unlike a child's fairytale (though in this instance all events have been verified as having occurred), both vision in the Lake and Reting Rimpoche's subsequent dream now led one of the search teams to Amdo in East Tibet (by 1928 a part of the Chinese province of Chinghai) and to the home of a Tibetan peasant farmer family (top right, showing his parents, baby sister Jetsun Pema, and elder brother Gyalo Dhondup; not shown: his eldest brother, Thubten Jigme Norbu, born 1922, who before renouncing his vows much later was known at this time as the recognized incarnate Lama, Tengtser (Taktser) Rimpoche; his immediate elder brother, Lobsang Samden, born 1932; and youngest brother, also a recognized incarnate Lama, Ngari Rimpoche, yet to be born, at Lhasa, in 1946). This family's home was located at the hilltop village of Tengtser (Taktser) close by the vast lamasery complex of Kumbum (above left) to where the boy candidate (born 6 July 1935), Lhamo Dhondrub (at the right, in peasant garb at age 4), would be taken from his home and placed there for some 18 months (1938-9) for further observation, security, and beginning instruction in the Mahayana Buddhist religion. Subsequently it was reliably rumored that he was indeed to become the new occupant of Tibet's Lion Throne at Lhasa, some 1200 miles to the west. And thus the little boy increasingly became the center of attraction to not only Tibetans but also especially Chinese officials, as is evident in the remaining photograph that features the "divine child" Lhamo Dhondrub, surrounded by these officials.



Pl. 3a-g A photo montage of the boy who would be King and High Priest of Tibet: the future 14th Dalai Lama; all pictures having been taken several months before the boy was carried off in a palanquin to Lhasa, 1939.

Displayed here on three Plate pages are reproductions of a series of photos of the peasant boy Lhamo Dhondrub from the Tibetan village of Tengtser [aka: Taktser] in Amdo, Chinghai Province of China. All were taken at Kumbum Monastery near Kokonor in NE Amdo, all taken on the same day, and all taken by, and on the camera of, a Westerner in China: China Inland Mission missionary (since 1911), Rev. Frank D. Learner of Britain (with the assistance of the then China-based YMCA executive George A. Fitch for one or two of the photos here displayed). Learner can be seen with the child in photo (c), and was the occasion for when this Westerner had conversed with this future Sovereign of Tibet; but even more significant, this was the first photograph ever taken of the future Dalai Lama with a white man! So reported *Time* (26 Feb. 1940):53n.

The reader will notice that common to all seven photos is the fact that the future Boy-Ruler of Buddhist Tibet is gently holding in his left hand one or two white cards. These were Gospel of John text cards that had printed on one side of each a quoted verse or verses taken from the Christian New Testament's Fourth Gospel and which had been given the little boy by Rev. Learner. Common also to all seven is the fact that the child, besides being dressed in a typical Tibetan peasant boy's garb, is wearing as well—in keeping with his future High Lama rank—an official Yellow Hat with ear flaps turned up, it most likely being a headpiece called Naling, the style of hat worn by the highly revered Buddhist Lama of Kumbum (and later of Ganden Gumpa at Lhasa where he died and was laid to rest), the founder of today's dominant Gelugpa (Yellow Hat) Sect of the Tibetan Buddhist Church, the great Reformer, Jay Tsong Khapa.

Photo (b) in the series, incidentally, is the basis for the large "portrait" of Tibet's new Boy-King that is shown in (f) and which figured so prominently in Gergan Tharchin's journey to Lhasa in 1940 where he witnessed the Installation of the four-year-old peasant boy as the 14th Dalai Lama.

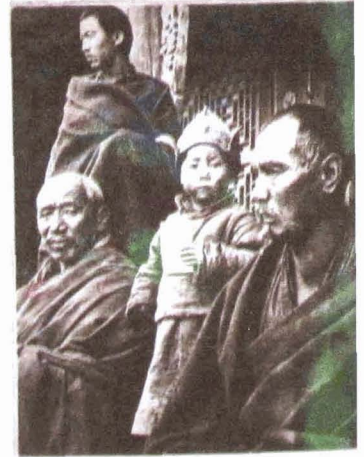
Photos (d) and (e) may have been taken by Learner inside Kumbum's Guest Hall, a site quite accessible to the missionary since over the years of his ministry among the Tibetans in the area he had come to be well-known and -liked by many of the Lamas in authority at the lamasery.



Pl. 3a



Pl. 3c



Pl. 3d



Pl. 3b



Pl. 3e



Pl. 3f This now world-famous photograph of Tibet's future Priest-King, taken by missionary Learner, was subsequently converted into a large portrait of sorts (as shown above, but reduced in size) and reproduced in 5000 copies as requested by Gergan Tharchin, with the timely assistance of Tsarong Shape who happened to be traveling to Calcutta where he had had these copies made for the Indo-Tibetan. Visiting the Tibetan capital with Sir Basil Gould in Feb. 1940 on the occasion of the Installation of the new Dalai Lama, GT had successfully sold nearly all these "portraits" to many of Lhasa's citizens and to many of the visitors who had flocked to the Tibetan capital from near and far. As a result, these Tharchin-inspired "portraits" became a topic of conversation among the Lhasan populace, especially because of what had then happened inside Tibetan Buddhism's holiest site, the Jo-khang Cathedral. For upon entering its precincts once again for the first time during this visit to Lhasa, the Christian Babu was utterly amazed but pleased beyond measure to discover that hundreds of these same "portrait-photos," which naturally showed the Christian Scripture text cards resting on the young Buddhist Dalai Lama's lap, had been placed on all sides of the numerous images of the Buddha housed there—including the priceless Jowo Rimpoche itself! Had the kingdom of God begun to make entrance into the Great Closed Land at last, the ever-hopeful Christian evangelist mused within himself? He fervently prayed so, more earnestly than ever.



འཕྲིན་ལོ་ལོ་མགོན་པོ་ལྷན་འདུན་གྱི་པ་དབང་རྒྱུ་། ། ཡང་ཕྱི་དྲི་ཉི་མ་ལྷོང་གི་འདྲི་ཐེང་ཅན།
 བཀའ་སློང་སློང་སློང་གི་པ་ལོན་ལོན་ལོན་ལོན་ལོན་། ། འཕྲིན་ལོ་ལོ་མགོན་པོ་ལྷན་འདུན་གྱི་པ་
 ལྷན་ལྷན་། ། ཅེས་པ་འདྲི་ཡང་རྒྱུ་མ་ཡིས་ཡོད་སྐྱེ་འབྲུག་པ་གོན་ཏུ་ཡ་གོང་ས་
 ཐམས་ཅད་མཁའ་པའི་ཡངས་ཕྱིད་ཀྱིས་བརྗེད་སྐབས་ལྷན་པའི་སྐྱེ་པར་གོང་
 བསལ་པ་ཅས་རྒྱུ་ལྷན་ལྷན་ལྷན་ལྷན་ལྷན་ལྷན་ལྷན་ལྷན་ལྷན་ལྷན་ལྷན་ལྷན་ལྷན་ལྷན་
 དགའ་རྒྱུ་ལྷན་ལྷན་གསལ་གོག་ལོ་ ༡༡ པའི་ཨང་ ༡༨ པར་བཀོད་པ་དཔེ་ལོ།

Pl. 3g By far the most intriguing of Learner's photos of "the boy who would be King" is this one that exudes drama, dignity and charm all at the same time. Its four figures stand before the huge, exotically decorated and carved double-door entrance to Kumbum's Guest Hall that provided the background for several of the missionary's photos taken that day (including the Tharchin "portrait" of the future Boy-Ruler). The above-shown large reproduction of Lhamo Dhondrub with his three towering "Lama-Protectors," clipped for the above display from Tharchin's *Tibet Mirror*, had later graced one of the pages of the Silver Jubilee Number of the Babu's 25th Anniversary Issue of his newspaper, published in early 1951.



Pl. 4a-g On 22 Feb. 1940 there was enacted in the vast Throne Room of Lhasa's Potala Palace before 5000 specially chosen guests a once-in-a-lifetime event in Tibetan religio-political history. For this date marked the Installation of the newly-discovered Child-Ruler of the Tibetan people onto the Golden Throne of Tibet. The more accurate term in Tibetan for this ceremony is the word *sitringasol*, which, roughly translated, means "the [people's] request or prayer [for the successor incarnation] to take possession of or occupy the golden throne." To put it another way, explained Sir Charles Bell, *sitringasol* is in effect "a petition to the Supreme Head to occupy again the throne which is his by right, and is the symbol of the power that he will exercise." In short, wrote Sir Basil Gould, the *Sitringasol* Ceremonial "is the public acknowledgement of his people by the Dalai Lama, and of the Dalai Lama by his people." And thus did the 4-year-old Holy Child of Tibet re-occupy his country's Lion Throne (pictured at left, Feb. 1940) in a ceremony fraught with immense historical symbolism. Given the present Chinese Communist rule over Tibet, it may never again be repeated.

Headlines and articles in newspapers of those lands which had more than passing interest in the affairs of the Snowy Land were quick to detail what had occurred there on 22 February. One prime example of this was the front page of *The China Press* in Shanghai, which in its reporting of the event the following day not only exhibited a not surprising Chinese bias but also manifested a considerable amount of inaccuracy in its front-page coverage of the event and related background stories.

A difference of opinion was expressed later between the Chinese delegation, led at the Tibetan capital by General Wu Chung-hsin (shown on Plate-page three), and the British delegation headed by Basil (later Sir Basil) J. Gould. The latter is shown in the group photo that was taken immediately after the delegation's reception on 23 Feb. by the new Dalai Lama at which Gould, through the hands of the young Priest-King's attending Lord Chamberlain, had had placed round the British official's neck the lengthy white *kata*. Several highly-placed Tibetans who had witnessed the days-long ceremony left the distinct impression with the American visitor to Lhasa in 1949, Lowell Thomas, Jr., that Wu had played a role and received attention in no way different from all the other foreign representatives. Added the American traveler and author, "The British envoy's position in the ceremony was at least equal to that of the Chinese representative."

One consequence for the Dalai Lama's parents (see family photo) resulting from the elevation of their son Lhamo Dhondrub to be Tibet's new Priest-King was the bestowal upon the father, Chogyong Tsering (1900-47), of the title of Gung or Duke by Tibetan authorities just prior to the Enthronement, which also entitled him to wear the clothes appropriate to that titled rank. And his mother ever afterwards would be addressed as the *Gyayum* Chenmo, the Great Distinguished Mother of Tibet, a role she filled with distinction. In the same photo of the Dalai Lama's family displayed here (and taken in 1940) can also be seen two of the Boy-Ruler's older brothers, Gyalo Dhondup (left) and Lobsang Samden. All four family members were of course honored guests in attendance at the Installation of their younger relative, who bestowed blessings upon them with both hands during the august *Sitringasol* ceremony. On the other hand, the new Dalai Lama's eldest brother, Thubten Jigme Norbu, who, until he much later would renounce his vows, was known as *Tengtser* (Taktser) Rimpoche (shown in photo with peaked hat and dressed in his religious garments), was left behind back in Amdo to pursue his religious obligations as a recognized incarnate Lama. He and Gyalo would play prominent—and at times controversial—roles in the Tibetan exile-government's political affairs in the decades which lay ahead.

BEST OUTGOING MAIL
 THE P. O. BOX OFFICE, 200 CHUNG WAH ROAD
 CLOSING TIME: 4:30 P. M.
BEST INCOMING MAIL
 200 CHUNG WAH ROAD
 CLOSING TIME: 4:30 P. M.

The China Press

SHANGHAI, TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 23, 1949
 11 PAGES
 20 CENTS

14TH DALAI LAMA ENTHRONED IN LHASA

4-Year-Old Boy Made Priest-King Of Tibet In Elaborate Ceremony

Study Of Reported Pact On Far East Continued In U.S.

Headquarters In
Hong Kkong
Continued In

First Pictures Ever Taken Of Dalai Lama



Fuch Was First Emperor To Gilgipe Young Lama

The young boy, who is believed to be the 14th Dalai Lama, was first seen in public when he was carried to the Potala Palace in Lhasa. The ceremony was a highly elaborate and traditional one, involving many religious rituals and the presence of high-ranking officials. The boy's identity as the Dalai Lama was confirmed by the Tibetan government and the Chinese government.

Calderoni In Chungking

Calderoni, the Italian ambassador to China, is reported to be in Chungking. He is expected to meet with Chinese officials to discuss the current situation in Tibet and the role of the Chinese government in the region.

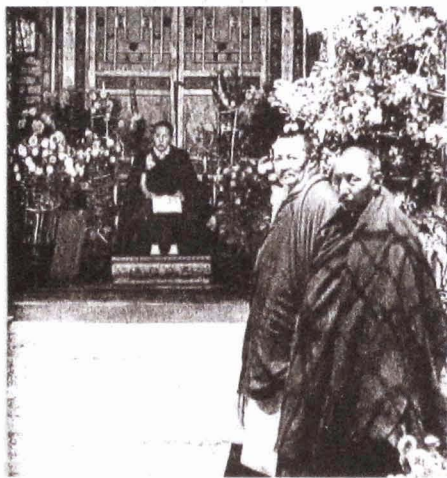
25,000 Nippon Troops Said

It is reported that there are 25,000 Japanese troops in the region. The presence of these troops has raised concerns among the Tibetan people and the Chinese government regarding the stability of the region.

Left Manning
 The left wing of the movement is being reorganized. This is part of a broader effort to strengthen the organization and its activities in the region.



Pl. 5a-e A photo montage of the new Dalai Lama when in his childhood and young teen-age years, during which Tibet's ruling establishment, from Regent Reting on down, had for the most part turned a deaf ear to disturbing events that were occurring outside the country's borders. Clockwise, from upper left, a photo shows the 9-year-old Boy-King in the summer of 1944 seated on an outdoor throne in the inner compound of his Summer Palace—the lovely, serene Jewel Park called Norbu Lingka. Here he would hold court audiences and consult with his advisers, most of whom, like the two shown, were monks. The next two photos are closeups taken of the youthful Dalai Lama on the same occasion. It was at this time that the young Priest-King gave an audience to the *Chicago Daily News* Asian war correspondent, Arch T. Steele, who took all three pictures. The smaller photo in the series reveals what the 12-year-old looked like in the summer of 1947 just prior to Reting Rimpoche's unsuccessful attempt, with Chinese help, to retake the Regency of the country which years earlier he had voluntarily relinquished to Taktra Rimpoche. The final photo in this montage shows a 14-year-old Dalai Lama enthroned in the late summer of 1949 at the time of the *Tsongduk Kashag*-inspired expulsion from the land of all Chinese and other "undesirables," and just a year before Red China's unprovoked invasion of Tibet.



Lhasa
Jan 3, 1943

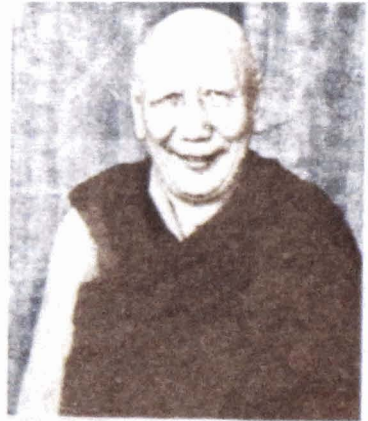
My dear Tharchin,

Thank you
very much for your
charming Xmas Card. Very
original & very picturesque.
Let me congratulate you
on the newspaper. It is
eagerly read here. I hope
one day it will become
a fortnightly instead of a
monthly periodical. All good
wishes.
Yours sincerely
Frank Ludlow



Pl. 6a-d In early 1943 the Babu received a letter from the Head of the British Mission at Lhasa, Frank Ludlow, congratulating GT for how his *Tibet Mirror* newspaper was being eagerly read at the Tibetan capital and expressing the hope that it would be issued more frequently.

One of those at Lhasa who eagerly devoured the paper's contents was none other than Tibet's Child-Ruler, the 14th Dalai Lama, shown here at age 9 seated one day in the summer of 1944 on an outdoor throne at the Norbu Lingka Summer Palace. Unbeknown to the Kalimpong newspaper publisher at the time, his news journal was routinely serving as a teaching resource for the Boy-King's two primary Tutors, pictured at right. It was these two Lamas—Senior Tutor Kyabje Ling Rimpoche (upper small photo) and Junior Tutor Kyabje Trijang Rimpoche—who introduced the *Tibet Mirror* to the young Priest-King. Once he had learned how to read his native language himself, the Dalai Lama would regularly read each issue of the paper from beginning to end—so curious was he to know about the vast other world lying beyond his domain's frontiers. It is not too much to say here that probably the most effective means available to him by which the larger world of the 1940s was brought into his much smaller one turned out to be Tharchin Babu's Tibetan Newspaper that had by this time developed into a sizable source for news.





Pl. 7a-1 An illustrated montage highlighting one special period in the life and work of the Amdowa, Gedun Chophel (1903-51): far left photo shows the Amdo-born Geshe Sherab Gyamtsho being

greeted by Burma's Prime Minister U Nu in the early 1960s. Several decades earlier, however, he had been the most influential teacher in Lhasa at that time, was very close to the Great Thirteenth Dalai Lama and, between 1927 and 1934, was the personal guru of his fellow Amdowa, Gedun Chophel, the now-legendary Tibetan monk-scholar who in the latter year mentioned unexpectedly came down to India for what proved to be a quite lengthy period (see upper right photo, center figure, showing him as he looked shortly after his arrival there.) The next photo (below at left) shows the one responsible for Gedun's surprising relocation: Pandit Rahul Sankrityayana (1893-1963), the renowned Indian linguist, Buddhist scholar, and staunch Communist. For in 1934 the Pandit had traveled to Lhasa, would meet Gedun at Geshe Sherab's private quarters within Drepung Monastery, and on the spot had invited the younger Amdowa to travel with him and assist in searching out additional manuscripts in the Tibetan monasteries on the Pandit's current journey into Tibet and Nepal and on future forays into the Snowy Land. Readily agreeing to accept Sankrityayana's invitation, Gedun Chophel would not return to Lhasa till some twelve years later.



But Sankrityayana had made an earlier research trip to Lhasa in 1929-30, at which time he made the acquaintance of another future monk-scholar, a Buriat Mongolian Lama by the name of Chodak (see next plate page at (d) illustration). This Lama, who would later achieve the degree of *geshe*, would likewise be invited to accompany the Pandit back to India, where at Kalimpong he would acquaint himself with Gergan Tharchin and several years afterwards would strike up a close friendship there as well with Gedun Chophel. In time, however, Geshe Chodak would be dubbed the "Bad Mongolian Lama" by Tharchin himself because of his less than sterling conduct. Among other things, he would allege that the Geshe and an accomplice from Kalimpong were guilty of publishing at New Delhi in the latter 1960s a pirated edition of Tharchin's very popular *English-Tibetan-Hindi Pocket Dictionary* (Kalimpong: Tibet Mirror Press, 1965). Yet despite his perceived character flaws, the Geshe devoted some thirteen years in composing and ultimately publishing at Lhasa in 1949 a now well-known and highly touted Tibetan-Tibetan orthographical dictionary (see at (e)

illustration). The Babu would nonetheless allege that this dictionary's format, plan and design had been purloined from his own Tibetan-Tibetan dictionary during the Lama's initial lengthy stay at Kalimpong during the early 1930s and while in the employ of Tharchin. Indeed, Geshe Chodak had failed to give any credit to Tharchin, who over a period of several years had introduced him to, and instructed him in, the ways of a modern dictionary.

Meanwhile, one of the alluded-to subsequent forays into Tibet by Sankrityayana and Gedun Chophel occurred in 1938, when these two traveled together on a six-month expedition into southern Tibet, accompanied by two other individuals, both shown in the upper right photo on the next Plate page and flanking the local Tibetan chieftain (center figure): next to Gedun Chophel (who appears at extreme left) is Fani Mukherjee, the expedition's photographer, and Kanwal Krishna (second from right), an Indian artist of some note, whose painting of Gedun (middle right illustration) was executed in late September while the expedition was at the famed monastic town of Sakya. In the two lower illustrations, on the other hand, can be seen reproductions of two of many line drawings by the Amdowa scholar-artist himself, these two found in his 1938 sketchbook. And in the upper left photo on the third plate page can be seen Gedun's vivid depiction of the saintly poet laureate of Tibet, Milarespa.

On this same plate page three of this montage is shown one of several scholarly articles in Tibetan which Gedun Chophel contributed over the years to Babu Tharchin's *Tibet Mirror*, the consequence of which was the further enhancement of the Babu's paper as not only a journalistic outlet for news but also a literary venue for the appearance of scholarly material of better-than-average quality.

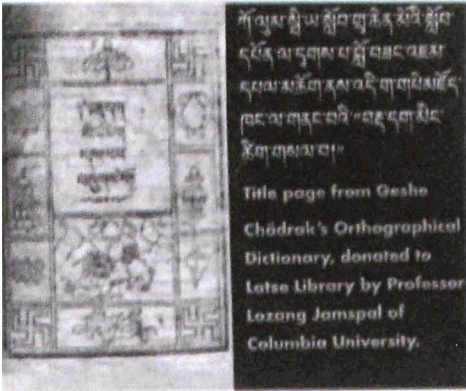
During his 11-year absence from the Tibetan capital Gedun Chophel would meet and collaborate not only with Pandit Rahul but also with another rising non-Tibetan scholar in Tibetology: the brilliant Russian linguist, George Roerich (see Pl. 8). It was most unfortunate, however, that in Roerich's two-volume tome, *The Blue Annals* (Calcutta, 1949, 1953), this Tibetologist saw fit to give but the most meager recognition of Gedun Chophel's help—only a brief one-sentence reference to him in the Introduction. Whereas, in actuality, the Tibetan monk-scholar had rendered to the Russian invaluable and quite substantial assistance in translating this most difficult ancient Tibetan religious treatise. Indeed, in the opinion of many writers on the Amdo-Tibetan, Gedun Chophel should have been designated this prestigious publication's *co*-author—not Roerich alone.



(d)



(f)



(e)



(g)



(h)



(i)



(j)

The Evolution of U'med from U'chen script*

by Amdo Gendun Chopel

Translated from the Tibetan by K. Dhondup

THE theory that when Thonmi Sambhota created the Tibetan letters, he based the U'chen (with head script) on the *Lentsa* (Lanca) and the U'med (headless script) on the *Wama* has been fabricated by the glib imagination of a few later individuals. Reputed early historians like 'Gos-lo Champa (1392-1481) have not mentioned anything about such a theory. Even Ali Koshing Ba-Ton (1290-1346) has never state: that both the U'chen and U'med were created at the same time right from the very beginning. He only mentioned that the Tibetan letter was created on the Kashmirian model.

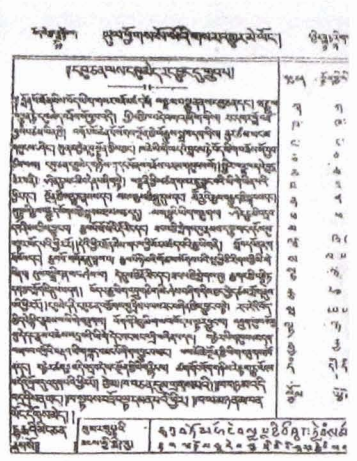
Generally speaking, to claim that U'chen was created based on *Lentsa* model is extremely incorrect, as the *Lentsa* itself was created much later. During the Aryan civilization, Buddha's lifetime, the Maurya and the Gupta dynasties of ancient India, different forms of Magadha writing styles evolved which can still be seen on the various pillars and copper plate writings of these times still extant. Therefore, by comparing and studying all these different periods it can be established that the Indian writing system which Thonmi Sambhota used in creating the Tibetan letters belongs to the times of Kaldas (Nagesa Khol) and kings Surya Varma (Nyasa Gocha) and Karsana Sri (Shovna Pal). Moreover the same pillar inscriptions and the copper plate writings which can not be read now by Indian Pandits can be had read by an ordinary Tibetan who does not know even a single Indian letter.

The Tibetan U'med writing evolved naturally from writing U'chen quickly. The old Tibetan letter used in writing the ancient manuscripts is like the one shown in the figure. In countries like Bhutan, a script very similar to the ancient Tibetan writing is still in use. In many authentic treasure treat (gTer-mo), the writing system said to be of the *dekasai* style is the ancient Tibetan script. The strokes (gTer-Tshug) with two dots on the upper and lower side of a horizontal line is of the ancient Tibetan script.

Though I have written facts
Unheard of in the Land of Snows (Tibet)
Because of my poor and rugged appearance
No one is there to heed my words

*This article first appeared in the January 2nd issue of TIBET MIRROR, Kalimpong 1938, edited and published by Rev. Tharchin.

(k)



The Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal
Monograph Series

VOL. VII

THE BLUE ANNALS

PART ONE

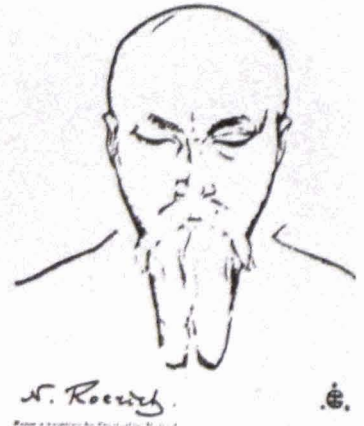
By
GEORGE N. ROERICH



THE
ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BENGAL

1, PARK STREET, CALCUTTA 16

1949



Pl. 8a-d Among the four illustrations shown here are two photographs of George Roerich (1902-60), brilliant linguist-scholar and elder son of the famed Russian mystic philosopher, explorer, and painter of ethereal Oriental landscapes, Nicholas Roerich (1874-1947), whose younger son Sviatoslav—an accomplished artist in his own right—executed the sketch painting of the father Roerich that is also displayed here. Nicholas had led a much publicized 5-year expedition (1924-8) into South and Central Asia, including a 9-month stint in Tibet alone. The entire Roerich family, including the elder Roerich's wife Helena, had gone together on the expedition, after which Nicholas established at Naggar in the Punjabi Kulu Valley of India the Urusvati Institute for Himalayan Studies, to which were eventually brought together scientists and scholars from various lands to collect specimens and conduct research and study in a number of scientific and cultural fields of inquiry. It was here at the Kulu institute that son George, as Director, and the brilliant Tibetan monk-scholar Gedun Chopel (see previous Plate pages) would collaborate on *The Blue Annals*. The upper left photo of George on

horseback, dated 1933, was most likely taken in Kulu.

With the death of Nicholas at Naggar in Dec. 1947, Mrs. Roerich and son George relocated their residence to Kalimpong. Having carried on a frequent correspondence with Gergan Tharchin during nearly the entire period of his residence in Kulu, George Roerich, a few years prior to his father's death, had requested Tharchin to arrange for and obtain for mother and son what turned out to be rented quarters from Major George Sherriff at the latter's former Kalimpong home called "Crookety" where George Roerich could continue to carry on his research and writing as one of the outstanding Tibetologists of all time.



Indeed, for the next 10 years George, his mother, and even occasionally on visit, Sviatoslav, would reside at Crookety. Not till 1957 would Roerich depart the hill station, now to establish his residence at the Russian capital of Moscow. Here he pursued his scientific and linguistic research further at the Institute of Oriental Studies of the USSR Academy of Sciences, where he became a Professor and Chairman of the Culture and Philosophy Sector of its Department of India, Pakistan, Ceylon and Nepal. He would die of a heart attack at Moscow on 21 May 1960, the other photo of him shown here having been taken shortly before his death.

It was while still residing at Crookety, incidentally, that Roerich's mother Helena (1879-1955) would pass away. Though till her death she remained a nominal Christian, her genuine religious interests lay elsewhere—in both Buddhism and the occult. In fact, one of her published works was *Foundations of Buddhism* (New York, 1930); and in keeping with her religious interests, her remains were laid to rest adjacent to the most recently established Tibetan monastery in Kalimpong, the Zhang Dog Phelri Phodrang (a color postcard photo of it shown here).

Said former long-time Kalimpong resident, Gyan Jyoti, of George Roerich: "He was a great scholar and a genius. Over a 6- or 7-year period I got to know him very well. Roerich was definitely Buddhist-inclined, if not being a Buddhist outright." Furthermore, in making an interesting comparison between Roerich and another close friend of Jyoti's, the latter observed: "George Roerich was more interested in Buddhism than in Christianity, similar—but in the opposite sense—to Gergan Tharchin's being more interested in Christianity than Buddhism. These two—though pursuing opposite religious interests—were nonetheless very good friends."



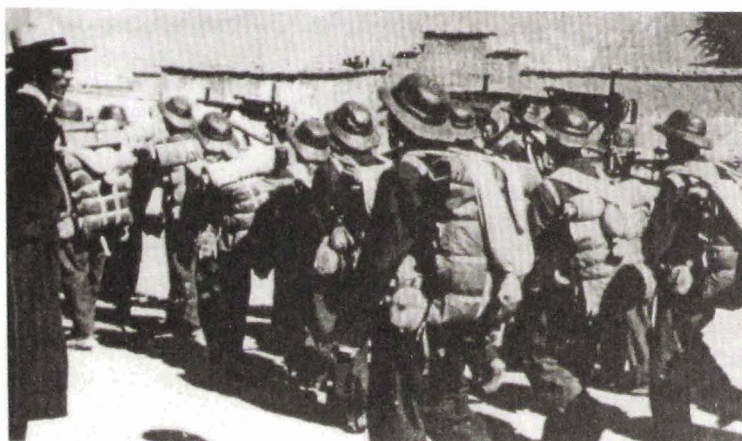
Pl. 9a-j This is a photo montage of the Khampa Tibetan revolutionary Phuntsog Wangyal, born 1922 (aka: Phunwang), one of the very first ever Tibetan Communists, who would go on to become the top Tibetan cadre within the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) hierarchy at Beijing/Lhasa. Here shown are individuals and scenes from his extraordinary life and times, chronologically arranged and spread over two plate pages.

First, the upper left photo of Phunwang, age 18, taken in Chungking, China, 1940, when already a member for several years of the CCP and having founded, with his friends there in 1939, the Tibetan Communist Party.

The second photograph (upper middle) shows Surkhang Shape, the young *Kashag* minister (among four such ministers comprising the Regent's/Dalai Lama's Cabinet of advisers) at Lhasa during the 1940s and '50s. It was he whom Phunwang and one of his fellow compatriots personally urged at numerous times to institute urgent reforms for the country, but such urgings ultimately fell on deaf ears. They therefore turned elsewhere for help.

Third (above), Phunwang and fellow Khampa, Ngawang Kalsang (b.1913), his close Tibetan friend from childhood and now fellow Communist, shown here with Gergan Tharchin at the latter's Kalimpong home in mid-1944, where they sought the Babu's assistance in soliciting British Indian support for their revolutionary activities in East Tibet against the Chinese Nationalists.

In particular, these insurrectionary activities were being waged against



the forces of the two most free-wheeling and powerful provincial warlords in western China, Mapufang and Liu Wenhui (shown in the fourth and the fifth photos (middle left and right), both of them Nationalist-appointed Governors, respectively, of Chinghai Province (whose territory included part of Amdo-Tibet) and Szechuan Province (that included a large portion of Kham-Tibet).

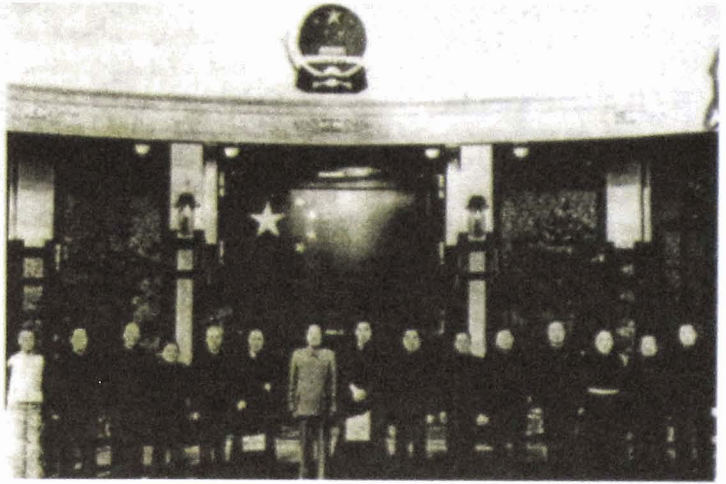
In the sixth photo can be seen the very first contingent of Communist Chinese troops entering Lhasa, whom Phunwang was tapped by Beijing to guide into the Tibetan capital on 9 Sept. 1951, thus fulfilling his prophetic promise made to GT seven years earlier that “if the Tibetan government does not listen [to my warnings to reform the country before it’s too late], I shall bring the Chinese Army to Tibet.”

The seventh photo (at top of this plate page) shows CCP Chairman Mao Tse-tung and other key officials of China’s central government officially meeting with the Dalai and Panchen Lamas, Beijing, 1954, with Phunwang (at the photo’s extreme right) serving as chief interpreter at most functions, public and private, held during that entire year, between one or the other of Tibet’s two High Lamas and Chinese leaders, including Mao. In the photo, from left, are: Lobsang Samden (one of the Dalai Lama’s brothers), Liu Geping, Li Weihai, Deng Xiaoping, Liu Shaoqi, the Dalai Lama, Mao, the Panchen Lama, Chou En-lai, Chang Ching-wu, Xi Zhongxun, Fan Ming, Nangmagong Talama (a leading official of the Panchen Lama), Wang Feng, and Phunwang.

In the eighth photo can be seen the Dalai Lama (second from left), at Chengdu in Szechuan Province on his return journey to Lhasa from Beijing in 1955, where he is met again by Chou En-lai and also Chen Yi, both standing to the right of His Holiness, with the ubiquitous Phuntsog Wangyal at far right and Szechuan’s Communist Governor Li Dazhang at far left.

After 1958 Phunwang’s fortunes would turn sour in the extreme. Having nonetheless survived indescribable torture and solitary confinement in the most infamous Beijing prison for 18 years—having been incarcerated there on trumped-up charges by his Chinese Communist comrades—Phunwang was in time fully rehabilitated and allowed to live in a 5-bedroom apartment in Beijing’s elite Muxidi district (the ninth photo shows him seated at his desk at age 74 in 1996).

The tenth and final photo of this montage reveals a happy Phunwang at age 80, taken at Cleveland OH USA in 2002, to where he had gone to consult with the editors of his political memoirs, published in 2004.





Pl. 10a-e During the 1930s, '40s and '50s the three Political Officers Sikkim handling Tibetan matters for British India and/or later for Independent India are pictured at top, left to right: Sir Basil J. Gould, who retired Aug. 1945; Arthur J. Hopkinson, who succeeded Sir Basil and who retired Aug. 1948, a year following the transfer of power from British to Independent India, the latter having requested he remain in this post for that length of time but

now to serve the Republic of India; and Harish Dayal, an Indian, who succeeded Hopkinson and would retire from the post in 1953. The careers of these three Political Officers, along with that of the Head of the British (and latterly Independent Indian) Mission at Lhasa, Hugh E. Richardson (shown in uniform at Dekyi Lingka, Lhasa), intersected significantly with the life of Gergan Tharchin during the decades indicated. Like Hopkinson, Richardson would be asked by Independent India to stay on as Head of now the Indian Mission at the Tibetan capital, he indeed remaining at that post till Sept. 1950, after which he retired from the Indian Civil Service that same year and returned to Britain in early 1951.

Like several of his predecessors, Political Officer Dayal took an active interest in GT's newspaper, recognizing the influential role it played in the socio-political and economic life of the Tibetan nation. In the last photo above, e.g., the Indo-Tibetan editor is seen showing Dayal some of the newspaper's press work while the Political Officer was on a visit to the *Tibet Mirror* office on one occasion.



Pl. 11 The mighty Kanchenjunga summit, the world's third highest (28,156'), that on a clear day can be seen from the Tharchin residential compound which the Babu commenced developing in 1948 along the upper reaches of Kalimpong's K.D. Pradhan Road.

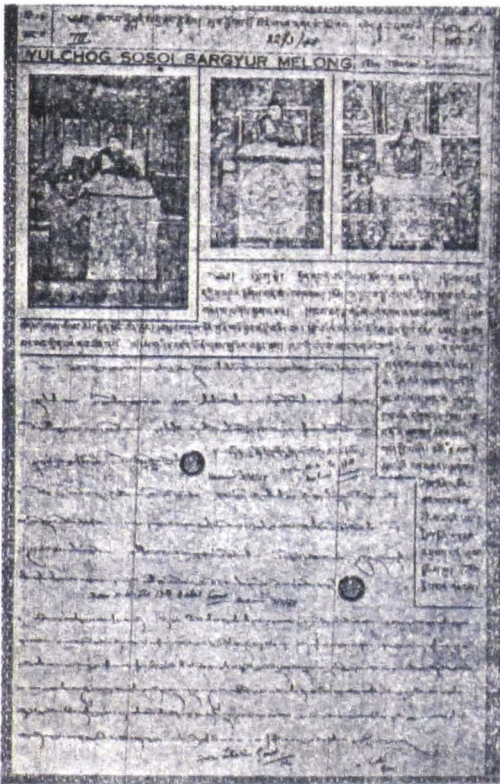
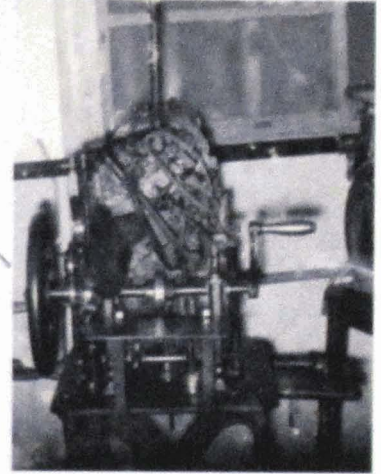
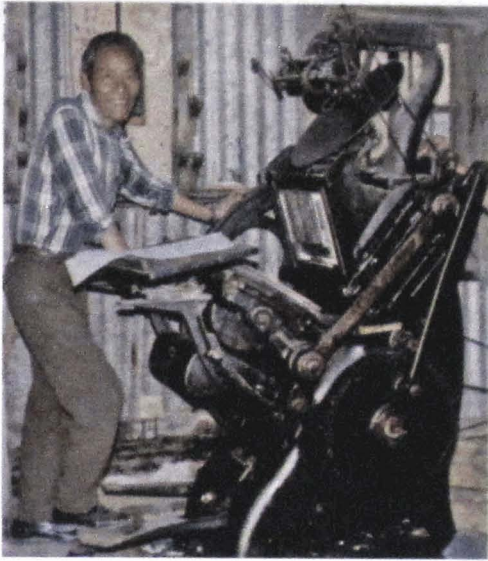


Pl. 12a-e Several scholars and writers on Tibet from East and West became very good friends of Babu Tharchin, interacting with him in their scholarly pursuits during in particular the 1930s, '40s and '50s. Upper left: Otani University Professor Shoju Inaba (on right) an outstanding Tibetologist from Japan, stands with his Kalimpong (Kpg) host atop the roof of the Tharchin compound's main house during Inaba's second visit with the Babu that occurred in the spring of 1958. At the time GT was age 68. Inaba authored several published Tibetological volumes in Japanese.

In the first of three smaller photos above at right is shown Marco Pallis, who also appears in the next frame with his close friend Richard Nicholson—both photos most likely having been taken during the late spring-early summer of 1951, and showing them seated in GT's Press office at Mackenzie Cottage. Both men hailed from Great Britain, but Pallis especially rose to prominence with the publication of his first of several works on Tibet and Tibetan Buddhism, *Peaks and Lamas* (1939).

The third smaller photo above, taken at approximately the same time as were the previous two, shows on the right at an age of between 35 and 40 the then lay Finance Minister (*Tsipon*) of Tibet, W.D. Shakabpa. He is seated with another famous Tibetan aristocrat, Prince Jigme Taring, again in GT's Mackenzie Cottage Press office at Kpg. Since the early 1940s Shakabpa had been Head of Tibet's Finance Department, and would live off and on for many years at Kpg in a residence (called the Shakabpa House) which he had owned since 1946. He was to become very well known among Western scholars and writers on Tibet for his well-received published volume, *Tibet; a Political History* (1967).

The fourth and final photo at upper right shows still another outstanding scholar-writer on Tibetological themes who became a close friend of GT's—in his case, during the early 1950s: the young Austrian baron, René de Nebesky-Wojkowitz. His two most famous volumes on Tibet and Tibetan culture, the first of which included numerous references to his friend Tharchin, are: *Where the Gods Are Mountains; Three Years among the People of the Himalayas* (1955?) and *Oracles and Demons of Tibet* (1956).



Pl. 13a-e

Clockwise, from upper left: With the help of a sizable loan (total: nearly Rs. 14,000/-) from the British Government of India, GT set out to implement an ambitious plan to upgrade his press operations with more modern equipment for producing his newspaper and other worthwhile publications; all of which would serve as a prelude to the inauguration of the new Tibet Mirror Press (see next Plate). Initially

there occurred the purchase in 1947 at Calcutta of a new printing press, the Treadle Brown machine (shown in first photo). For the first time the Babu could do printing with movable type. When eventually installed in his Kalimpong press room, together with his acquisition of necessary tools and additional equipment, it could be said that Babu Tharchin now truly possessed a modern printing press.

The next step was to acquire Tibetan-language matrices. This GT accomplished through some hard bargaining with a press firm in Calcutta, again with the agreement of the British who authorized him to purchase the Tibetan-type matrices

which had been created a half century earlier to print the monumental tome of famed Indian explorer and Pundit for the British, Sarat C. Das (next photo): his *Tibetan-English Dictionary with Sanskrit Synonyms* (Calcutta, 1902).

Eventually, GT would also acquire, by gift from the Japanese Tibetologist Shoji Inaba (see previous Plate) a type-casting machine, shown in the next photo. And in the group photo displayed here can be seen the newspaper editor, his wife, and young son Sherab down in Calcutta in 1948 standing in front of *The Statesman* newspaper office with Ringzin Wangpo (holding briefcase) and GT's Tibetan calligrapher for 20 years (1940-60), Drung-Yek-la—a visit to the Bengal capital which combined business with pleasure: securing more wood blocks for making photo illustrations at the Tibet Mirror press room and the enjoyment of a well-deserved holiday.

GT was now poised to produce on a modern printing press of his own the first issue ever of his famed newspaper by this method (its front page shown here). Issued on 22 March 1948, this inaugural number constituted the final development in what would turn out to be nearly four decades of the Tibetan Newspaper's illustrious history (first development, Oct. 1925, printing by a Roneo duplicator; the second, Sept. 1928, by a Lithographic hand press).

MR. THARCHIN,
Editor of the Tibetan Newspaper,
requests the pleasure of

company on the occasion of the opening ceremony of the new "Tibet Mirror Press," near 10th Mile Kalimpong, on Monday 22-3-48 at 11. a. m. and afterwards to light refreshments at Clerelands, Kalimpong, by the courtesy of the late Tibet Liaison Officer, Mr. H. S. Bullock.

The Political Officer in Sikkim has kindly consented to perform the opening ceremony.

R. S. V. P. TO
MR. THARCHIN
THE TIBET MIRROR PRESS,
KALIMPONG.



Pl. 15a-d
As intimated earlier, GT's modernization of his printing operations would serve as a prelude to the commencement of the new Tibet Mirror Press.

TMP's inauguration, in fact, was formally celebrated at a very special function held just outside the Press building and along both sides of Rishi Road. And to this special event the justifiably proud and joyous Babu Tharchin had invited many individuals: high government officials, numerous Tibetans, and prominent local and District citizens.

The invitation cards sent out (see upper left) gave all the particulars, especially the word that the Political Officer in Sikkim, Mr. Arthur J. Hopkinson, would be the featured speaker. GT is himself shown in the upper right photo addressing the numerous attendees who had gathered on 22 March 1948, the very day on which the first issue of the *Tibet Mirror* had rolled off the new Treadle printing press. And in the panoramic photograph can be seen the Political Officer speaking before the assembled crowd of listeners as he briefly traced the development of the Press from the earliest days of its history right up to the present moment. He concluded his remarks with the observation that "the Tibetan Newspaper is very vital and important to the Tibetan people."

Afterwards, many attending dignitaries, including Hopkinson, were treated to refreshments provided through the courtesy of the then retired Tibet Liaison Officer (see bottom photo, most likely taken by GT himself). Thus ended this eventful day in the publishing career of Gergan Tharchin after so many years of trial, difficulty and challenge.

World's Press News and Advertisers' Review

THE NATIONAL WEEKLY FOR
PRESS AND ADVERTISING

20 Tudor St., London, E.C.4 (Central 4040)

Vol. 43 No. 1,106

LONDON, MAY 25, 1950

Price 9^d

Registered at the G.P.O. as a Newspaper.

Its Distribution Route Is By Mule Over The Himalayas

From Our Indian Correspondent

UNIQUE in Asian journalism is the "Tibetan Mirror"—the only paper printed in the Tibetan language—which celebrates its 25th birthday shortly. Published in the North Bengal station of Kalimpong, this 8-page paper has several strange features that would make many hardened Fleet Street journalists raise their eyebrows.

Although edited by a layman, Tharchin, both compositors and printers are lamas dressed in the customary Tibetan red robes; distribution is by mule trains, which start from the office door on their weekly trek over the Himalayas to Lhasa; if the deadline for publication is not attained, the editor postpones it for another month; requests for back copies come from distant localities to which deliveries are as long as four months to reach.

When I met Mr. Tharchin, editor, in his simple editorial room to the rear of his printing press at 10th Mile, he was supervising the parcelling of copies to be despatched to Lhasa. He explained that the majority of the copies were redistributed from the Tibetan capital and that as it was the only newspaper in the Tibetan language and "a clear field in a country of four millions." Unfortunately, he said, his printing facilities were restricted. His distant subscribers were at Lhasa, on the Mongolian trade

route, and at Sudiya, on the East Tibet-Assam border. Copies sent there might take four or six months to arrive as all transport was either by mule-pony caravans or by foot porters over hilly, difficult country.

Mr. Tharchin is a native of Gartok district in Western Tibet and is a Buddhist scholar of considerable distinction. He launched the *Tibetan Mirror*, or

Yulchog Sosol Sargyur Melong as the name is printed in English, in 1925, enlisting the good offices of the late Dr. Graham (founder of the Kalimpong Homes) who lent him a Ronex duplicator. Later—in September, 1928—a litho handpress was installed, and since March, 1947, a hand-setting letterpress, which is operated by his lama professional writer Sonam Tshewang. It is a monthly but, as the editor explained with cheerful candour, "I sometimes have to make it a once two-monthly."

A copy of the February/March issue which I examined showed the paper to be well printed in the curious Tibetan script, with plenty of block photos of the Pandit Nehru President Truman meetings in USA and with a two-colour photo of India's new President, Rajendra Prasad, on the front page. On page 7 was a paragraph relating to the trip of two Fleet Street newsmen, Ward Price, of the *Daily Mail*, and Sydney Smith, of the *Daily Express*, to Yatunz, in Tibetan, the English names standing out in the midst of the script.

ཡོན་ཤོན་གསལ་འགྲུར་ ཞེས་པའི་
གསལ་འགྲུར་དོན་སྲོལ་ལྟར་ཞེས་པའི་ Ward Price
ཞེས་པ་དང་ཡང་ ཞེས་པའི་
གསལ་འགྲུར་གྱི་སྐྱོད་ཚབ་པ་སྐྱེལ་བའི་ Sidney
Smith ཞེས་པ་ལྟར་ཞེས་པའི་གསལ་འགྲུར་གྱི་སྐྱོད་ཚབ་
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གསལ་འགྲུར་གྱི་སྐྱོད་ཚབ་པ་སྐྱེལ་བའི་
ཞེས་པའི་གསལ་འགྲུར་ ཞེས་པའི་

Extract from "Tibetan Mirror."

Classified Journal Raises Price

Commencing with the June issue, the price of the 64-year-old *Sales and Wants Advertiser* is to be raised to ninepence per copy, and the yearly subscription to 12s. 6d. The paper carries a

'Ulster Farmer' Jubilee

Pl. 16 Babu Tharchin must have been surprised but pleased to receive for an interview one day the correspondent in India for Britain's widely-circulated *World's Press News* and to have later learned that a most charming article favorable to his *Tibet Mirror* newspaper had subsequently appeared in the London weekly. The article was published just a few months prior to the celebration of the *Mirror's* Silver Jubilee anniversary, and must have added lustre to an already auspicious commencement of yet another period of newspaper publishing. As it turned out, however, it would be an horrific period of ten years and more full of adverse news in the extreme for his beloved ethnic countrymen within the Great Closed Land, which his Tibetan Newspaper, unfortunately, would have to chronicle. The date of March 1947 in the article, incidentally, should have read March 1948.

The Sunday Hindusthan Standard

THIRD DAK EDITION

CALCUTTA:—SEPTEMBER 24, 1950.

ASWIN 7, 1357 B. S.

Price: 1/- (incl. India Post Office)

LAND OF THE LAMAS

By G. THARCHIN

LAST year, the Government of Nepal applied to the United Nations Organisation for membership of that august body. Nepal is a close neighbour of Tibet and as much that country's application for membership of the U.N.O. is interesting. If Tibet also had applied for membership of the U.N.O., the Tibetan question would not appear so complex as it appears to the outside world today.

According to its ancient history, Tibet has always been enjoying independence. In 1856, there was a war between Tibet and Nepal, and it was brought to an end by a treaty between the two countries.

In this war, China was nowhere in the picture. The Chinese did not help the Tibetans against the Nepalis. Nor were the Chinese a party in the treaty signed between Tibet and Nepal. As a result of this treaty, Tibet had to pay a tribute of Rs. 10,000 annually to Nepal.

In the "Wood Dragon Year" (1804), one of the foremost Powers of the world, Great Britain, sent an expeditionary force to Tibet. Though this force was equipped with modern weapons, the ill-equipped and untrained Tibetan soldiers fought very bravely against the British for the independence of Tibet. This is well-known to every one.

When the British Expeditionary Force reached Lhasa in 1804, a peace treaty was signed between the two Governments. In this treaty also, I do not see the Chinese in the picture.

I have cited two events in the history of Tibet, just to show that Tibet was not under China.

Previous to the despatch of the British Expeditionary Force to Lhasa, the Chinese had an "Amban" (representative) with a few soldiers who were meant only to act as a bodyguard to His Holiness the Dalai Lama, who was the spiritual head (Guru) of the Emperor of China as well as the people of China.

The Amban and his soldiers had no connection with the internal affairs in Tibet, but solely to meet the above purpose. That was one of the reasons why the Amban and his soldiers were not in the picture of the previous incidents.

One thing he remembered here is that the then Chinese Emperor paid back the war indemnity of Tibet to the British Government. Why was this done? This can easily be explained: The Dalai Lama was the spiritual head and Guru of the Emperor. According to the religious point of view, one must sacrifice his life even, not to talk of wealth for the Guru. That was the reason why the war indemnity of Tibet was paid by the Chinese Government. When the Emperor of China was dethroned, the Amban and his soldiers posted by Lhasa were sent back to the Tibetan Government. Since then the Chinese had no connection, even from the religious point of view.

Mr. G. Tharchin, writer of this article, is the Editor of the Tibetan "Daily Mirror", published from Kalimpong for nearly quarter of a century.

A Ladakhi by birth, Mr. Tharchin settled down in Kalimpong, in 1918, and began publication of his paper in 1928. The "Daily Mirror" which has been coming out regularly except for a break between 1940 and 1941, is the only Tibetan newspaper in the world. The break was due to the fact that Mr. Tharchin went to Lhasa for the installation of the 14th Dalai Lama.

Prior to his visit to Lhasa for the installation in 1950 Mr. Tharchin was in the Tibetan capital from 1921 to 1924. His journal, published every month, has given some interested clients even in distant parts like New York and Stockholm.

In 1914, a treaty was drafted in Simla between Britain, China and Tibet. In this treaty, the Chinese representative gave only his initials and did not sign fully, as he was said to have been instructed by the Chinese Government. The Chinese never raised the question of revising the treaty, nor did they act according to the draft of the treaty. In that treaty, the British Government, for their own purpose at that time admitted the suzerainty of China over Tibet; yet she did not clearly express that Tibet was part and parcel of China.

Sometimes in 1914, and thereafter, several border clashes in Eastern Tibet took place between China and Tibet. Tibetans in the Chinese territories adjoining Tibet proper also revolted against the Chinese Government several times and these revolts ended only after the Chinese arrival at some form of agreement or other with the Tibetans.

The Tibetan Government has its own currency and maintains soldiers for the safety of the country. This is yet another proof that Tibet is not under the suzerainty of China.

After a long gap, the Chinese Government established a mission in Lhasa. This was some time in

1928. How did this office take its birth? After the death of His Holiness the 13th Dalai Lama, the Chinese Government sent a representative to pay the last homage to the late Dalai Lama. This representative came not only to pay the last respects to the late Dalai Lama, but also to negotiate with the Tibetan Government for the re-establishment of friendly relations between the two countries. As a result, the Chinese were allowed to have a mission in Lhasa, and also at the same time the British Government did the same.

Last year, however, the Tibetan Government expelled the Chinese (K.M.T.) Mission from Lhasa. If Tibet were under the suzerainty of China, why did the Chinese carry out the orders of the Tibetan Government and leave Lhasa?

Tibet is an independent religious State. If the members of the United Nations Organisation agree with this contention, will they take steps to protect Tibet from foreign aggression—which is being threatened at present? Or will they ignore Tibet in the U.N.O.?

Spiritual Relation

A probe into the spiritual side of Tibet's relations with China will be interesting to those who have a vague idea of mystery and mysticism surrounding the land of the Lamas.

In a nutshell, the relationship of the Dalai Lama and the Emperors of China may be described as that of "spiritual patrons" and "spiritual leaders."

The duty of a spiritual patron is only to pray to God, to give benediction and salvation, and to ensure the welfare of his spiritual leaders. Therefore, these leaders are bound to pay homage to their patrons and bound to follow whatever their spiritual patrons ordered. The great Saint Fanchen Naropa also mentioned thus:—

There was not born a single Buddha, without an origin of a spiritual Guru at first. Thousands of Buddhas have passed; those and all those of the future came through the spiritual patron.

If it is so mentioned, who is the Chief, the Patron or the Leader?

Formerly, when the Emperor of Mongolia was ruling over China, the Dalai Lama was the spiritual patron of the Emperor and the leader was the Emperor. Similarly, all groups of Lamas from Tibet were spiritual patrons of Tibet, and the people looked upon Tibet with reverence.

The Dalai Lama was not an "artificial" spiritual patron of the Emperor of China, but a true real one "come out from the stings and omens, divinely selected from the Golden Flask."

The Emperor of China August Anshunshang to Tibet who were stationed in Lhasa. Military escorts were also provided as body-guard to His Holiness—not as a mark of occupation.

The former Great Kings of Tibet and the Great King Songtsen Gampo of Tibet have many times declared war on China and many regions of China were under Tibet. The Princess Gyam of China was married to Songtsen Gampo—just to keep friendly relations between the two kingdoms.

King Songtsen Gampo and the Princess Gyam took solemn oaths of peace between the two kingdoms and under oath pledged not to "take any sort of guard, tribute or war of any kind." This joint declaration was inscribed in stone tablets which are still in existence at Lhasa.

Tibet never fell under China or any other kingdom. Nevertheless, several places on her eastern border came once again under Chinese rule.

When the Emperor of China was dethroned following the Chinese revolution, there was war between Tibet and China. The Dalai Lama fled to India. The war ended by itself.

The oath taken by King Songtsen Gampo and Princess Gyam was violated then by China. Since then, China has been faced with ever-recurring wars and quarrels in future, too. It is impossible that China will ever have peace.

And perhaps, if China proposes again a new compromise and takes a solemn pledge of peace between the two countries, then China herself may be able to have peace. This should be considered deeply and carefully by the Chinese Government and the citizens of China.

Pl. 17 The Indo-Tibetan newspaper editor up in Kalimpong had by 1950, and perhaps much earlier, become known well enough to India's own newspaper editors for them to have agreed to publish in their papers now and then articles of timely interest by the Babu. Above, e.g., is one he wrote for *The Hindusthan Standard*, one of Calcutta's better-known dailies. Recognized as an authority on Tibetan history and culture by this time, GT could be assured of an ever-widening audience for his writings. And frequently he would use these articles, like the one here, to convey to non-Tibetans the case for why Tibet should be considered a free and independent nation, never to be viewed—as was becoming increasingly fashionable within the international community in 1950—as a land under the suzerainty, if not the sovereignty, of China. It is unfortunate, though, that the bio-profile of the Babu had several glaring factual errors in it. This, however, it is certain, never bothered this journalistic freedom-fighter for Tibet, so long as his message got out!

P. Aufschnaiter
(95) Queen Victoria Road Mess,
New Delhi.

June 11, 1953.

The Editor,
Tibetan Mirror Press,
Kalimpong.

Dear Sir,

I should like to get the Tibetan language paper
The Tibetan Mirror with all the back numbers since
January 1952 and up to the end of this year 1953.
If you send me the bill I shall remit the money.
Please send your reply as early as possible.

Yours faithfully,

Peter Aufschnaiter

REGD. NO. C. 1386.

། ལྷ་ལ་རྩོགས་སོ་སོའི་གསར་འགྱུར་མེ་ལོང་དགའོ། །།

The Tibetan Newspaper.

KALIMPONG. P. O.
(WEST BENGAL INDIA.)

To,
*Peking Dafusi Shikai
Futhung.
San hao.
Mintshu Ziwoowui Yuan Hui,
Peking*

REGD. NO. C. 1386.

། ལྷ་ལ་རྩོགས་སོ་སོའི་གསར་འགྱུར་མེ་ལོང་དགའོ། །།

The Tibetan Newspaper.

KALIMPONG. P. O.
(WEST BENGAL INDIA.)

To,
*Mr. Fangda Rapga
Chamde. Shikhang.
West China.*



Pl. 18a-e No matter where interested readers of his *Tibet Mirror* news journal might be—whether at New Delhi, at famed University of California, Berkeley (see next Plate page), at Chamdo in the Tibet-occupied West Chinese province of Shikhang (Sikang), or even at Peking—Tharchin Babu's Tibetan Newspaper would be faithfully dispatched to them. Here shown are a letter of request for the paper (even for some back issues) from GT's now-relocated friend Peter Aufschnaiter another letter of request from the well-known scholar in Oriental Studies at UC, Berkeley, Professor Ferdinand D Lessing, and two mailing labels that were to be wrapped around the outside of the 1st Oct. 1953 issue of the *Tibe Mirror* and sent on their way to Rapga Pangdatsang and the Peking Dafus Shikai: whether by air, train, foot—or by mule/pony/yak caravan, if necessary!

The small photo shows the indomitable editor of the *Tibet Mirror* holding up for an American guest two recent issues of his newspaper. This was in 1960, just 3 years prior to his news organ's demise. The baton for journalistic freedom on behalf of the Tibetan people would soon be passed on to a younger generation of fighter for truth wielding the editorial pen.

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

INSTITUTE OF EAST ASIATIC STUDIES
BERKELEY 4, CALIFORNIA

[Handwritten signature]
2/12/52

༡། གསར་འགྱུར་གསལ་མཛད་རྒྱུ་ལྟོ་མེད་རྒྱུ་ལ།

གུས་པས་ལྷོས་པར། ཏེ

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Ferdinand D. Lessing

7 Copies sent by air mail (མམ་མེད།)
3/12/52

Translation from Tibetan:
Dear all the precious clear makers of news,
Requesting you to send by air mail set of Mirror news published by you. Please clearly mention the annual subscription rate and how to send the money from here. Do take care of your health. September 22.

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YULCHOG SOSOI SARGYUR MELONG [The Tibet Mirror] VOL. XXI
FIRST PUBLISHED IN OCTOBER 1943. རྩོམ་སྐོར་གྱི་ལོ་ལོ་མོ་ལོ་ལོ་ལོ་ལོ་ལོ་ 1 st. SEPTEMBER, 1953. No. 6

JAI HIND

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threat of the Red Menace from China. He was therefore quite sincerely as much concerned for India's best interests as he was for those of his ancestral homeland. For only India, GT had felt, could guarantee the stability of Tibet sufficiently to make possible the eventual entrance into the Great Closed Land at last of the message of Christ and the Christian conversion of her people, a development for which he had been hoping and praying during all of his adult life. The passage of time and a long string of adverse events both in India and in Tibet herself would in the end prove the fulfillment of that hope to be unattainable, at least in his lifetime and perhaps for several generations to come.

Pl. 19a-b As an enthusiastic supporter of the Indian nationalist movement from shortly after its beginnings on the Subcontinent, as well as a loyal citizen of his country of birth: India, GT would never fail to devote part of an anniversary issue of his newspaper honoring her Freedom Day (15 Aug. 1947) to Indian personalities and affairs of state (such as the colorful one shown here for the year 1953, with "Jai Hind" signifying "Long Live India!"). For on the inside pages of this particular issue were articles and accompanying illustrations which lauded two Indian men for whom the *Tibet Mirror* publisher had the highest regard. These were the Father of Modern India, Mahatma Gandhi (shown at Santiniketan, 1925, with his two closest friends, Charles Andrews, seated left, and host Rabindranath Tagore), and Independent India's first Prime Minister, Pandit Nehru. There was even, not surprisingly, a lengthy article and accompanying photo on the famed Sherpa mountain climber Tenzing Norgay and his successful assault, with Sir Edmund Hillary, of Mt. Everest earlier in the year. Yet such personalities and public affairs having to do with India were of consuming interest to Buddhist Tibetans as well, since India, be it remembered, was the Land of Buddha's Birth. Furthermore, a great deal of credit has been given to Tharchin Babu for having made such Indian personalities like the Mahatma and Nehru popular figures in Tibet as a result of reports he would publish in his Tibetan newspaper about them. So much so, for example, that articles about Gandhi ultimately sparked the development of a relationship by correspondence between the Great Thirteenth and the Mahatma during the last three years of the Grand Lama's life. Even the successor and current Dalai Lama came to look upon Gandhi as his boyhood hero through reading the articles about the Indian leader which he read in the pages of the *Tibet Mirror*.

As Ch. 24a of the present narrative makes clear, GT viewed the political destinies of both his land of birth and his land of ethnic identity to be inextricably bound up with each other as they together were more and more confronted by the rising



Pl. 20a-c The two Regencies during the new Dalai Lama's minority years were embodied in the persons of Reting

Rimpoche (above left) and Taktra Rimpoche (right). Neither Regent, it seems, was anything close to being a paragon of virtue. Wrote S.T. Kazi to GT from Lhasa in 1949: "It is heard that Tak Tak's [Taktra's] tyranny is no less than that of Reting for which he was killed." The latter is a reference to Reting having been arrested and imprisoned for having (unsuccessfully) conspired in 1947 to overthrow his successor and regain the Regency for himself. He would subsequently die in Potala Prison under the most mysterious circumstances. Most historians believe he was liquidated by his enemies, of whom he had many. Both Regents and most of their *Kashag* ministers and advisers failed to take seriously Dalai Lama XIII's prophetic warnings concerning the oncoming internal and external dangers that would threaten the nation's very survival. Indeed, today's successor Dalai Lama has lamented that "it was almost like everyone went to sleep after [my predecessor] passed away."



Meanwhile, during the increasingly tense and uncertain years of the late 1940s and early '50s, India's Prime Minister

Nehru (shown below with his daughter Indira Gandhi at Ladakh's Hemis Gompa on 5 July 1949) had become very much aware by this time, as an astute student of Asian history, of Chinese nationalism's "imperial imperative." Nevertheless, he insisted on pursuing a policy of accommodation and appeasement of China concerning the latter's hostile relations with Tibet instead of instituting and maintaining a consistent policy of containment of this aggrandizing East Asian giant. Only after India's decisive defeat in 1962 at the hands of this same giant, whose troops now stood guard at India's northern frontiers, did Nehru rue the day he ever accepted first *de facto* and later *de jure* recognition of Tibet as an integral part of the Chinese People's Republic. Lamented the Prime Minister: "We have been living in a fool's paradise of our own making." More accurately and honestly, he should have used "I" and "my" in his lament, since, despite early warnings from "many Indian statesmen" (including some of Nehru's closest friends), it was first and foremost *his* policy which had been implemented and tenaciously pursued.

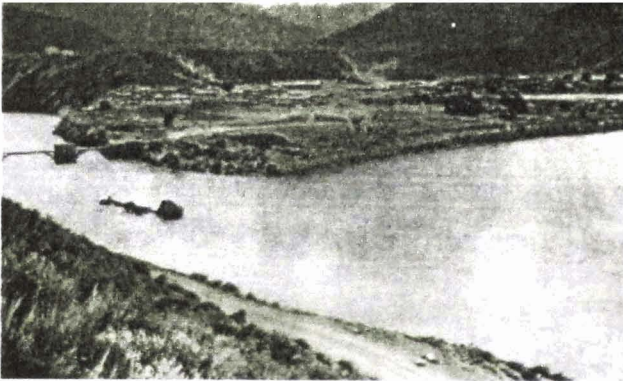


Pl. 21a-e An event occurred in 1927 which for the first time, perhaps, would catapult Gergan Tharchin into the secret world of British Indian Intelligence and would directly or indirectly involve the diverse personalities pictured below as well as the Babu himself.

Clockwise from upper left: Shown here at St. Petersburg with his boy monk attendant is the Buriat Mongolian Lama, Ngawang Lobsang Dorjjeff (1854-1938), for nearly the first four decades of the 20th century the official emissary to Russia's ruling circles—both Tsarist and Communist—of Dalai Lama XIII (1876-1933) (next photo). With the rise to power in 1917 of the Bolsheviks in Russia and while still very much loyal to His Holiness, Dorjjeff had now been tasked in the 1920s by Moscow's Red regime to organize clandestine Soviet missions to Tibet for the purpose of spreading Communist ideals and establishing diplomatic relations between the two countries. The enigmatic Dorjjeff had already organized and dispatched the second of these secret "scientific and propagandist expeditions" (his words) during 1922-4, but nothing much had come of it. In 1926-7 Dorjjeff would once again assist, though indirectly and reluctantly, in having a third covert (Mongolian) mission sent to the Tibetan capital. It consisted of most of the group of six individuals pictured immediately above (and a few others not shown here), whose photo was apparently taken at the Soviet Embassy in Ulan Bator (formerly Urga) in late 1926 prior to the mission setting off for Lhasa, and showing: seated second from left, the mission's Buriat Mongolian leader Gomboidchin; seated at extreme right, the Kalmuck Monglian, Arashi Chapchaev, who at Lhasa would represent Moscow's Narkomindel (the Soviet Foreign Ministry); and standing at left, the Kalmuck, Matsak Bimbaev, an agent of Soviet military intelligence attached to the mission. In the upper right photo can be seen, on left, the Rai Bahadur Dzas Norbhu Dhondup. He had been dispatched up to Lhasa from India by British Political Officer for Tibet, F.M. Bailey, "to press the Dalai Lama to get rid of the [Soviet] emissaries," and who had also been instructed to take photographs of the mission's members and activities. For some reason Rai Bahadur was unable to take them.

Enter Gergan Tharchin, who happened to be in the Tibetan capital at the time and who was now requested to take the desired photos in place of the Dzas. He successfully accomplished this task, after which Norbhu Dhondup forwarded the photographs to Colonel Bailey who instructed the Rai Bahadur to reimburse the Babu for his services. This that Tharchin had just done thus constituted what was perhaps the very first of many instances over the next few decades of the Indo-Tibetan's official intelligence-gathering activities on behalf of the British Raj. At about this same time, coincidentally enough, the Christian Babu, upon learning about the matter, had been moved to pray for an American missionary to the Tibetans, Victor Plymire (pictured in the photo immediately above at right), who, having trekked during 1927 into early 1928 all the way from NE Tibet westward to the Central Tibetan checkpoint of Nagchuka, had been marking time there waiting for permission to proceed south to Lhasa where he hoped to share the gospel of Christ. But because of a wave of "Bolshephobia" that had swept over the Tibetan capital, due in great part to the intentions and activities of this latest Soviet mission then present in Lhasa, the Tibetan government—suspecting Plymire, as did the British, of being a Bolshevik spy—denied the missionary permission to trek southward but ordered him to exit Tibet by traveling farther westward and into Ladakh. In this instance, Tharchin's prayers on behalf of the gospel were not answered.

By this time having become quite wary of the Soviet government's growing interest in his country and of its increasing oppression of several ethnic Buddhist minorities within Russia's geographical sphere of influence and/or control, the Dalai Lama—pictured here seated on Tibet's Lion Throne in 1930 just three years before his death—heeded the secretly communicated counsel of his faithful emissary Dorjjeff "to not have anything to do with the mission" by skillfully temporizing with the latter's members long enough so that after seven months they finally voluntarily departed Lhasa relatively empty-handed. It was the consequence of this and the other Soviet missions to Lhasa, together with confirmed reports of the negative excesses of Red rule in Outer Mongolia and Russia *vis-a-vis* his many co-religionists there, which led the Dalai Lama, in the year of his death, to issue his now famous Political Testament full of profound dread for the future of Tibet at the hands of the Red Menace which he accurately prophesied would engulf his land and people.



Pl. 22a-w The awful consequence for Tibet of the foolish policy of India's Nehru was that the Roof of the World could no longer look south for succour in her most needy moment of crisis: 7 Oct. 1950 and the immediate aftermath in East Tibet. In the photo at left can be seen the site of the final battle between Tibet's greatly outnumbered defense forces and the invading Chinese—Chamdo in eastern Kham—when the PLA soldiers of China crossed over the river Mekong's headwaters into Tibet during the early part of Oct. 1950.

Alarmed in the extreme, Tibet's government leaders, having nowhere else to turn to, immediately consulted the Medium monk of the Nechung State Oracle, Lobsang Jigme (1930-84), at the Nechung Temple located at the foot of the immense Drepung Lamasery, just a few miles west of the Tibetan capital (see both monk and Temple in photos at left). This residence of "the greatest mystery of Tibet" was where was "made manifest the presence of a protective deity whose secret oracle" guided the destinies of Tibet and was consulted by the Government prior to any important decision being taken. In the present crisis the Oracle directed that temporal power should now be



assumed by the 15-year-old 14th Dalai Lama (see next Plate page for large portrait photo of him, taken at about this time, seated on Tibet's Lion Throne), even though three years yet remained in his minority. He would henceforth wield not only spiritual but also secular authority in his own right, but naturally in consultation with his closest Ministers.



These Ministers—in consultation again with the State Oracle of Nechung, who as usual had the last word—advised the young Dalai Lama to leave Lhasa in the face of the increasing possibility that the Tibetan capital could easily be captured at will by the overwhelmingly strong enemy forces of the Chinese were the latter to choose to do so. Fearful further that he, too, could fall into the hands of the dreaded Chinese, the Dalai Lama and his Ministers, in obedience once more to the venerable Nechung Oracle, now felt compelled to flee Lhasa and travel down to Yatung in the Chumbi Valley of southern Tibet. Departing on 19 Dec. 1950, His Holiness went by mule caravan, he himself being transported in a palanquin (see photo above).



At Yatung Tibet's young Priest-King would now take refuge within the precincts of Dungkhar Monastery (see photo at left) situated up the side of a small mountain. Here he would remain for some eight months while deciding whether to return to Lhasa or seek asylum abroad. It would be at this place where the immature, somewhat naive Leader of Tibet would



reluctantly have his historic rendezvous with the future Chinese Communist overlord of Tibet, General Chang Ching-wu (shown here riding from Yatung to Lhasa, July 1951). Here, too, he would continue to carry on his other duties as High Priest of Tibetan Buddhism; for in the photo (above right) His Holiness (standing center in peaked headpiece) can be seen receiving relics at Dungkhar. Time and again Gergan Tharchin had desperately wanted to visit the young Tibetan ruler (now situated close by to Kalimpong), but either the press of duties, ill-health, or other circumstances prevented him from doing so. Nevertheless, it can be certain that the Dalai Lama, though having relocated, continued to receive on a regular basis the Babu's Tibetan Newspaper full of the latest international developments related to Tibet.



Naturally, the greatest development of all was the eventual Sino-Tibetan "negotiations" that were more akin to a *fait accompli* that had been prepared on paper in advance by the Red Chinese and would now be imposed by them upon the hapless Tibetans with few modifications. Entered into between a most reluctant Tibet and an exultant People's Republic of China, these so-called negotiations were carried on for several months at Beijing, resulting in the infamous "Seventeen-Point Agreement." It was a one-sided document which overwhelmingly favored the Chinese, since with impunity every one of its provisions would be violated or overturned by Beijing within but a few years hereafter.

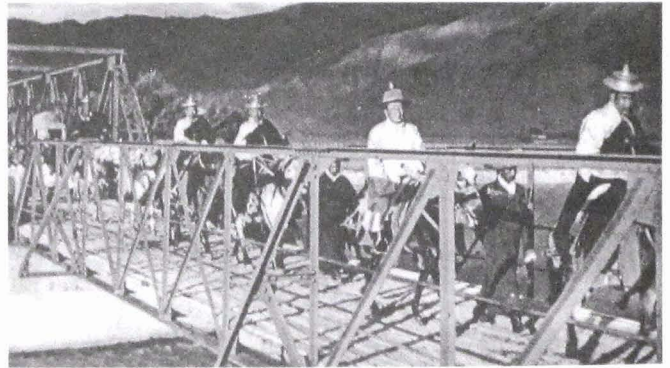
The above left photo shows the Tibetan delegation, headed by Ngabo Ngawang Jigme (the one seated on the floor at extreme left and who would later be branded a traitor by many Tibetans), writing out in their Beijing hotel room the Tibetan copy of the soon-to-be hated document. The second from left figure, incidentally, is Babu Tharchin's Khampa visitor of yesteryear, Phuntsog Wangyal, who had conversed with the Babu over many months at Kalimpong during 1944 and who by this time had become the most important Tibetan cadre within Beijing's Communist government hierarchy. He would also be the one who a few months from now would personally guide on foot a first contingent of the PLA into the Tibetan capital.

And the photo at right above shows a beaming Chinese Premier Chou En-lai looking on as Ngabo, the one seated in front of him, affixes his signature to the "Agreement" that at the stroke of a pen on 23 May 1951 ended Tibet's political independence.



Meanwhile, at Kalimpong, attempts were now afoot to try to obtain assistance from foreign powers like America in the struggle against the Chinese. The efforts of the Dalai Lama's eldest brother Thubten Jigme Norbu (shown at far left) who—secretly helped by former Plymouth Brethren missionary in China and Tibet, George N. Patterson (shown at immediate left)—had escaped to America, proved in the end to be unsuccessful, at least for now. Moreover, the clandestine plan to have the Dalai Lama come to India or some other Asian country, likewise came to nought. It had been hatched at Kalimpong by Patterson, Heinrich Harrer and Yangpel Pangdatsang, along with certain Tibetan officials like W.D. Shakabpa, and with the cooperation of American consular officials at Calcutta. At the last moment, however,

the plan collapsed. For His Holiness and those of his advisers who favored the scheme had to bow once again to the guidance of the State Oracle and the Abbots of the Three Great Monastic Seats at Lhasa who had come down to Dungkhar to voice what in the end proved to be their disapproval of the plan. Indeed, when consulted by the Dalai Lama—as was required of His Holiness to do in a moment of national crisis such as this—the Nechung Oracle insisted three times in succession that the young “god-king” must return to the place of his throne. This insistence the Dalai Lama could not ignore. Greatly disappointed, the Priest-King of Tibet instructed his retinue to make preparations to return to the Tibetan capital. (In the photo at right, part of that vast retinue is shown nearing Lhasa.) On 17 Aug. 1951, the spiritual, if no longer temporal, Leader of the Tibetan people finally returned home.



Three years later, as a means of solidifying the cooperation of the Dalai Lama and of reassuring him directly, though insincerely, that the plans and policies of the Chinese central government were only for the benefit and upliftment of the Tibetan people, the new masters of Tibet—Mao Tse-tung and his Communist associates—invited His Holiness and the Panchen Lama to come to Beijing for an unhurried visit to China so that the Dalai Lama, especially, could see for himself the blessings which Communist rule had wrought for the Chinese people. In the end, this visit would extend for up to a year, 1954-5.



Shown at left are the two Lamas arriving at the Beijing railway station, flanked on the left by the PLA's top Commander Chu Te and the Chinese Premier Chou En-lai on the right. Two days later the Dalai Lama would have his first meeting with Chairman Mao and would be told how glad he was that Tibet had returned to the Motherland and that His Holiness had agreed to participate in the upcoming National Assembly of the People's Republic of China. He was also told by the Chairman that the mission of China was to bring progress to Tibet by developing its natural resources and that the generals at Lhasa were there to assist the Dalai Lama and the Tibetan people. “They had not gone there,” said Mao to his young guest, “to exercise any kind of authority over the Tibetan government or people.” Subsequent cruel and oppressive actions in Tibet undertaken by the Chinese would prove otherwise, as the world now knows.



But currently at Beijing, all was smiles, sweetness and light for China's two Tibetan visitors, as is evident in the other photo displayed here that shows the Dalai Lama (at right) and Panchen Lama being lavishly entertained on the Tibetan New Year's Day in Feb. 1955 by Mao himself, together with his Premier and Liu Shaoqi. It would be at their last private meeting together, however, that Mao would let fall from his lips the now famous and quite candid farewell remark that sent an immediate chill down the spine of the Tibetan Buddhist Pontiff upon hearing it from the totally materialist-minded Mao. Said the Communist Party Leader unapologetically to His Holiness: “Religion is poison, an opiate of the people.” These words—alarming in the extreme for this High Priest of Tibetan Buddhism—served as a portent of the troublous times which awaited the Dalai Lama upon taking leave of his Beijing hosts and wending his way homeward by land through what had at least till now remained his religious, if no longer temporal, domain but which soon hereafter the god-hating Chinese Communists would commence methodically transforming into a religious wasteland.

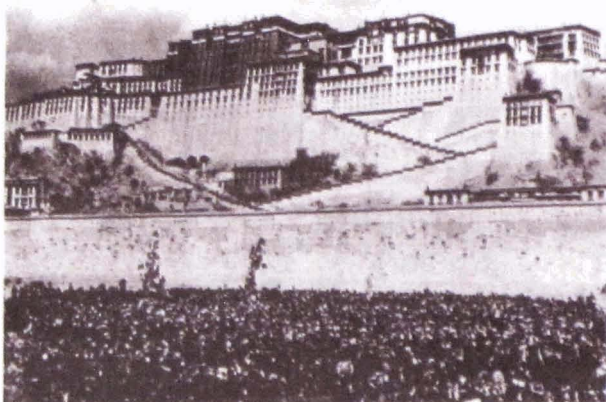


Not even the respite from matters of state provided the Dalai Lama by the surprising but most welcome interlude which opened up for him down in India during the months between Nov.



1956 and Feb. 1957 could free His Holiness from the constant concern he had for his land and people suffering under the increasingly oppressive rule of the Chinese Communist cadres. Invited by the Nehru government and only reluctantly approved by Beijing, both High Lamas of Tibet (see above left) were feted and venerated continually by the Indian people wherever they went during the Buddha Jayanti celebrations. They were also welcomed by Prime Minister Nehru (see at left). Cherishing every moment of the freedom he experienced in India, the Dalai Lama began toying with the notion of not returning to Tibet but remaining in the Land of Buddha's Birth. There was a growing sense in his mind that he might be able to effect an improvement in the plight of his people much better in India where he would at least be able to represent his country before a watching world.

But when Prime Minister Nehru got wind of this possibility, he quickly arranged a series of meetings between himself and the Dalai Lama (see above right), between the latter and Chinese Premier Chou En-lai (who was to visit Delhi *three times* during this tense period), and even meetings among all three—in an effort to convince His Holiness to return to his capital. (At all these meetings, incidentally, it was Gergan Tharchin's Sikkimese "son," Sonam T. Kazi, who served as interpreter.) Despite strong attempts by two of his older brothers, by some of his Ministers, and by various representatives of the Tibetan community at large to persuade him to remain in India, it was both Nehru's fatherly words (that it would be far better to return home) and the blandishments of Chou En-lai which ultimately convinced the Tibetan religious leader to go back to Lhasa and give the Chinese "one more chance" to fulfill "their Government's promises" and cease their adverse policies towards his people which during the past few years had become intolerable. It was while the Dalai Lama was in Kalimpong on the way back to Tibet that in late Jan. 1957 the Indo-Tibetan journalistic freedom-fighter would have a private audience with His Holiness and at which the latter expressed high praise of the Babu for his hard-hitting newspaper articles that exposed Chinese torture and persecution of the Tibetan people during the 1950s. This would prove to be but the first of several private audiences he would have with the Tibetan Leader over the next 20 years.



Admitting later to his closest advisers that they had been right and he wrong in his naive decision to return to Lhasa, the Dalai Lama had to acknowledge that things back in Tibet grew worse—far worse—not better. So much so, that the "desperate and dangerous situation" at the Tibetan capital and elsewhere in Tibet finally came to a head in March 1959. For that month saw the Uprising of the People in many ways and over many days in an unsuccessful attempt to overthrow Chinese rule. Shown in the photo at left is but one of several demonstrations which occurred seeking redress, removal of Chinese troops and cadres, and issuance of a Declaration of Independence for Tibet—this one by a massive throng of women (between 5 and 15,000 strong) protesting before the Potala on 12 March. These various actions by the Lhasan populace and their newly-chosen

leaders, and the negative reactions to these events by the Chinese that included the shelling of Norbu Lingka Palace where the Dalai lama at that moment resided, compelled the beleaguered Priest-King, his family members and his Ministers to depart the Habitation of the Gods secretly on the night of 17 March 1959. On this occasion the Fourteenth Dalai Lama would abandon his beloved capital for the last time, never to this present day to have returned.



Originally never intending, upon his exit from Lhasa, to make for India "unless it became imperative," the Dalai Lama had hoped that somewhere within the Khampa-controlled area south of the river Tsangpo he might be able to set up his Government headquarters and begin to contact afresh and negotiate with the Chinese, with some in his party even believing that the Communists might ultimately request His Holiness to return to Lhasa. "There was still hope," said the Dalai Lama later, "that the Chinese would see reason and respect the assurances they had given Tibetans. But the way the Chinese were let loose upon the innocent peace-loving Tibetans at Lhasa after my departure left me no alternative but to cross over to India which every Tibetan considers his second home." First establishing in southern



Tibet the origins of what would soon become the Tibet Government-in-Exile at Mussoorie and later at Dharamsala in NW India, the Dalai Lama on horseback (above left) and his party made their way as rapidly as possible in a southeasterly direction in an effort to stay one or two trekking stages ahead of the pursuing Chinese. For two weeks it was like this until on 31 March 1959 the Dalai Lama finally reached the Indian frontier at a place very near the rail terminus of Tezpur in India's NE Frontier Agency (above right). And on 3 April, asylum for the Dalai Lama was officially granted by his "reluctant but generous host," Indian Prime Minister Nehru (immediately above left). For by this late date the embattled leader of the world's largest democracy had finally to come to terms with the fact that a sizable number of its citizens had at last recognized how grossly faulty Nehru's policy on Sino-Indian relations over Tibet had been and, liberated by recent events from that policy's hypnotic grip on their thinking, they were beginning to make their contrary feelings known in a most unmistakable way (right).



following the short-lived Uprising. Many such refugees would find their way to Gergan Tharchin's NE India hill station, where he and other Christians in the community would extend humanitarian aid, bearing witness to the love of Christ to so many needy Tibetans.

But for many who were not fortunate to have escaped, scenes like the one pictured at left became all too common once the carnage had ceased. Here at the Tibetan capital, for example, is shown the Grand Hero of Tibet himself, Tsarong Shape, along with others, being arrested and led off to prison. Many such victims were tortured and eventually died or else were shot to death outright.

The day following the Dalai Lama's departure from Lhasa, Chinese retribution began to be meted out upon the Tibetan capital's hapless population and many of its physical structures, as the PLA systematically and without mercy commenced crushing the rebellion with an overwhelming force of soldiery, small arms and massive artillery fire. In fact, this hellish put down by the Chinese occurred not only at Lhasa but elsewhere in the country where the Uprising had spread rapidly once news had been received that the Dalai Lama had safely reached India. All told, it has been estimated that during this period the loss of Tibetan lives all over the country had been nearly 100,000, with another 60 to 80,000 having fled as refugees during the first few months



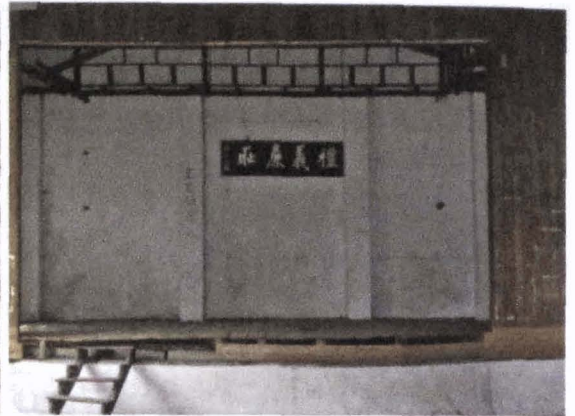
Pl. 23a-c After the signing of the Seventeen-Point Agreement at Beijing (see previous Plate series), the Chinese dispatched to Lhasa—via Hong Kong, Calcutta, Kalimpong and Yatung—the new Overlord of Tibet, Major General Chang Ching-wu. He headed a Chinese Mission consisting of a large number of scientific, technical and administrative personnel that by its composition foreshadowed the intent to carry out wide-ranging reforms in the life and culture of the Land of Mountains, Monks and Monasteries.

In the upper left photo, the 46-year-old General, having reached Calcutta on Sunday, 1 July 1951, is seen standing at the residence of the Chinese Consul-General where he and six

members of the Mission would stay till their departure by air for Kalimpong the following Wednesday on their way to the Mission's ultimate destination: Lhasa. Having earlier split itself up into two groups at Hong Kong, the Mission's second batch of members arrived in Calcutta very soon after the first had. Chang, who was wearing "a uniform of smart gray linen and cloth 'liberation' cap," is shown here standing beneath a huge portrait of Chairman Mao.

Shortly after reaching Tharchin's hill station, the Mission's members were escorted to Greenwood Cottage (color photo), located near Kalimpong's dak bungalow. Here they would be accommodated during their stay before moving onward to Yatung for the first encounter between the Boy-King Dalai Lama and Tibet's new master. "In spite of [this cottage's] fine appearance and excellent position," it had been rumored for the longest time that it was "notoriously haunted." By the time the Mission would depart for Gangtok and Tibet, the Chinese had indeed dubbed the structure "the haunted house"! Had the Kalimpong Tibetans, wondered one temporary Western resident in the hill town, intentionally arranged for the Chinese to be put up in its premises???

The third photo here shows General Chang (at right) a year later enjoying a relaxing moment at Lhasa playing Chinese chess with Phuntsog Wangyal, one of the earliest Tibetan Communists and by now the top Tibetan cadre within the CCP governmental apparatus at Beijing/Lhasa. Looking on is Chang Kuo-hua, the Commander of the Tibet Military Region. For all practical purposes, the Chinese takeover of Tibet administratively was by this time now complete.



Pl. 24a-c During the Chinese Mission's stay in Kalimpong, there were several confrontations between Babu Tharchin and General Chang. The most dramatic occurred on 5 July 1951 at a reception held within the local Chungwha (i.e., Chinese) School (its entrance, top photo). Heretofore this School had been supported by the then Kuomintang (Nationalist) government of China, but sometime after Mao Tse-tung's Communist victory over the Nationalists, there commenced waving from atop the School's roof the red, five-starred flag of Red China.

The reception had been organized by the local Tibetan and Chinese populations and by the Kalimpong cell of India's Communist Party. Some 200 people were crammed together within the limited confines of the School's small main hall or auditorium. At the hall's front was a raised platform or stage (see photo of it today) on which, facing out towards the general audience, were seated Chang and his Mission, along with many other dignitaries invited to be present who were from the local Chinese and Tibetan communities, some of whom would also address the assembled crowd. Invited, of course, was Gergan Tharchin; yet, not surprisingly, he chose not to sit on stage with the Red Delegation but among those seated at a row of long tables that had been placed directly in front of the general audience located just below and back from the stage a short distance (see photo of that audience, showing as well a wall portrait of Red China's Chairman Mao).

Following the School Board President's brief welcoming speech, the first speaker from among the invited dignitaries was Chang himself, who spoke for 15 minutes. The last speaker on the program, however, just happened to be the famed Tibetan newspaper publisher. "Because Tharchin was who he was and was both Tibetan and Christian," noted one eyewitness to the event long afterwards, "the atmosphere became tense immediately upon his taking the stage." Those Chinese who were recording every word uttered in the proceedings were undoubtedly shocked by what they heard the maverick Babu say in his short speech, part of which was as follows: "In Tibetan we have a proverb: everything is changing. For example, there is happiness and then there is sorrow. Just the other day (and here he pointed to the wall) Chiang Kai-shek's picture [was hanging here] but has now disappeared and Mao's has taken its place. Tibet for centuries has been an independent country. The Chinese claim that it was under China. This state of affairs will not last permanently. It too will change. The Chinese will have to give up their claim to Tibet, [which] will once again enjoy its original freedom and independence, free of all Chinese control."

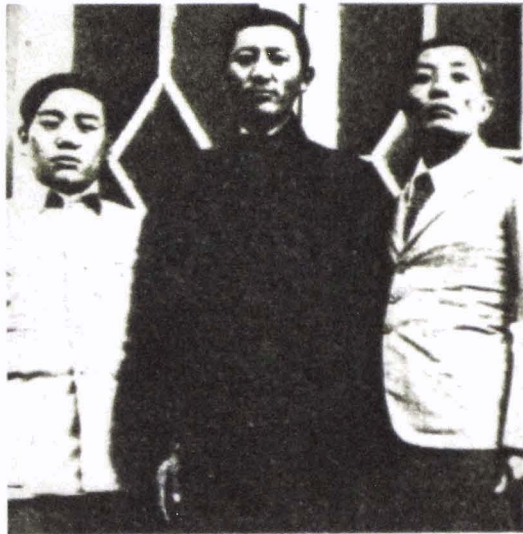
The Tibetan section of the audience immediately clapped its approval most heartily, and the young patriotic Tibetan boys present swooped up the brave Babu onto their shoulders and carried him for many meters as though he were the hero of some victorious athletic team! Chang and his Red Chinese Mission delegates were visibly embarrassed at having to be subjected to this show of defiant courage. "They were really red!" Tharchin had exclaimed when recollecting decades later what he had done on that memorable long-ago day.

Pl. 25a-e Shown below are the three famed Pangdatsang brothers from Kham, East Tibet, all of whom, in one way or another, became deeply involved in local, national and/or international political, economic and/or military affairs within and without Tibet. An on-the-fringe member of the Lhasa establishment, Yangpel, upon the death of his merchant father, assumed the head of what eventually became the most important and probably most powerful trader family in all of Tibet, and most likely the wealthiest. A further indication of Yangpel's rise to prominence was his appointment and service in the 1930s as the Tibetan government's Trade Agent in the British-controlled trade mart at Yatung in southern Tibet's Chumbi Valley, a post which made it possible for him "to control all trade in and out of Tibet." Moreover, during the late 1940s and into the 1950s he served as Tibet's Trade Agent in Kalimpong. Perhaps most significantly was the fact that by the time of the arrival of the Chinese Mission at GT's hill station in early July 1951 (see Pl. 23), this eldest of the lay Pangdatsang brothers had assumed the Governorship of Yatung itself and maintained there a personal following of some 200 armed Khampas.

Rapga was the intellectual, theoretician and writer among the three brothers, whereas Topgyay was intensely involved in military affairs among the Khampa-Amdowa fighting forces within the turbulent region of East Tibet.



Topgyay, the youngest, and the accepted Military Leader of the Khampa tribe.



Rapga (left) shown with two other friends of Babu Tharchin at Kalimpong: Kuchar Kunphela (center) and Changlo Chen Gung Kusho. All three were leaders of the reformist—even revolutionary—Tibet Improvement Party founded in 1939 at the Babu's hill station.



Rapga again, pictured with his British friend Robert Ford at Chamdo in Kham, late summer 1950, just before the Chinese PLA crossed over the Mekong's headwaters to invade Tibet.



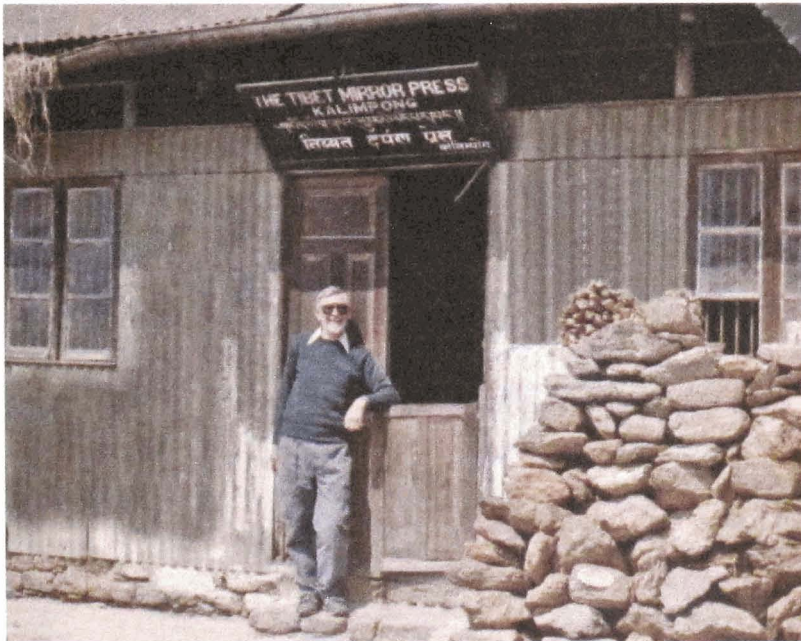
The oldest of these three brothers, Yangpel, is shown (second from right) in America with the other members of a goodwill Tibetan Trade Mission that toured the world during 1948-50. At left is Tsipon Shakabpa, next to him Depon Surkhang, and at right is Tsephal Taikhang.



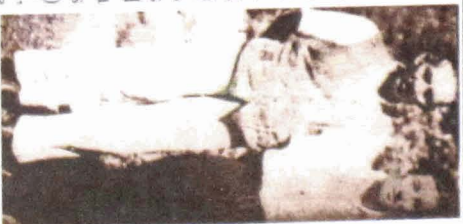
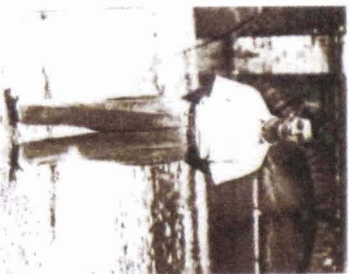
night of 12 July, just prior to the arrival at Yatung from Kalimpong of Tibet's new Overlord from China, General Chang Ching-wu (see Plates 22 and 23).

It was Yangpel and his armed Khampa followers based in the Chumbi Valley during the summer of 1951, together with those at Kalimpong like Heinrich Harrer, the 14th Dalai Lama's mother (see immediate left photo of these two at the hill station), his sister, her husband Yapshi Sey, George Patterson, Tsipon Shakabpa, and a few others, who had wished to implement a well-laid-out plan of Patterson's for effecting the escape of His Holiness to India. It was scheduled to occur on the

unexpectedly, the powerful Abbots of the "Three Pillars of State" monasteries at Lhasa, as well as the Nechung State Oracle, arrived on the scene at Yatung. The Abbots pleaded with Tibet's young ruler to return to Lhasa rather than flee to India; and the State Oracle twice instructed him to return to the Tibetan capital. They were all finally successful in convincing His Holiness to do so. Had these officials not intervened, however, the plan would in all probability have been implemented, with the help of the U.S. Government; and Tibet's subsequent history, as well as that of South, Central and East Asia, might well have been altered dramatically for the better.

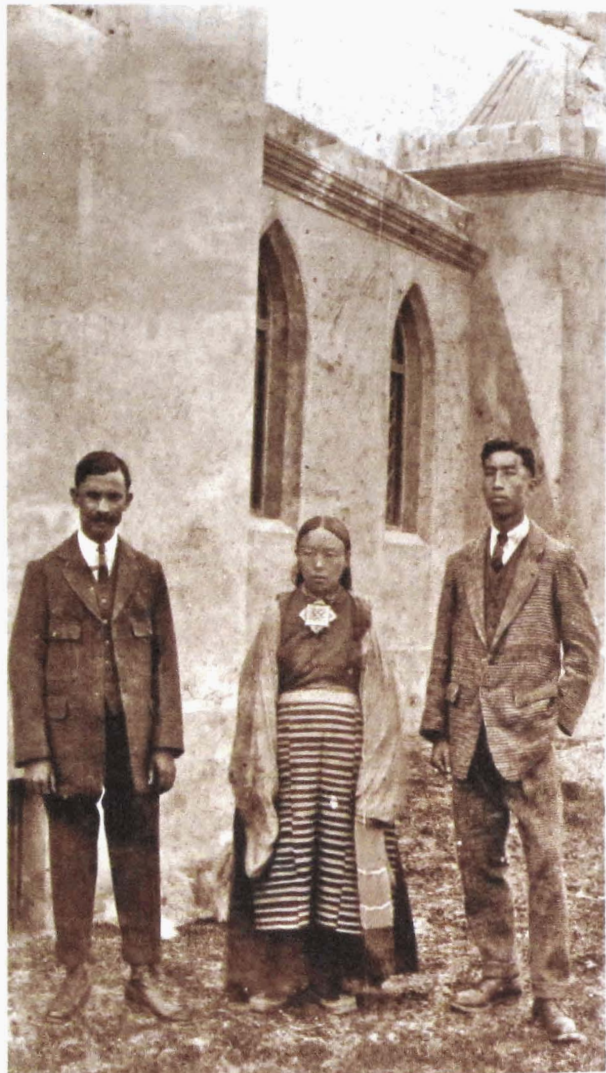


Pl. 26a-e Five sites which prominently figured in the somewhat clandestine life in Kalimpong of Hisao Kimura (aka: Dawa Sangpo), Japanese intelligence agent for both the British and Gergan Tharchin during the latter 1940s (first, the center photo (a) and then, counter-clockwise, (b) through (e), beginning at upper left): Tibet Mirror Press building on Rishi Road; Mackenzie Cottage; Himalayan Hotel, especially what occurred on the hill slope immediately below; Graham's Homes Establishment, with its school block showing; and Tharchin's residence (along the upper extremity of K.D. Pradhan Road)—known variously as Dechhen Khang-Zang ("The Good House of a Big Family") or much later as "the Yellow House" because of its having a yellow exterior.



Pl. 27a-i Photo montage of Hisao Kimura (alias Dawa Sangpo), whose young life would change drastically after his encounter at Kalimpong with fellow-"spy" Gergan Tharchin. Viewing clockwise, from upper left: (a) Kimura (right), age 17, arrives at Huhchoia in Japanese puppet-administered Inner Mongolia in 1940, shown with his language teacher; (b) Kimura as a graduating class member of the "Good

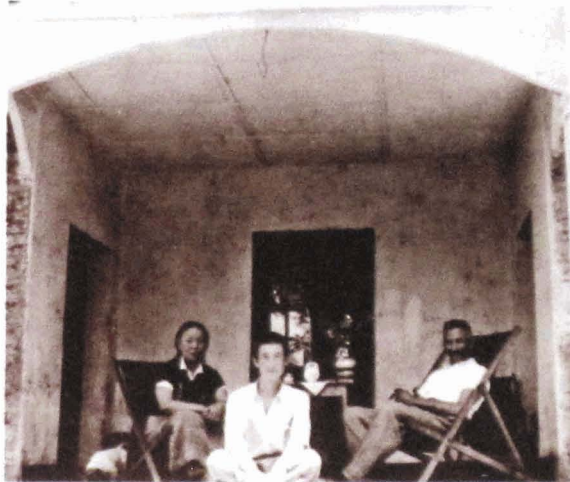
Neighbor Association," a Japanese-operated civilian front organization for training potential intelligence agents for Imperial Japan; (c) Kimura shortly after sitting for his required military conscription exam, late 1942, from which he received an unexpected and most welcome deferral, thus paving the way, in company with the Danzans (see next photo), for launching forth on an intelligence mission in Oct. 1943 for Imperial Japan; (d) the Danzan couple (standing) and Kimura in Kalgan, Inner Mongolia, just a month before setting off on the mission; (e) two years later, late 1945, finds Kimura, shown here wearing Tibetan vestments, standing in front of Tharchin's primary newspaper office of the *Tibet Mirror* (Mackenzie Cottage), Kalimpong, having arrived in the hill station only a month or so earlier, from whence a year later he would commence serving as an intelligence agent inside Tibet for Gergan Tharchin on behalf of British India; (f) Kimura, having been expelled in the summer of 1949 from Lhasa and Tibet as an "undesirable," is here seen standing with the Babu inside the Tharchin compound on one of his final few days in Kalimpong, Sept. 1949, just prior to departing south for Calcutta; (g) there Kimura surrendered to the police in April 1950, this official photo having been taken at Calcutta's Presidency Jail; (h), one month later following his repatriation by sea to Tokyo, Kimura is seen standing outside the Imperial Palace grounds, a man now freed at last from the past ten years living the life of a secret agent for the Japanese and British, and ready to chart out a new career for himself that would ultimately lead to full professorship in the Central Asian Studies Department of Tokyo's Asia University; and finally (i), not until some 20 years later would Kimura pay one last visit to Kalimpong to renew his friendship face to face with his dear friends the Tharchins when, in the late 1960s, the final photo displayed here was taken, showing—left to right—Ringzin Wangpo (GT's nephew by marriage), Kimura, and GT's son Sherab Gyamtsho.



Pl. 28a-c Two of Gergan Tharchin's close acquaintances who never knew that Tharchin was an undercover agent for the British Raj were: (a) the then Captain David L. Snellgrove (shown here in his military uniform), later to become one of the world's greatest Tibetological scholars; and (b) Atuk Tshering, one of the Babu's closest and most intimate friends he ever had (see large photo). Ironically, both these men were themselves at one time or another involved in secret intelligence work: Snellgrove during the War years of 1943 to 1945 at New Delhi, Atuk much later by his rising through the ranks of India's Central Intelligence apparatus to become Assistant Director of India's State Intelligence Bureau before his retirement in 1953.

The second photo of Snellgrove, taken within the Tharchin compound in either 1953 or 1954, was occasioned when in both those years the rising scholar had made return visits to Kalimpong after the World War in connection with his Tibetan and Buddhist research; and during these visits he would seek out assistance from his Indo-Tibetan host and the latter's scholar-contacts in the hill town.

The group photo of Tharchin, his wife and Atuk was taken, incidentally, on the occasion in the 1930s of Atuk's Christian baptism at the Macfarlane Memorial Church, shown in the photo's background. Before his death he would lapse back into Tibetan Buddhism.



Pl. 29a-h Here shown are some of those among the numerous cast of characters whose roles—played out in Central and South Asian socio-political and religious affairs—exerted either a direct or indirect effect on the life of Hisao Kimura (Dawa Sangpo), the ex-Japanese agent who served both British Indian Intelligence and Gergan

Tharchin in regard to Tibet (first, the center photo (a), and then, counter-clockwise, (b) through (h), from upper left): Kimura seated with the Tharchins at the latter's Kalimpong home of Dechhen Khang-Zang (as it then appeared), 1948; Phuntsog Wangyal, an early Tibetan Communist; Gedun Chopel, the brilliant but dissolute Amdo monk; Lha Tsering (Lhatseren), Kimura's and GT's superior in Intelligence work related to Tibet, shown on extreme right in same photo with Tharchin who is seated on extreme left; some members of the Tibetan Communist Party, Lhasa, 1947, showing in particular in the second



row, from left: Thuwang (aka: Kesang Tsering) and next to him, Phuntsog Wangyal, and in the top row, center, Yeshe Chompel (Thuwang and Y. Chompel being brothers—younger and older, respectively—of P. Wangyal); Geshe Thupten Wangyal (Geshe La), famed Kalmuck Mongolian Lama, here garbed in a Tibetan chuba; the two American OSS officers sent by President F.D. Roosevelt to Central Asia in search of a new supply route to the U.S.'s wartime ally China against Japan: on right, Major Ilya Tolstoy, and on left, Captain Brooke Dolan, at Lhasa, 1942; and, finally, one of the preeminent Buddhist monks of Outer Mongolia, the high incarnate Lama, Dilowa Gegen.



Pl. 30a-e Presented here is a photo montage of the beloved Kalmuck Mongolian Lama, Geshe Thupten Wangyal (Geshe La), whose long and eventful life (1901-83) produced one of the most remarkable and fascinating careers imaginable, and that encompassed much of the world geographically before coming to its close. Included among the many prominent individuals whom the Geshe interacted with in more than passing fashion were such divergent personalities as Ngawang Lobsang Dorjjeff (the latter his personal "root-lama"), Sir Charles Bell (whom he served as interpreter in Asia, 1934-5), Marco Pallis (the Geshe serving as personal guru for four months in England to this famed Tibetologist), Tsarong Shape (with whom the Geshe engaged in several business ventures), Hisao Kimura, the renowned Western Tibetologist David Snellgrove, Thubten Jigme Norbu (see below), and, not least, Gergan Tharchin. Here, then, clockwise from upper left, are several photos of Geshe La at various eventful periods in his kaleidoscopic career that included teaching Mongolian and Tibetan languages at Columbia University in New York in 1956-7, and after that a stint on the American Trust Territory Island of Saipan in the western Pacific teaching basic Tibetan grammar to illiterate Khampas being trained secretly by the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency as future guerrillas in the unsuccessful struggle against the Chinese occupiers of Tibet, where also Thubten J. Norbu was serving the CIA as primary interpreter in other classroom courses organized for the Khampas. (The Geshe would himself exit the CIA's Tibet program in late 1960 and devote the rest of his life to discipling Western converts to Buddhism and teaching and writing on the essentials of Tibetan Buddhism at his Freewood Acres NJ USA monastery.) In the (a) photo can be seen Geshe La with GT, taken in the spring of 1937 at Kalimpong; (b) shows the Geshe on the left, some 20 years later (1954) and looking much thinner and older, along with Tharchin, the latter's wife Karma Dechhen, and her nephew Ringzin Wangpo, a Theravada Buddhist monk and well-known Tibetan linguistic scholar, probably taken in the garden of the Tharchin compound; (c) a photo of Geshe La taken in most likely the late 1950s when involved with the CIA; (d) the Geshe, taken most probably in the 1970s; and finally a photo of Geshe La shortly before his death in 1983.



Pl. 31a-e In early 1946 the Dilowa Hutukhu from Outer Mongolia had made his way to Kalimpong from Chungking, China, where he had formerly been held by the Chinese Nationalists during World War Two but then released after hostilities had ceased. Hosted and aided immeasurably by Tharchin during a 4-month stay in the hill station, this high incarnate Lama would go on to Lhasa where he would remain till 1948/9. During this period the Dilowa became one of GT's key informants in his secret intelligence-gathering efforts for the British concerning many matters and events pertaining to Tibet and other areas of Central Asia. The center photo above shows GT and Dilowa Gegen standing together in 1946 in front of the Tibet Mirror Press building at Kalimpong.

In about 1949 the Dilowa was greatly assisted by both GT and Professor Owen Lattimore of Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore MD USA (who would later become a senior U.S. State Department official) in gaining entrance into the U.S. that he might serve as primate of all Mongol Buddhists in that country. Settling in Farmingdale NJ he became the spiritual leader of nearly 100 Russian Kalmucks of Mongolian ancestry who had found their way to America as displaced persons from among the thousands of their ancestral countrymen who

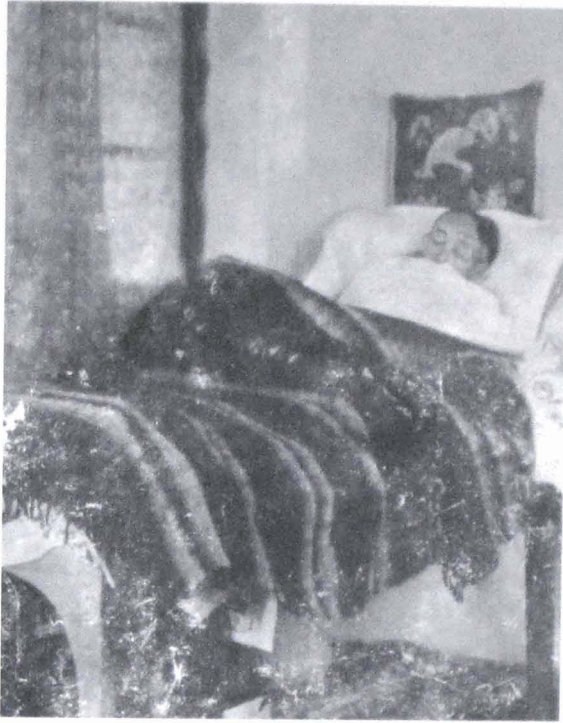


like them had been caught up in the vagaries of the European War of 1939-45. The Dilowa would also serve as research adviser on Mongolian affairs at Johns Hopkins' School of International Relations, of which Professor Lattimore was Director for a number of years. The Buddhist primate would eventually die of cancer in New York in 1965. Dilowa Gegen maintained contact with GT by correspondence either directly himself or else through the letter-writing assistance of Lattimore.

Here in clockwise fashion from upper left are several photos showing: (b) the Mahayana Buddhist temple of the Kalmucks at Farmingdale housed within what had formerly been a garage (note the symbols of the two deer and Dharma wheel under the front eaves of the temple's entrance); (c) the Dilowa Hutukhu happily ensconced on opening day in his spiritual retreat headquarters within the converted garage; (d) some of the nearly 100 members of his Kalmuck Mongolian congregation (note both prayer wheel and rosary beads being held by several of the women); and (e) the presence on this same day at the temple of Pearl S. Buck, Nobel Prize-winning American novelist, who took an active interest in the Dilowa and the Farmingdale Kalmucks.



Pl. 32a-g A photo montage of Gergan Tharchin and his first wife Karma Dechhen (KD) during the last decade of KD's life, noticing first the large group photo, followed by the remaining photos, clockwise, from upper left: a Kalimpong (Kpg) studio portrait, late 1948, showing GT, KD, their son Sherab Gyamtsho (SGT) at age 12 (standing left), and KD's sister's two sons, the older Ringzin Wangpo (seated left) and the younger Tshering Norbu—who came to Kpg from Lhasa to join the Tharchin family somewhat later than Ringzin had done and who, as a soldier in the Indian Army, would ultimately be killed in action by the PLA in Ladakh during the Sino-Indian Border War, 1962; a picture of the mother of these two nephews of GT (by marriage), the photo having been taken at Lhasa, probably by GT during his first visit there, 1923-4; the four-person photo, taken in about 1948, shows GT, KD, SGT (at age 11-12) and Tshering Norbu, outside the Tharchin home at Mackenzie Cottage, shortly after which the family would relocate up along K.D. Pradhan Road in 1948, with the Tibet Mirror Press office now to occupy the Cottage while the Press Room itself would remain down the slope from the Cottage along Rishi Road at Tenth Mile; the next photo shows KD and son SGT (age 13-14) in about 1950 standing in an area adjacent to (off-camera) Dechhen Khang-Zang—the new Tharchin home situated along the upper reaches of K.D. Pradhan Road on property purchased in 1947/48 by GT; the Tharchins are shown in next photo standing with Tshering Norbu in Kalimpong, 1950; in the next to last photo is shown the Tharchin couple standing within the grounds of their Kpg residential compound in 1950 or 1951; while the last picture shows the couple several years later standing together outside Dechhen Khang-Zang, just a year, perhaps, before KD's death in Feb. 1955.



Pl. 33a Karma Dechhen Tharchin shown resting in bed inside one of the cottages of Kalimpong's Charteris Hospital, early Feb. 1955. Both Rev. Tharchin and his son Sherab lived with her in the cottage for about three months, GT sleeping on a bed to the right of Karma's, while Sherab had sleeping and kitchen quarters in the room off to the left of Karma's bed. It is believed she died two weeks after this photo was taken. The funeral service was held at Macfarlane Church following her death on 24 Feb.



Pl. 33c A week or so later, GT and son revisited Karma Dechhen's grave to remember and reflect on her life.



Pl. 33b Mourners are shown gathered at Karma's gravesite within the Scots Mission cemetery called God's Acre. The three central figures in the photo are, right to left: Rev. Tharchin; Macfarlane Church Pastor P.S. Targain, who is offering up a prayer; and GT's son Sherab, at the time only 19 years old.



Pl. 33d Ever afterwards for the rest of his life Rev. Tharchin would faithfully visit Karma's grave every Sunday following the Tibetan Church services, placing flowers and a white kata there in an act of love, remembrance and respect. Here at her grave is shown GT on one of those Sundays, accompanied by his second wife, Margaret Vitants Tharchin, and three of his grandchildren.

The following letter was published in the Himalayan Times on 6th March 1955.

LETTER OF THANKS

I offer my thanks to all the Doctors, Compounders, Sisters, Nurses, Awas and Sweepers in the hospital who were so kind to help at their best to my dear wife during her stay in Charteris hospital.

I offer my thanks to friends who kindly visited us during the long illness of my Dear wife in the hospital and comforted us through prayers and gifts.

I offer my thanks to all the friends far and near who were remembering us in their prayers and words of comfort sent through letters and helped us in various ways during my dear wife's long illness.

I offer my thanks to all kind friends of various caste and creed who helped me and took part in my unbearable sorrow at the time of her funeral ceremony and shared my heavy burden.

I offer my thanks to all the friends far and near who so kindly sent letters and telegrams of sympathy and shared my unbearable sorrow. I could not write individually but through this letter I offer my hearty thanks to all of them.

Lastly I thank God who was and is good to us and to me in my unbearable sorrow.

"LET HIS WILL BE DONE".

I am delighted that on 24/2/55. God has taken my wife from this troublesome world to His Glory and has given us the assurance that we shall meet again and remain there always where there is no sorrow and separation.

May the Lord help me to get ready to go there where my dear wife went happily and peacefully.

"DEAR BUMO WE WILL MEET AT THE FEET OF JESUS. AMEN."

1-3-55.

G. THARCHIN,

གསར་འགྲུལ་ཐོན་དུ་སྤྱི་ཚོགས་བཅུ་པའི་ཚོས་ཤར་འཁོད་
རྒྱུ་ཚོས་ རེ་བར་པར་འདྲིའམ་མ་ཚད།

Pl. 34 "We are thankful" to the "many Tibetans and non-Christian friends" who "visited us" in the Charteris Hospital cottage "to express their sympathy and kindness—for they consoled us and remembered us with their prayers, gifts and cooperation." So noted Gergan Tharchin later following the death of his wife Karma Dechhen. But because of various pressures and responsibilities he could not send letters of thanks individually. Instead, he expressed his gratitude publicly through the local District Darjeeling newspaper, *The Himalayan Times*, which he subsequently reprinted in an issue of his own *Tibet Mirror* newspaper, as shown here.



Pl. 35a-k On this and the following Plate page is presented a collection of photos highlighting some scenes in GT's life dating from the days and years following the death of Karma Dechhen (KD). But he would now be married to his second wife, Margaret (Vitants) Tharchin (MT), who were married on the 2d of April 1956. Just prior to that date, however, Margaret (upper left) had been serving as an independent missionary at Ghoom where she had grown very close to three of GT's closest friends of yesteryear there, and were still so: the three Anilas—Finnish Mission missionaries Kempe, Treshbech and Juriva. The latter two, together with Margaret, traveled over to Kalimpong (Kpg) to console Rev. Tharchin in his continuing bereavement over the loss of his wife. This time together with GT occurred during Sept. 1955, some seven months following KD's passing. Margaret was not someone new to GT, for the two had met on several occasions prior to this moment. Subsequent to this consoling visit of these three, the two Anilas, after much prayer, proposed to GT and Margaret that they should seriously consider a life together, to which counsel both consented, and who shortly thereafter were engaged at Ghoom.

During the ensuing courtship GT, shown here formally dressed in Western attire in a photo taken at Calcutta in Nov. 1948 when 58 years old, presented to Margaret, on 17 Oct. 1955, this very photo that on its back was inscribed in ink by him a message to her, as follows: "With God's love, Tharchin. 17.10.5—Psalm 40:8, Psalm 32:8, Isaiah 58:11—three verses from the Judeo-Christian Scriptures which convey the following thoughts: a love for God's will and the keeping of His teaching in one's heart; God's desire to teach and advise His followers concerning the way they should go; and God's promise to supply His faithful ones with strength and well-being even as a garden which, possessing a spring of water that never runs dry, shall always have water aplenty.

The two would be married at Kpg's Macfarlane Church the following April in a ceremony officiated by Rev. P.S. Targain. In the upper right photo, taken later that same day in the rear garden of the Himalayan Hotel where had just been served to many guests a sumptuous wedding luncheon inside the Hotel, can be seen Tharchin and Margaret, with GT's (and now MT's) son Sherab Gyamtsho standing at far left, and at far right Rev. and Mrs. Targain. MT was 55 years old; GT, nearly 66.

Lower left photo shows the couple on their honeymoon at Ghoom Mission's celebrated Evelyn (Enfield) Cottage, to where they had gone immediately following the luncheon, where they spent some ten days before returning to Kpg. The lower middle photo, believed to have probably been taken a year later, shows MT, GT and son SGT (in his early 20s here) standing together outside but near the Tharchin compound, Kpg; while in the last photo displayed on the first of these two Plate pages devoted to GT and MT, Tharchin is shown in Kurseong, the hill station just south of Ghoom, 1957.



In the upper left photo on this second Plate page can be seen MT within the Tharchin compound standing with a Leh Ladakhi non-Christian guest on the left and Ringzin Wangpo's little daughter standing next to MT, taken in 1965/6(?). And shown in the upper middle and upper right photos are the two Tharchins at leisure moments within their residential compound taken in the late 1960s and 1968, respectively.



Two of some of the last photos taken while MT was still living are displayed above and at right: the first taken in 1971 or '72, and showing the couple seated at a table in their family compound's main house sitting room, along with two of GT's grandchildren, David and Ruth Tharchin; the second is a photo of the main house as viewed from the rear of the original, much smaller residence built in 1948 for GT and KD: the Dechhen Kang-Zang (or "Yellow House"), taken one or two years before Margaret's death in 1974. GT would pass away two years later.



Pl. 36a,b Dr. Albert Craig (upper left in photo at left), shown here with American missionary Lillian Carlson and the Tharchins—Gergan and Margaret. Photo was probably taken in the mid-1960s. Dr. Craig, a long-time Medical Superintendent of the Scots Mission's Charteris Hospital in Kalimpong, had greatly encouraged GT to return to the Mission and the Mission's Tibetan work in the early 1950s from which the Indo-Tibetan catechist had resigned in 1946 over differences he had had with the then Scots Mission Head, Rev. George Mill. GT did so, and shortly afterwards he was ordained as a Church of Scotland Minister and resumed pastoral service among the Tibetan Christians in and around the hill station.

But during 1949 Dr. Craig had also served as a most eager facilitator in seeing implemented a grandiose plan, involving Gergan Tharchin centrally, which had been put forth in a letter to Dr. Craig (see below) by the highest ecclesiastical official of the Scots Mission's "umbrella" Church governing body, the United Church of Northern India: the latter's Moderator and the Convener that same year of its General Assembly's Foreign Mission Committee, the Rt. Rev. Dr. A. Ralla Ram. In the end, however, the plan had to be abandoned, given the unfavorable geopolitical realities for that late date in Tibetan history. Nevertheless, this quite remarkable episode, recounted in detail in the present volume's Ch. 23, provides further evidence of the stature and respect which by this time Babu Tharchin and his Tibet Mirror paper had achieved among certain circles in both India and Tibet.

United Church of Northern India.

<p><i>Moderators:-</i> THE REV. DR. A. RALLA RAM, ALLAHABAD.</p>	<p><i>Executive Secretary & Stated Clerk</i> THE REV. KENNETH YOHAN MASIH, U. C. C. MISSION NEEMUCH, C. I</p>	<p><i>Treasurer:-</i> DR. B. B. MALVEA, EWING CHRISTIAN COLLEGE ALLAHABAD.</p>
<p><i>Vice Moderator:-</i> THE REV. DR. J. KELLOCK, BOMBAY.</p>	<p><i>Ref. No.</i> _____ <i>Date</i> _____</p>	<p><i>Statistician:-</i> RAJ BANES GEORGE HANBER HANBERT HOUSE (SIGOUR) DARJEELING.</p>

Dr. A. Craig,
 Charteris Hospital,
 Kalimpong, W. Bengal.

9th April 1949

My dear Dr. Craig:

I am grateful to you for your very kind letter of 26th March. You hardly know what a joy it will bring to me personally if our Foreign Mission should actually be located in Tibet. My initial difficulty is that I am told that Tibet is a closed land for Christian Missionary work. Is it that that baffling country only objects to European missionaries, and that Indians and Tibetans doing this work are acceptable to the authorities in that land? When I was in Kalimpong the same opinion was given to me by everybody, which you have now expressed in your letter. Every one said that Mr. Tharchin is the man who should take up this work. I am at once writing to him and a copy of my letter is enclosed.

I believe that no sooner the details regarding Foreign Mission work in Lhasa are settled your Church Council would be only delighted to send him forth with the blessings of the whole Church and laying hands on him as an ordained minister of the Gospel.

I should have no difficulty in letting him go to Lhasa with his Printing Press and the expense of the journey would be gladly borne.

Your letter is truly a breeze from the hills and has proved to be a tonic in hot Allahabad.

With my kindest regards to you and the family,

I am, Your grateful friend,

A. Ralla Ram.

Enc. 1
 ARR/YSS

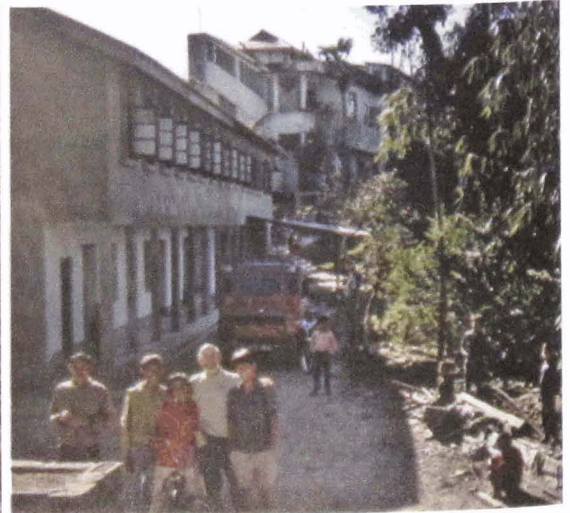


Pl. 37a-h On this and the following Plate page are some scenes related to the Himalayan Children's Home (HCH) in Kalimpong founded in 1962 by the Tharchins—GT and Margaret Tharchin (MT)—and administered by faith in their God that the needed resources to support the Home would be available from various contributors—both locally and abroad—when necessary. The Home is still in operation to this day, having been faithfully superintended jointly all these intervening years by Pastor S.G. Tharchin (now deceased, 2005) and his wife Nini, who continues in that capacity despite the loss of her husband (both shown in the last photo on the next Plate page standing with the author just opposite to the late Pastor's office that is off camera), and catering as always to the needs of the indigent children, regardless of race, creed or gender.

Upper left: MT is shown with the very first children admitted to the newly established Home, standing together on the grounds of the Tharchin family compound, Kalimpong. These five girls, all of the Lepcha race, are still alive today and "living as good Christian ladies": a mark, indeed, of the long-lasting spiritual fruit of the Home under MT's and GT's care.

Upper right: a photo of GT and MT on the roof of the original HCH structure (probably taken in the mid-1960s), standing with some of the HCH children that has numbered as many as 100 at any given period of time.

In fact, in the picture immediately above can be seen many of the children who were being cared for in 1987. They are shown assembled in front of the "yellow House" (with bluish-green shutters) or Dechhen Khang-Zang; this latter name meaning, "The good house of a big family," having been—in both transliterated





English letters and Tibetan script—inscribed on a sign board affixed to the upper façade of the building which for many years since 1948 had been the residence for GT and his first wife Karma Dechhen.

A year earlier (1986) there had occurred the beginnings of a needy renovation of the main HCH dormitory (shown under construction for this purpose in the lower left photo on the previous Plate page). This had been made possible through the financial contribution extended to the Home by several Christians in America who were supporting this work among the less fortunate in the Kalimpong area. And to this photo's right can be seen a subsequent picture, taken in late 1987, that shows the nearly completed renovated dormitory at left and, behind it, a partial view of the Tharchin main house. In the foreground, incidentally, the author is seen standing with two of HCH's older responsible boys at the time, together with the Home's custodian, along with Pastor Tharchin's youngest son, Joshua, with bike.

Above left photo: From atop the stairway which leads up to the front entrance to the Tharchin main house one can look down upon the roof of the nearly completed renovated dormitory (late 1987) whose front left had been set aside for the late Pastor's office and front right a newly constructed guest room that later came to serve as additional office space. And at the photo's far end can be glimpsed a partial view of the "Yellow House" or Dechhen Khang-Zang that is chiefly used today as storage space and temporary living quarters for staff.

Above right: a partial view of the family garden area, and the rear stairway approach up and into the Tharchin main house. A few years after Karma Dechhen's death in 1955, the Tharchin family (GT, MT, and SGT/Nini) moved up from the Yellow House into this main house following the completion of its construction in 1960. Some of the HCH girls have their sleeping quarters here in the main house.





Pl. 38a-d In the face of a Tibetan refugee emergency of monumental proportions (88,000 having come over the frontier into India and Sikkim alone), what followed was an extraordinary spate of Christian (and non-Christian) social, medical, educational, economic, as well as Christian evangelistic outreaches, to a dislocated, confused and suffering people—all of which greatly helped to ease their plight as they made an effort to begin a new life abroad. Wrote the late Dawa Norbu, out of his firsthand experience in India as a very



young refugee himself: "Volunteers came to [our] rescue. These strangers, who had no racial, religious or national affinities with us, only a common human bond, loved and cared for us when we most needed them.... [They] treated and nursed us like real parents, without a patronizing air or any sign of revulsion at our unhealthy state..."

Two such "strangers" who volunteered their service were Gergan Tharchin, whose humanitarianism towards these less fortunate ones became legendary and is recounted in detail in Ch. 27; and Mrs. Welthy (Blakesley Honsinger) Fisher, the former American Methodist missionary to India who has been mentioned several times in the present narrative. Both the Babu and Mrs. Fisher (top left photo), were called to Mussoorie, NW India by Dalai Lama XIV in early 1960 to render educational assistance to his fledgling Exile government. Both of them—along with Tharchin's former student at Gyantse, Prince Jigme Taring (standing with His Holiness in top right photo, taken at Dharamsala in 1966)—would serve together on an educational advisory committee. And into the hands of Prince Taring and his wife Mary (also seen in top right photo) would be entrusted by the Dalai Lama the guidance and principalship of the Mussoorie School, an institution which His Holiness had himself founded in March 1960 as the first Tibetan residential school for refugee children. The Prince would later write to Tharchin Babu thanking him for his helpful contribution in getting the school's existence underway.



The structure shown in photo at left used to be a wool godown (warehouse) of one of the wealthier Marwari merchants of Kalimpong. Located at Topkhana not far from the Tharchin residence along K.D. Pradhan Road, it had belonged to Shri Ram Nandaram till it was voluntarily converted into the Central School for Tibetans in around 1966 that now became a residential educational institution for Tibetan children. From 1959 to 1965, incidentally, the Central School had originally been located a half mile away in another wool godown, this one having belonged to another and far wealthier merchant-trader, Sandutsang from Tibet (the one who in 1944 at Kalimpong, it may be recalled, had hosted Phuntsog Wangyal and Ngawang Kalsang). It had only been a day school set aside for the educational needs of the Tibetan refugee children as they, with their parents, began streaming across the Indo-Tibetan frontier in massive numbers from 1959 onward. For many years after 1965 the residential Central School was under the direction of Principal T. Lhawang La (who was also Principal of Darjeeling's Central Tibetan School), but in 1993 the Kalimpong School came under the principalship of Professor Dawa Norbu's younger brother, Kesang Tenzing, shown in the bottom left photo with his wife, children and the author. At the turn of the present century he once again accepted the call to assume this same post. It was to this School, as with many other schools for Tibetans, that in the 1960s and early '70s Babu Tharchin would contribute, gratis, numerous copies of his Tibet Mirror Press-published educational texts and multilingual dictionaries. (For additional details on this aspect of the Babu's generosity and his assistance in furthering the education of the Tibetan refugee children, see the next Plate.)





Pl. 38aa-bb The group photo above, taken alongside the road just outside the Tharchins' residential compound, has as its central figure—holding a white Tibetan khata—Mrs. Dorris [sic] Shelton Still, who visited with the Babu and family for one week during the spring of 1964. She and her sister, both born at Dartsedo along the Sino-Tibetan border, were the daughters of the well-known American medical missionary couple, Dr. Albert and Mrs. (Flora) Shelton, who labored for many years in and around Batang in Kham, East Tibet, till his murder in 1922 at the hands of roving bandits. In the photograph GT is shown standing to the left of Mrs. Still, GT's wife Margaret appears to the extreme right of her, and his daughter-in-law Nini, wearing glasses, is to the left of GT. Her husband, S.G. Tharchin, took the photo.

As a result of her visit, Mrs. Still, with the consent of her mother, agreed with GT to have the Tibet Mirror Press reprint two long out-of-print Tibetan-language works by Mrs. Shelton (who would die in 1966 at age 96) which the Babu would subsequently distribute in thousands of copies free of charge to the classes of Tibetan refugee children enrolled in various Central Schools for Tibetans which the Indian government had greatly aided in establishing throughout the Subcontinent, including one in Kalimpong which alone boasted nearly a thousand students. These two works of Mrs. Shelton—written with especially Tibetan children in mind—were a World Geography, and a Story Book entitled Lhamo Namthar that included several Bible stories in its anthology. Both works became very popular among the Tibetan students. GT would also end up reprinting her Tibetan Bible Concordance which, if obtained by Tibetans, could aid them in learning English as well as introduce them to the Judeo-Christian Scriptures. But the Babu would likewise distribute gratis to these same refugee students during the 1960s and '70s thousands of copies of a considerable number of his own works produced by his busy Press; e.g., his English-Tibetan-Hindi Pocket Dictionary, his Hindi-Tibetan Self-Taught, and his Tibetan Primer of Current Hand Writing.

But another consequence of Mrs. Still's visit was the financial subsidy the Babu eventually received from a friend of hers in Arizona State where she lived that was donated for the printing of Gergan Tharchin's monumental Tibetan-Tibetan Dictionary, whose anticipated vocabulary would contain an incredible 58,551 words which by this time he had already compiled since having begun the endeavor back in 1930. Moreover, even before Mrs. Still's friend, Walter W. Ross of Beta Sigma Phi, had come through with the promised half-subsidy amount, the other half needed to help in covering the Dictionary's total printing costs had already been committed by the University of Washington (Seattle) in conjunction with the prestigious Ford Foundation. The representative at the University who had personally negotiated the grant with GT by both correspondence and a personal visit to Kalimpong during August of 1964 was none other than Professor Turrell V. Wylie, the then Executive Chairman of the Inner Asia Project sponsored by the Far Eastern and Russian

Institute of the University of Washington (see copy below of the official letter which outlined the agreement signed by Tharchin and the Institute's Director).

Wrote Wylie in a letter to the Babu in 1965: "Your Dictionary will be...a valuable and everlasting contribution to Tibetan studies..." Unfortunately, for scholars and linguists alike, for various reasons the Babu had to terminate the printing of his immense Lexicon, he having only been able to print up through the 10th letter fully and into the beginning of the 11th of the 30-letter Tibetan alphabet. He had hoped to have finished printing it at the latest by 1969 as his contribution in expanding the availability of Tibetan literature in opposition to "the Communist Chinese" who, he wrote Professor Wylie in 1967, "are trying to destroy it."

UNIVERSITY OF WASHINGTON
FAR EASTERN AND RUSSIAN INSTITUTE
SEATTLE

Mr. G. Tharchin
Publisher
The Tibet Mirror Press
Kalimpong, West Bengal
India

June 1, 1964

Dear Mr. Tharchin:

Enclosed please find a check for \$875.00, the first payment of our support for the publication of the Tibetan-Tibetan Dictionary. This letter of transmittal will constitute the only formal agreement relative to the total subsidy of \$3,500 which we will send to you in four installments. The second installment will reach you before the end of 1964.

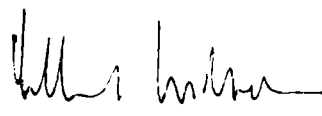
The stipulations of this agreement are that the final copies will acknowledge the assistance of the University of Washington and of the Ford Foundation; and that the University of Washington be given ten (10) copies of the printed dictionary. These ten copies are to be sent to Dr. Turrell Wylie as the representative for the University.

Please indicate your acceptance of this understanding by signing two copies of this letter and returning them in the enclosed envelope. The third copy of the letter is for your files.

It is our pleasure to be associated with you in this important endeavor. We look forward with eager anticipation to this valuable addition to our research library.

Very sincerely yours,

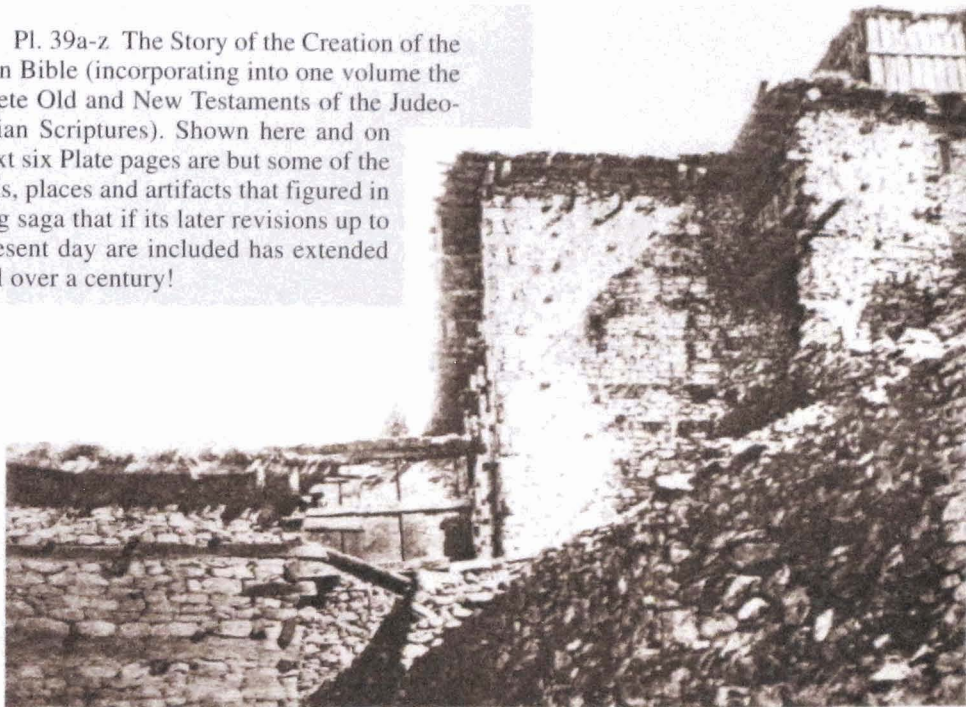

G. Tharchin
The Tibet Mirror Press


Hellmut Wilhelm, Director
Far Eastern and Russian Institute

HW:mah

enc: Check #26278, 5-28-64, \$875.00
2 signed copies of above letter
Return envelope

Pl. 39a-z The Story of the Creation of the Tibetan Bible (incorporating into one volume the complete Old and New Testaments of the Judeo-Christian Scriptures). Shown here and on the next six Plate pages are but some of the persons, places and artifacts that figured in its long saga that if its later revisions up to the present day are included has extended to well over a century!



a Lotsabai Monastery at Kanum, near Poo, Indo-Tibet, where the Hungarian linguist-scholar, Csoma de Kőrös, predecessor to Jaeschke (see next photo) in the study and translation of the Tibetan language, labored devotedly through four harsh winters (1827-31) in linguistic studies that resulted in the publication in 1834 of his Tibetan-English Dictionary and Grammar of the Tibetan Language in English.



b H. A. Jaeschke.



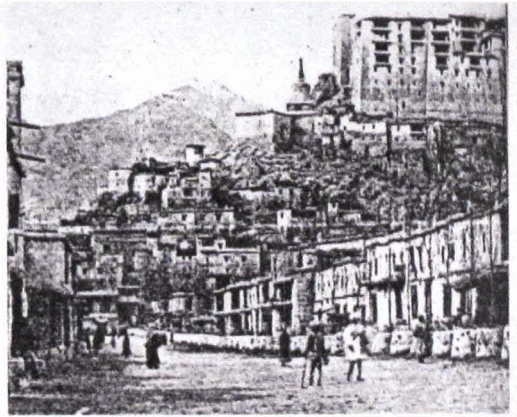
c A. H. Francke.



d David Macdonald.



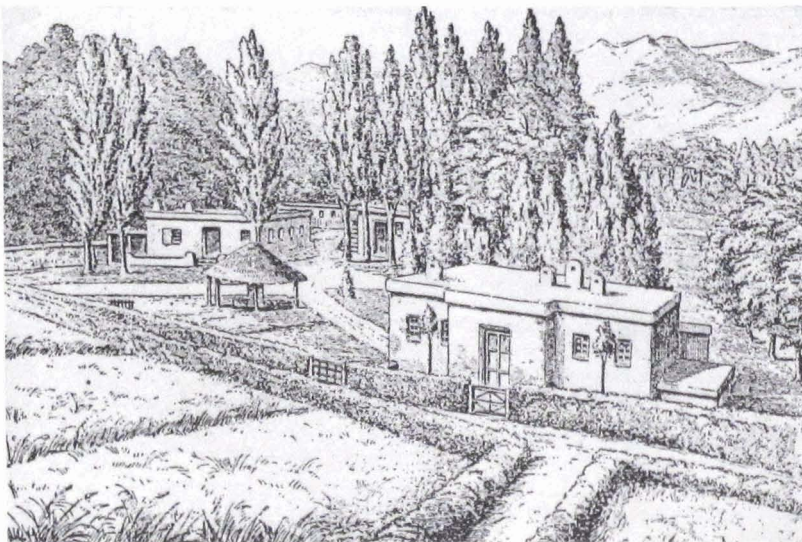
e Kyelang Moravian mission station, Lahul, Indo-Tibet.



g The bazaar at Leh.



h Rev. Fredrik Franson.



f Pencil sketch (by Moravian Br. F.A. Redslob) of the mission compound, Leh, Ladakh.



i Rev. A.W. and Mrs. Heyde.



j Rev. John Fredrickson.

TENTATIVE EDITION.

༄༅། །བོད་ཡི་མཁས་དཔལ།།

།ཕྱ་ལྷོ་སེམས་རྒྱས་ཀྱིས་བར་དུ་བསྐྲུན་བཤོ།

—:0:—

PRIMER
OF
STANDARD TIBETAN.

by
EDWARD AMUNDSEN.
BRITISH & FOREIGN BIBLE SOCIETY.

Printed at
The scand. All. Tibetan Mission Press.
GHOOM, DARJEELING.
[1903]

k A fine example (see also two of its text pages next) of a work issued by Ghoom's Scandinavian Alliance Tibetan Mission Press which would also issue a very good production of the so-called Ghoom Revised New Testament during this same year of 1903.

LESSON 2. (4)

DIALOGUE.

This dialogue is intended to furnish the beginner with a few, common sentences, so that teacher & student may exchange thoughts by referring to it.

Table with 3 columns: English text, Romanized Tibetan, and Tibetan script. Rows include greetings, compliments, and requests for clarity.

SECTION 1.

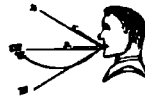
PREPARATORY SERIES.

Table with 3 columns: English text, Romanized Tibetan, and Tibetan script. Rows include phrases like 'That is good', 'It is late now', and 'Good-bye!'.

1. "Good morning" is not the literal meaning, but these phrases are used similarly. 2. Lit: "The fame of His Honour is far-reaching." Such complimentary terms are common. 3. The romanization in this dialogue is C. T. colloquialism.

LESSON 3. (3) THE THIRTY CONSONANTS.

གམམ་ཕྱེད་བསྐྱམས་བཅུ་གེ།



(The figures refer to the tones)

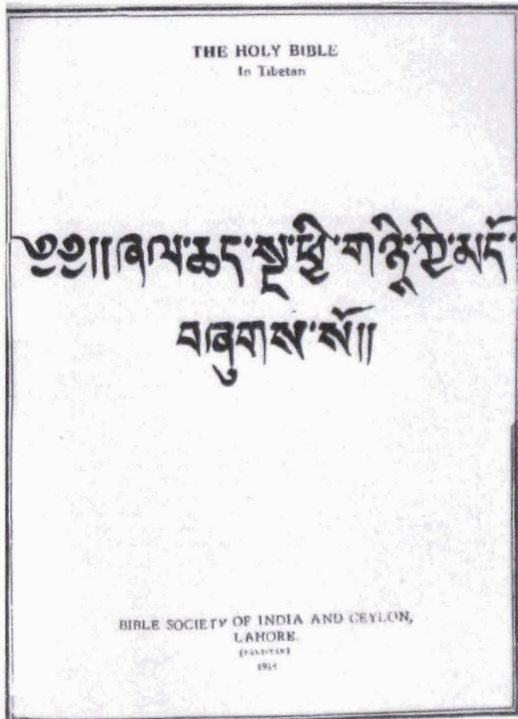
Table listing 30 consonants with their Romanized forms and tone numbers (e.g., 1ྐ Ka, 2ྐ Ts, 3ྐ Tsa, etc.).



m Mrs. John (Isabella Lucy Bird) Bishop



o The chief translator of the Tibetan Bible, the Rev. Yoseb Gergan at work at Leh.



n The title page of the Bible in Tibetan printed and published at Lahore in 1948.



p Three key participants in the story of the creation of the Tibetan Bible, shown in attendance, among others, at the Moravian West Himalaya Mission Field Conference, Leh, August 1934. The three in question are standing in the middle row: Mission Superintendent Rev. Walter Asboe (far left), Rev. Joseb Gergan (far right), and Bishop Fred E. Peter (next to Joseb).



q Rev. Chandu Ray.



r Rev. M. Grant Griebenow.



s Revs. Gergan Tharchin (left) and Eliyah T. Phuntsok
(at Landour?), 1960.



u Tharchin's son Sherab and his nephew by
marriage, Theravada Buddhist Lama D.
Ringzin Wangpo, late summer 1962.



t Mrs. Phuntsok (left), the Tharchins (center)
and Rev. Phuntsok at Kalimpong, 1962.



v The young Eliyah Phuntsok,
photo taken sometime after his
Christian conversion in 1935.

༄༅། ། རང་ཅག་གི་གཙོ་བོ་དང་སྐྱབས་མགོན་
 ཡེ་ལུ་མ་གཤི་ཞལ་རྒྱུ་ཆད་གསར་བ་
 བཞུགས་སོ། །།



y A new-generation Tibetan Bible translator, the late Rev. Stephen Hishey, a son-in-law of Rev. E.T. Phuntsok.

༄༅། ། དེ་བལྟ་བུམ་མེད་མི་འཛིན་མི་འཛིན་ཏེ་ཡ
 རོ་མ་ལྷན་སྐྱོན་རྒྱུ་ཡོད།
 བཞུགས་

w Title page of original 1970-71 Revised Tibetan New Testament created by Revs. Vittoz, Phuntsok, Tharchin.



z Another younger successor-generation Tibetan Bible translator, the late Rev. Peter Rapgey, brother-in-law of Tharchin's daughter-in-law Nini Tharchin.



x Rev. Tharchin leading the service of dedication on the occasion of publication of the 1970-71 Revised New Testament, Summer 1971, in the presence of the Tibetan Christian congregation, Macfarlane Church, Kalimpong.

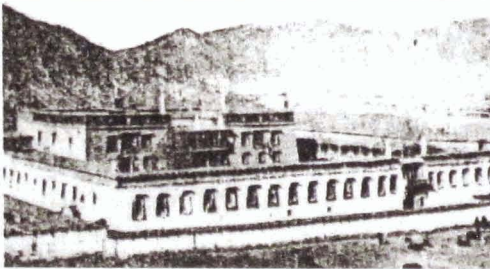
Pl. 39aa-ee A photo montage on the Life of David L. Tenzing. Formerly a young Incarnate High Priest or Abbot of the Tibetan Buddhist monastery of Odser near Markham in East Tibet, he came to know Christ in a profound way through the timely assistance of Rev. Tharchin who was even the one to baptize David. His extraordinary story is recounted in detail within the End-Notes of Ch. 30 of the present volume, revealing as it does how significant the Christian Scriptures, finally made available in the Tibetan language, were in bringing a staunchly Tibetan Buddhist to faith in Christ Jesus. It also illustrates the vital role Tharchin the Christian pastor continued to play in meeting the spiritual needs of the refugees from Tibet, of whom young David Tenzing was a notable example.



“My Past”—David Tenzing (1942-66), when Odser Gumpa’s High Priest in East Tibet before his conversion to Christ.



Pastor Tharchin, center, as he appeared when ministering to David’s spiritual needs, early to mid-1960s. He is flanked by two of his co-laborers in the Christian gospel.



Odser Monastery, which once belonged to David L. Tenzing.



David in India, after his Christian conversion which had soon afterwards followed a several years’ regime by him of strenuous bodybuilding exercises.



David’s gravesite within the Cemetery of the British Embassy compound, Kathmandu, Nepal, where on 5 January 1995 the author paid his respects to the memory of this dear young disciple of Christ.



Pl. 40 Group photo of the Eastern Himalaya Mission Council of the Church of Scotland Foreign Mission, taken outside Macfarlane Memorial Church following the Council's final session for the year 1954, 27 Oct. Specifically identified by name here are those persons appearing in the photo who had more than passing association with Rev. Tharchin (himself shown standing on extreme right): Rev. George S. Mill, the Scots Mission Head and a former missionary of the Scots Mission to the Tibetans, seated on ground, center; Rev. R. S. Mollommu, Gangtok Church Pastor, center row, seated 4th from left; on the latter's left, Rev. Dr. Homer C. Duncan, Graham's Homes School Principal and Minister of the Catherine Graham Chapel there; next to Duncan at right, Rev. Chhotuk T. (C.T.) Pazo, Tharchin's very dear friend and highly respected pioneer and leader of the Sikkim Church; Rev. D.H. Mukhia, Kurseong Church Pastor, standing at extreme left; Rev. Gavin Fairservice, former SUMI Principal (1945-47), standing 3d from left; Rev. William M. Scott, former Scots Mission Head and former—and soon to be again—SUMI Principal, standing 4th from right; and Rev. P.S. Targain, another of GT's dear friends and the Macfarlane Church Pastor, standing next to Rev. Tharchin.

Pl. 41 What is shown on the ten Plate pages which follow this introduction is a variety of photos and other illustrations which reveal a number of the more distinctive sides to the character and personality of the remarkable man known to the world simply as G. Tharchin, and which thus affords to the outside observer unique glimpses into the heart of the man that in some instances perhaps only his family and/or close associates would have recognized as being truly Tharchinesque.

Beginning, then, with the first Plate page of ten, one can see, at upper left, GT clad in the familiar Tibetan chuba and standing in front of the Tibet Mirror Press building, Kalimpong (Kpg), 1949/50. As much as possible, he wished to wear Tibetan garments as but one stratagem he could employ in encouraging others within his ethnic community in India to preserve certain elements of the Tibetan culture he deemed to be of enduring value. Upper right: GT reading the Christian Bible while sitting up in bed one morning in the early 1970s. He was a man of the Scriptures and of prayer, engaging in both these spiritual exercises daily throughout his life.

Middle left photo: Though he could not have any birth children of his own, GT and Karma Dechhen (KD) adopted two into their family, both shown in this group picture taken out front of the Tibetan Mission House, Kpg, 1940: Sherab Gyamtsho, age 4, standing in front of KD, and his much older adopted sister Marium (born 1928/9) shown at far left, who died two years after this photo was taken. Next to Marium is KD's sister from Lhasa, while at far right, with GT's arm around him, is that sister's son, Ringzin Wangpo (here in his early 20s). Not only would the Tharchins legally adopt two needy children into their family, but also—at various times during his lifetime at Kpg, and for lengthy periods in each case—GT took to himself within his family residence several teen-aged boys and young men and generously treated them as sons: e.g., the aforementioned Ringzin Wangpo from Lhasa, Sonam T. Kazi of Sikkim, Drasho Rigzin Dorje of Bhutan (shown here in middle center photo when speaking decades later at a SUMI anniversary function), and Hisao Kimura of Japan.

Middle right: GT on horseback, with his Lepcha gardener/sycc, Mali. Ritualistically, each workday morning GT—once he had established the family compound up along K.D. Pradhan Road after 1945—would ride down the hillside to his Mackenzie Cottage Press office, Mali returning the horse to the Tharchin residence; after which, the sycc would take Sherab on horseback to the latter's school at the Graham's Homes, and, again, bring him back from school in late afternoon. One final time, as part of this daily routine, Mali would lead the horse down to the Press office in the evening and collect GT.

Lower left photo: Shown here is a lengthy letter in Tibetan sent GT from a high Lhasa official, 1948, written on thin scroll paper. Some idea of the letter's physical length can be had by noticing to its left GT's son Sherab, age 12, standing next to the unfurled paper scroll which exceeds in height GT's son! Such letters received from Lhasa government officials were not uncommon, and further demonstrates how important Tibetan officials deemed the Indo-Tibetan Babu to be at this critical time in Tibet's history.

Here next is evidence of a lighter side to GT's personality. While in Calcutta one day, he had a photo studio depict him, illustrated on a postcard, seated in the cockpit of a small plane aloft over the city, with a friend of his depicted going along for the ride! GT must have shared this amusing trick with his family upon returning to Kpg. Besides this kind of indulgence in humor, GT was constantly pulling verbal puns on unsuspecting friends and also at times doing the same on paper within his writings for the newspaper. Furthermore, often gathering children around him on the street, to whom he would parcel out delicious sweets he always carried with him. GT at one point in their chatter together would merrily put to them a statement or question with which he would conclude, in rapid-fire succession in three different languages familiar enough to them (Hindi, Nepali, English), each language's word for: All right—as follows: *achchha? hunchha? o.k.?* The children would invariably break out in uproarious laughter!

On the second Plate page in this series is shown some evidence of the fact that Gergan Tharchin, believe it or not, was a romantic at heart. In the upper left photo GT is seen smiling mischievously as he sits on one of the benches at the famous Lovers Meet, a favorite haunt of young lovers back then and located 8 kms above nearby Teesta Village. Taken of him during the 1920s when he was in his 30s, the photo probably dates to a time prior to his marriage in 1924 to Karma Dechhen, shown at upper right in Sept. 1954 at age 57 with her husband at age 64, happily married and dearly in love with each other. Less than a year later she would pass away.

After KD died, and during the period of courtship between GT and missionary Margaret Vitants (MV) from Latvia in East Europe, GT gave to his future second bride a photo of himself taken in the early 1940s when in his early 50s. And inscribed on its back was the following handwritten inked message, reproduced on this Plate page at middle left: "Love & k 25/11/55" (i.e., Love and kisses, 25 Nov. 1955—the latter the precise date on which he had presented this small memento to MV. Less than six months later they were married. At middle right are shown the two of them in the mid-1960s seated in the Tharchin compound's main house sitting room, smiling meaningfully at each other and holding hands tightly together, the two of them obviously very much in love. Further proof of GT as a true romantic, if any were needed, are the still extant love letters he wrote to his second wife during their courtship and following their marriage in Apr. 1956 after KD had died some 14 months earlier.

A further hallmark of GT's character and personality is portrayed in the two scenes presented next showing Tharchin as a doting grandfather: at lower left, GT is shown with wife Margaret in the same sitting room on the occasion of his grandson David's 3d birthday, 1968, and surrounded at left by some of the orphanage children who were treated as well-nigh regular members of the family; and in the lower right photo GT is shown having almost concluded his prayer time and about to enjoy a loving, relaxing time with his granddaughter

Elizabeth and one of his grandsons, early 1975. This is the only extant photograph of the Babu, incidentally, which shows him sporting a beard!

At the top of the third Plate page: Evidence of GT's thoughtfulness and love towards his adopted son Sherab Gyamtsho is revealed in this inscribed message found on the flyleaf of a volume GT had presented to him in 1947. It was probably considered by that time to be a rare book, published London 1909, and discovered by the father in a Calcutta second-hand bookshop, the kind of reading material he no doubt thought would be of great interest to his 11-year-old son: *Sport and Travel in Both Tibets* by Lady [Minna] Jenkins.

Middle illustration: This brief letter to his 12-year-old son reveals two sides to GT: (a) that though an extremely busy man he was a responsible parent concerned enough about his son's future to take the time and trouble to put his concerns and needful parental challenges on paper so that the son would have his father's words before him always as a reminder. Elsewhere in the present biography of Gergan Tharchin is recorded the testimony by SGT of his father's deep and abiding love for his son. And (b) the letter, typed on an already-used piece of paper (as evidenced by the few typed words of an incomplete writing and shown upside down on the same piece of paper) bears witness to a peculiar trait of GT's to which the rest of the extensive Tharchin Papers bear ample witness: namely, that Tharchin the newspaper editor never discarded any scrap of paper which could be used again for another purpose. Indeed, with respect to most everything in his life GT was a consummate economizer—whether it involved his resources, money, time, or whatever.

Bottom photo: This is a picture with a partial view of the spacious forecourt of the well-known (in Kpg) Tharpa Chholing (aka: Tirpai or Tripai) Monastery of the ruling Gelugpa (Yellow Hat) Sect of Tibetan Buddhism, located along K.D. Pradhan Road very nearby to the Tharchin compound. In July 1951 its forecourt became the venue for various dignitaries, including GT, to gather together to ceremonially formalize a prior successful attempt at reconciliation between two conflicting factions of the gompa's monks and lamas who were also present on this particular day in the forecourt. This event, described in detail in Ch. 29 of the present volume, points up a further and quite significant hallmark of the Babu's life: he had an effective and greatly appreciated ministry of reconciliation within and without the Tibetan community, and regardless if the persons involved were Christians or not.

Turning now to the top illustration on the fourth Plate page in this series dealing with GT's many-sided persona, it needs to be explained that although what is reproduced here is an example of how the present Tibetan Christian pastor in Kpg, S.G. Tharchin, was still being invited to Buddhist functions such as the one described here, it is worth noting that SGT's father, Rev. G. Tharchin, had himself been invited continually to this very same annual function, even though the inviters well knew he was a staunch Christian. GT did not dismiss these kinds of invitations in the least—as would some other Christians, he looking upon them, rather, as opportunities to bear witness regarding Christ and His gospel, and doing so without at all compromising his Christian convictions.

Bottom photo: An insight into yet another side to the personality of this multifaceted man is provided by this photo of what appears to be the inaugural meeting, held on 1 July 1954, of the Solu Khumbu Sherpa Association of Kalimpong. And not surprisingly, for those who knew him well, the Indo-Tibetan is seen seated at the desk in the center in his capacity as this newly-founded Association's Secretary (with T.N. Sherpa, shown sitting next to him, serving as the group's President). There was hardly an organization, town committee, institution or organized group in Kpg—and regardless whether Christian or non-Christian, or whether political, social or religious in purpose—that did not have Gergan Tharchin as a member or as an officer. Reason: he was an extremely civic-minded individual who could hardly ever say no when invited to join and/or serve. And, of course, being the Christian evangelist that he was, this indefatigable advocate of causes for justice, righteousness, compassion or progress deemed these various avenues of affiliation and service—for the good of his ethnic countrymen, of his church, community or wider world beyond—as golden opportunities to spread the Christian message by both life and word.

Fifth Plate page in this series: GT was a creator and inventor, as the special chapter (29a)—on "Taking the Measure of the Man"—in the present volume makes clear. Shown here is an example, albeit not one to win any prize in artistry, of the man's creativity in designing, writing up, and printing his family's Christmas card one year. Never one to miss an opportunity to foster the notion of unity and solidarity among the Tibetan people wherever found, GT in this instance combined his own artistic ability with an already widely-recognized artistic depiction of friendship and unity widely known to Tibetans as the *methun pa spun bzhi*: the "four harmonious brothers" as represented by the elephant, monkey, rabbit and bird. It just so happens that this symbol had been adopted in the mid-1930s by a political group led by Topgyay Pangdatsang which had been formed "to work towards Khampa unification by settling internal differences among Khampas" in East Tibet. This particular Christmas card possibly dates from that very period. Whether the recipients were adherents of GT's Christian faith or not, this charming greeting card must have evoked warm—and perhaps in some instances grateful—smiles on their faces. And quite naturally, too, he had constantly come up with interesting layouts for the various issues of his beloved Tibetan Newspaper and other published works which continually rolled off the Tibet Mirror Press over many, many years of printing and publishing activity.

But besides a creative streak in GT, there was an inventive one as well. Elsewhere in the present volume (Ch. 29a) is described his invention of a particularly effective wool carding brush made of wood and wire (see the

illustration of its registered Trade Mark showing a woman brushing wool), for which, as word of it spread literally far and wide, there developed a great demand throughout much of the Himalayan region. But GT was also the inventor of one or two other devices which likewise brought him fame.

The sixth Plate page of ten records another of the more distinctive features of GT's character: Although he received numerous letters and notes from the "high and mighty" of this world, the famed Babu remained a most humble man throughout his long life. Whether correspondence came from world-renowned scholars like Giuseppe Tucci of Rome, wealthy aristocrats from Bhutan and Tibet such as Rani Choni Dorjee and Mary Taring, rising Tibetologists like Baron Nebesky-Wojkowitz from Austria, or well-placed government officials such as Sir Charles Bell (CaB) and Hugh Richardson from Britain, it did not engender pride in the heart of this lowly man from Poo at all. On the contrary, his emergence from total obscurity into a place of prominence did not make him any less approachable by the poor and less fortunate: all had friendly and ready access to him.

Seventh and eighth Plate pages in this series: Still another interesting side to GT's persona was his penchant for photography, which, naturally, served as a most helpful adjunct in his pursuit of journalism. In fact, one can find here and there throughout the wide-ranging Tharchn Papers hundreds and hundreds of photo negatives—shots taken by GT of people, places, objects and landscapes in Tibet and elsewhere. And as can be discerned in the photos displayed on these two Plate pages, the Babu developed into a better-than-average photographer.

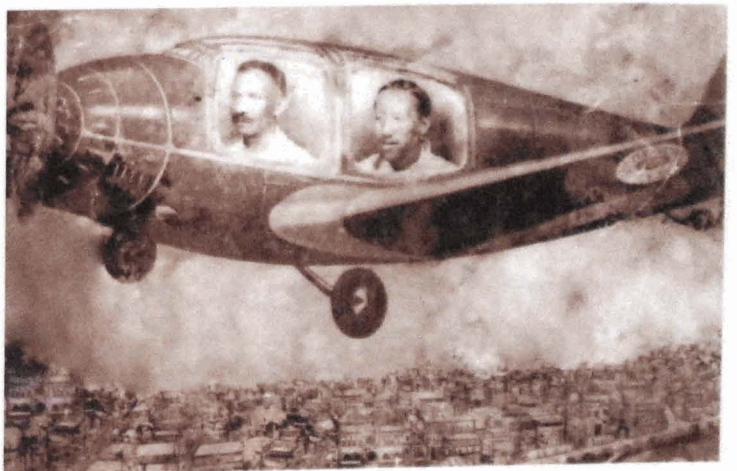
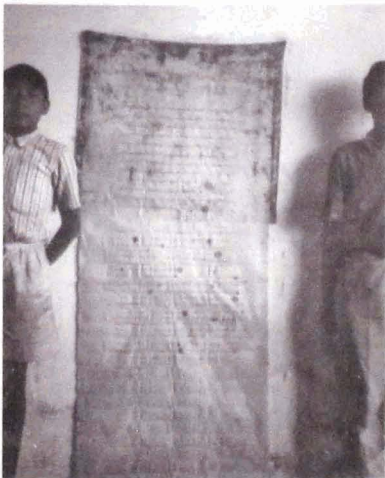
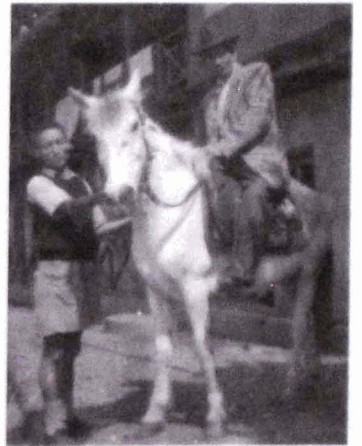
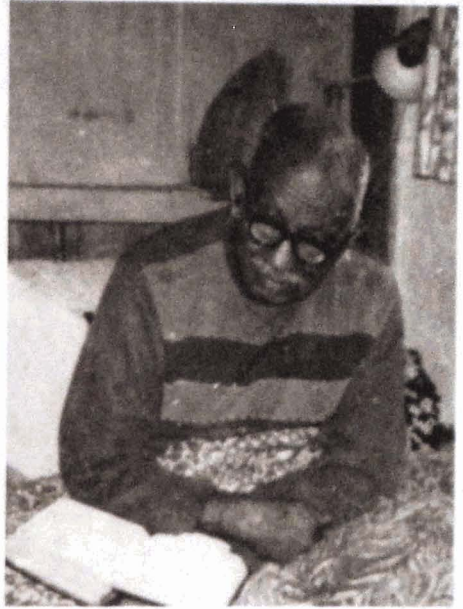
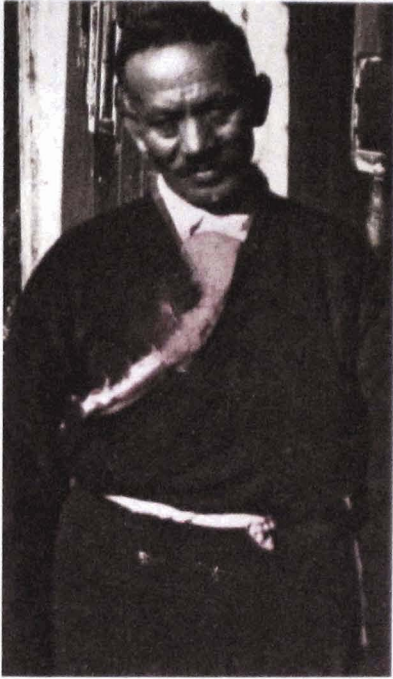
Whether present at social, political, religious or institutional/organizational functions or out traveling by foot, pony or vehicle, GT invariably had his camera with him so that he could capture on film such subject matters as are depicted in the following described photos, many of which ultimately found their way into the issues of the Babu's Tibet Mirror newspaper.

On the seventh Plate page, e.g., upper left, GT caught on film a photo of Lady Edwina Mountbatten, wife of India's last British Viceroy, during her visit to Kpg on 1 June 1948; lower left, Lady Mountbatten again, visiting with the Choegyal (Ruler) of Sikkim at the latter's Palace in Gangtok; upper right, West Bengal Governor and Mrs. K.N. Katju, shown here in the late 1940s with Scots Mission missionary Dr. Mary H. Scott, D.D., at the opening ceremony of the Kpg institution she had founded: the School for the Blind; immediately below the aforementioned photo, one can view the Tibet Mirror editor's shot of Rani Choni Dorjee, wife of Bhutan's Prime Minister, Raja S.T. Dorjee, with Dr. Scott, at the same function.

And on the next Plate page (the eighth in this series): the large photo at left, taken by GT at the Bhutan Durbar House, Kpg, showing Jigme Dorjee (son of Raja S.T.), with his wife Tesla (Taisila) Tsarong, sister of Mary Taring (Mary La), just as the royal couple was entering onto the Durbar House courtyard; and finally, included are two landscapes showing, respectively: famed Mt. Chomolhari (24,000'), the sacred Queen of the Divine Hills, located just inside Tibet; and the even more massive mountain range of Kanchenjunga (28,146'). GT, incidentally, had inked in on the back of both mountain scenes the words: "Right[s] reserved," thus indicating that apparently he himself thought highly of both photographs and were thus deserving of protection.

The final two Plate pages (ninth and tenth) in this series highlight the element in the Babu's persona which by far stands out from all the rest of his noteworthy character features as one of his finest: his generous, helpful and compassionate activity on behalf of so many, and which manifested itself in countless ways. Indeed, his liberality in extending acts of helpfulness, charity and/or kindness to everyone—whether high or low, rich or poor, prominent or obscure, Christian or non-Christian—became legendary in his lifetime. In fact, it was this element in GT's character which those individuals interviewed by the present author had remarked about the most: and in the most glowing terms. Illustrative of this kindhearted generosity of GT's was what the renowned scholar in Japanese Tibetology, Bunkyo Aoki (1886-1956), was moved to make reference to on the Christmas greeting card he had sent GT a year before the Japanese scholar's death. Having for some little while aided Aoki quite liberally in providing him with various hard-to-obtain Tibetan-language research documents (and possibly also having even translated for him some difficult items among them), the Indo-Tibetan scholar received an effusive "thank you" from the celebrated Japanese professor for his much helpfulness in the past.

But also illustrative of this remarkable element in GT's character were the many gifts of books which throughout the years of his long career he received from various scholars who had been on the receiving end of the Babu's tireless and kindly assistance. Examples of these tokens of appreciation, inscribed on either the flyleaf or half-title page of their book gifts, are several inscriptions reproduced on this and the final Plate page in this series: Marco Pallis, who gave to GT a copy of L.A. Waddell's *The Buddhism of Tibet* (2d ed., 1934); David Snellgrove, who presented the Babu with a copy of C.A. Bell's *The People of Tibet* (1928); George Roerich, whose "thank you" inscription to GT appears in Vol I of his highly-praised 2-vol work, *The Blue Annals* (1949), and who also later gave Tharchin the 2d vol (1953), GT having then inscribed a "many thanks" notation to himself on having received the 2d vol from Roerich; and finally, on the concluding (tenth) Plate page in this series is reproduced the inscribed message to GT by Theos Bernard which appears in a gift copy sent the Indo-Tibetan of one of Bernard's own books, *Heaven Lies within Us* (1939). Earlier that same year he had sent GT a copy of his most celebrated volume, *Penthouse of the Gods* (also published in 1939), on whose flyleaf had appeared an even more effusive note of sincere thanks.





Love + K.
25/11/55

5/5



Tharchin

Editor Tibetan Newspapers
Kalinpong.

Bought in Calcutta second
hand book shop.

12/8/47

Presented to my dear son Sherap Gyatso

The Tibet Mirror Press,
Kalinpong.
17th. June 1948.

My Dear Sherap,

You must learn everything very quickly and must do ~~down~~
all the work I do and you must look after all my work. If donot
learn well and study hard you will get lot of trouble when you grow
a old, no one will love you and every one will lough at you, therefore
you must be very clever boy and good boy. You must pray to God and you
must obey your mother and me.

Your loving Dad.

It these dark hours when the liberty of thinking

CHRISTMAS



**HEAD-LAMA, LAMAS & MANAGEMENT
OF THARPA CHHOLING MONASTERY,
KALIMPONG.**

request the pleasure of

Mr./Mrs S G Thon chin 's

*company to celebrate the Death Anniversary of
Gyalwa Tsong-Khapa, the Founder of Gelug-pa
Doctrine, at 8 a. m. at the Monastery's premises
at Tripai Hills, Kalimpong on 19, Dec, 1942*

PROGRAMME :—

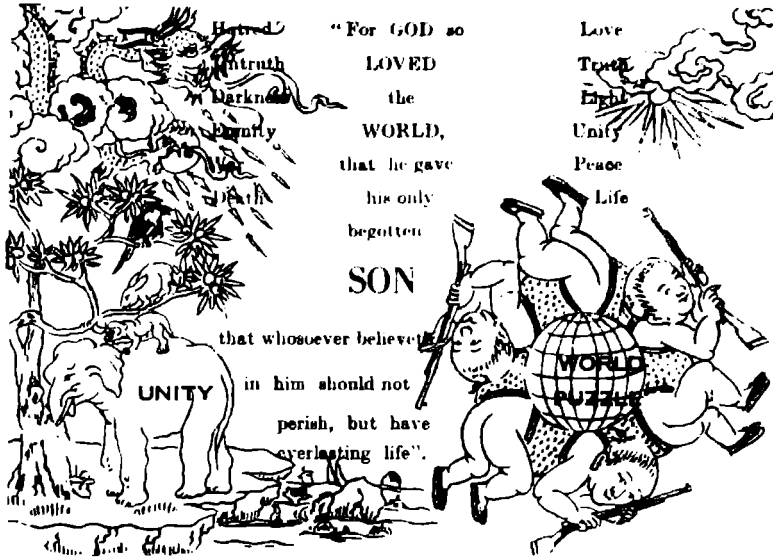
8 A. M.

1. Procession with Image of Gyalwa Tsong-Khapa with Palanquin from Tripai Monastery to Book Depot via 10th Mile and back to Monastery via Harkadhoj Pradhan Road.
2. Meeting-Speeches by Lamas and Others.
3. Prayers and chanting of hymns.

ESTD. 1934
SOLU KHUMBU SHERPA ASSOCIATION
KALIMPONG.

1-7-1934.





། ལྷ་ན་བ་སྐྱབས་མགོན་ཡི་ཤུ་སྐུ་བ་སྐྱབས་པའི་དུས་ཚོན་དང་། ཕྱི་རྒྱལ་
 ལུགས་ཀྱི་གནས་ལོ་ ༡༩༥༢ གསར་བཞད་རྟེན་འབྲེལ་དུ་
 བཀྲ་ཤིས་བདེ་ལེགས་བཅས་ལྷུལ།།

*A Very happy Christmas
 and a blessed
 New Year.*

From
Mr. & Mrs. Tharchin.

ལྷན་རྒྱུ་བོད་ལྷ
 ལ་དང་གྲུ་རྒྱ
 མེད་སྐབས་ཤིན་
 དུ་སྐོའི་ཚོན་པལ་
 འད་གསར་མི་ཤིན་
 དང་གསར་འགྲུར་
 ཕྱིད་པོས་འགྲེལ་
 ལྷུལ་བྱས་པ་ཡིན།

བར་ལས་དམག་
 དུས་ཀྱི་རྒྱུ་
 རྒྱ་སྐྱེས་དག་
 མེད་མིན་བཞེས་
 བཤོལ་བྱེད་དོམ་
 རྒྱུ་རྒྱུ་ཁྱེད་
 ལྷུག་ལྷུག་ཁྱེད་
 དག་མེད་ལྷུབ་

པས་རིང་མིན་སྐར་གྱི་བལ་འད་ཁྱེད་ས་བཅན་སྐབ་ཚེ་འགྲེལ་སྐྱེལ་གྱི་རེ་འདུན་
 མཚིས་ན་ཚོང་བ་རྒྱལ་ས་ནས་དང་པོ་གསར་ཁང་དུ་ཚ་དུའོ་ངེས་པར་དུ་གསར་
 བར་མཚོན་ཚོང་རྒྱགས་ཀྱང་བལ་ས་ལས་འབར་ཡོད་མེད་ངེས་པར་དུ་གསེགས།།

Note: The wording within the circle around the picture of the woman brushing her wool is in the Tibetan, Nepali and Urdu languages and declares: "You can obtain first-class, long-lasting and authentic wool brush from Tharchin, Kalimpong."

The explanation surrounding the Trade Mark Illustration, when translated from the Tibetan, reads as follows: "Earlier [during the time] when no Indians and Tibetans had any idea of this most essential wool brush, both the Ghoom Mission and the news publisher [i.e., GT] were the suppliers of them [the brushes]. Due to the [Second World] war and non-availability of the best quality wires, the manufacture of the brush had to be abandoned. But now [1952] perfect wires are available and we are intending soon to manufacture and supply

the previously perfect long-lasting wool brush, and requesting [that in your] personal business [concerning the brush, you should] first inquire of the [Tibet Mirror] Press. You should also [look to] see whether [?on the product obtained? or, ?in any product advertisement?] the Trade Mark of the Woman Wool Brusher is [showing] there or not."



Howrah + 5 + 5 + 60
1/2000000000

Dear Friends and
gentlemen:

Dear Sir,
I am enclosing postal order for Rs. 21, 1.00, about
Rs. 15, as a little help towards your newspaper.

I hope it is alright,
Yours sincerely,
Rani Choni Dorgi,

[Rani Choni Dorgi,
Bhutan House,
Kalinpong]

14. 11. 42.

Please send and let me know if
you can't do it at any time. It will
be a great help to me.

Yours sincerely,
Mary J. King

Hoping to see you soon!

Yours sincerely,
Dr. Peter King

Mr. Thakur

1/11/42

I am enclosing postal order for Rs. 21, 1.00, about
Rs. 15, as a little help towards your newspaper.

Yours sincerely,
C.B.

"TRISHIDING"
KALIMPONG
WEST BENGAL
India 12th June 1954

My dear Mr. King,
I called this morning to enquire
about the printing of my small book
on the Tibetan aristocracy.
It is a long time since my proofs
were received. You are also taking a
very long time to produce the book.
Please let me know some news.
I don't want to be too much delayed.
Yours truly,
Rani Choni Dorgi

G. 200-0000000000
Kalinpong.

Yours truly,
Rani Choni Dorgi

It's a long time since I heard of you.
I hope you are well and active.
Things must be very difficult and
somewhat sad for you now days.
I miss those places I knew very
much and I think of them and
my friends every day of my life.
I expect Sir Bani has the world
with his wife and little son.
All good wishes
Yours sincerely,
Rani Choni Dorgi



Plate 41: Page 8 of 10





With Best Wishes

for A Happy Christmas and

A Bright New Year

And ever with unspeakable
gratitudes for your kindness
and courtesies

Bunkyo Aoki.

[329 Izumicho,
Suginami-Ku,
Tokyo, Japan]

To Tharchen
from Marco Palla
Kalinpong 1936

To Mr. Tihar Chur
in token of his continuing
kindness.

David Sullivan.

1 October 1945

PART ONE

To Mr. G. Tharchin
with best wishes.

I and Royce
Kalinpong
July, 1950.

Received with many thanks
to Tharchin
25/5/54

BY

GEORGE N. ROERICH

BY

GEORGE N. ROERICH

To
 Thank
 you for appreciation of your faithfulness
 as I continued my studies in that land
 where these teachings [on the Yogic
 "Way of Life" which are found described
 and discussed within the pages of this book
 by Bernard] are preserved for the future
 peace and happiness of mankind.

Thurs Bernard
 11/21/39

In appreciation of your faithfulness as I continued my studies in that land where these teachings [on the Yogic "Way of Life" which are found described and discussed within the pages of this book by Bernard] are preserved for the future peace and happiness of mankind.

Pl. 42a-g By the late 1920s and into the '30s, Babu Tharchin had become known and respected for his work on behalf of Tibet, Tibetans, and other Tibetan-speaking peoples residing in lands adjacent to India. So much so that he was frequently invited to many social functions where the elite leadership of District Darjeeling would often be gathered to celebrate this or that occasion or to honor visiting VIPs.

On this and the following Plate page are reproductions of but a few representative examples of such invitations that were extended to Tharchin and which increased in number with every passing year—whether, as shown here, it would be an invitation to celebrate the birthday of Sikkim's Maharaja, attend the Political Officer for Tibet's Garden Party at Gangtok, attend an important social event at Bhutan's Durbar House in Kalimpong, or meet such important people as India's Prime Minister Nehru, West Bengal State's Governor K.N. Katju, or Sherpa Tenzing Norgay on the occasion of his historic Everest triumph. As a matter of fact, there was hardly any significant social function involving Tibetans or Tibetan affairs to which—if held within a reasonable traveling distance from Kalimpong—Gergan Tharchin would not have been invited, that important an individual he was to those who extended various invitations.

The Birthday Committee

request the pleasure of

Mr. Tharchin La. 's

company on the occasion of the Birthday Celebration of His Highness Sir Tashi Namgyal, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., Maharaja of Sikkim, on the 26th October 1947 at Gangtok.

R SVP to:--
Hon General Secretary,
Birthday Committee,
Gangtok, Sikkim.

GOVERNOR'S CAMP,
WEST BENGAL.

22nd October 1950.

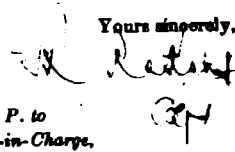
DEAR Srijut Tharchin,

His Excellency will be very pleased if you ~~will~~.....

will have Tea at the Inspection Bungalow, Kalimpong.....at 3.45 P.M. for 4 P.M. on

Monday, the 23rd October 1950,.....

Yours sincerely,



R. S. V. P. to
The A. D. C.-in-Charge,
The Invitation Office.

THE TIBET MIRROR PRESS.

ཀུམ་ལུག་ཤོད་ལྷན་ཁག་དང་འགྲུལ་མི་འཛོལ་པར་ཁང་།

Job : Book Printer, Bookbinder, Lithographer, Publisher of the Tibetan Newspaper & Tibetan & Language Books etc.
(Sole Prop.: Tharchin.)

KALIMPONG P. O. (West Bengal).
Ply. Station Kalimpong Bypass.

No. _____

Date 1st. May. 1960.

To The Assistant Political Officer,
Gangtok. Sikkim.

Dear Sir,

Kindly do convey to the Political Officer and Mrs. Doyal my heartily thanks for their kind invitation to me for the Garden party on the 3rd. May 1950.

I regret very much that owing to ill health I am unable to present myself at the happy party for which I felt myself very unlucky person.

Yours faithfully,



TO MEET
His Excellency Dr. K. N. Katju, Governor of West Bengal



HIS HIGHNESS THE MAHARAJA OF SIKKIM
requests the pleasure of the company of
Mr. Tharchin
at a State Garden Party to be held at the White Memorial Hall, Gangtok, Sikkim, on Friday the 1st June 1951, at 7 p. m.

H. S. V. P.
to
The Private Secretary

To Meet

*Sopradipita Manynwar Nepal Tara, Nepal Pratap
Bardhak Sri Fensing Norigy Shepa.*

The Members of the Fencing Reception Committee.

Kalimpong request the presence of

Sri Tharchin at the

*Public Reception on the Mela Ground, Kalimpong
on 15th August, 1953 at 1.30 p.m.*

*Madan Mohan Mitr
Secretary.*

*A. B. Gurung, M.L.A.
President.*

Please present this card at the gate & come 15 minutes earlier.

On the occasion of the departure of their daughter

Kesang

to Bhutan for her marriage to

Jigmi Dorji Wangchuk,

The Druk Gyalsey, Penlop of Paro.

The Raja and Rani Dorji

request the pleasure of the company of

Mr & Mrs Tharchin

to Cocktails

at Bhutan House, Kalimpong,

on *21st* September, 1951, at 6 p.m.

R.S.D.R.

*Bhutan House,
Kalimpong*

To Meet

The Hon'ble Shri Jawaharlal Nehru,

Prime Minister.

The Hon'ble Shri C. C. Biswas

At Home

On Tuesday, the 29th April, 1952

at 4.15 p.m.

*Sri Sedan
Kalimpong*

Pl. 43a-g Gergan Tharchin's farewell audience with Dalai Lama XIV, which occurred one day during the 2d week of June 1975 at Taktser (Tengtser) House, Kalimpong. In the first photo His Holiness is shown himself welcoming the elderly Babu at the appointed hour, 5:00 p.m., at the outside entrance leading into the audience chamber. There the Babu respectfully presented a long white kata to the Dalai Lama, who in turn placed it around his esteemed visitor's neck. In the second photo Tharchin's son has recorded the moment when both His Holiness and Tharchin are shaking hands warmly.

The third photograph, taken by Rev. Peter Rapgey, brother-in-law of the younger Tharchin's wife Nini, is highly prized by the entire Tharchin family, and for the longest time hung, enlarged and suitably framed, in a prominent place on the wall of the younger Pastor Tharchin's office. For it shows the Dalai Lama with both Tharchins, father and son, just before all three entered the audience chamber.

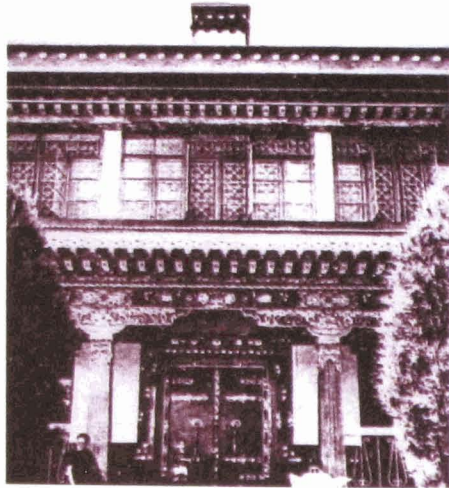
The next two photos reveal moments of serious discussion as His Holiness, for example, broached once again with his visitor the subject of the Holy Spirit and the Christian Trinity—a matter which 15 years earlier he had inquired about most sincerely from the Christian pastor when the latter and his wife had had a lengthy unhurried audience with the then newly-exiled Dalai Lama at Mussoorie in NW India. Now thanking Rev. Tharchin for the insights into this "mystery" of the Christian faith he today had just shared with His Holiness, the Dalai Lama responded by saying, "This that you have said has indeed helped me; nevertheless, I must admit that it is still unclear to me; but perhaps we can discuss this again when we next meet." That next meeting, though, would, sadly, never take place.

On another subject, which His Holiness himself raised, the latter inquired if Tharchin Babu had a complete set of his *Tibet Mirror* newspaper. To which the publisher had to reply that unfortunately a few back issues were missing. Behind the Dalai Lama's question lay a sincere desire to see added to the collection of the Library of Tibetan Works and Archives located at his Dharamsala Exile center (see photo) as nearly a complete run as possible of the famed paper so that scholars, writers and researchers in Tibetan studies could have easy access to this important source of research material. (This desire expressed by His Holiness would subsequently be satisfied when a few years following the Babu's death Tharchin's son Sherab donated to the Tibetan Library a fairly complete run of the *Mirror* along with other materials deemed of interest to scholars. The gift was gratefully acknowledged by letter by both the Library and the Office of His Holiness.)

On still another matter, this one close to the heart of both Tibet's exiled-Ruler and the Indo-Tibetan, when at one point the elder Tharchin happened to observe that "Tibet will be opened some day," His Holiness (now turning to his Secretary) remarked, "He is a great fighter for our cause." The Dalai Lama then smiled as he well-remembered the words of the now famous headlined article, "One Man War with Mao." It had outlined, the reader may recall, the fearless opposition of the *Tibet Mirror's* editor towards the Chinese as was demonstrated by the numerous articles he had written and published in his paper counteracting the Communist propaganda during the turbulent decade of the 1950s. His Holiness had then declared to his Secretary: "He is the first person to have brought out a Tibetan newspaper for us when I was small...and of a time about which I do not remember much."

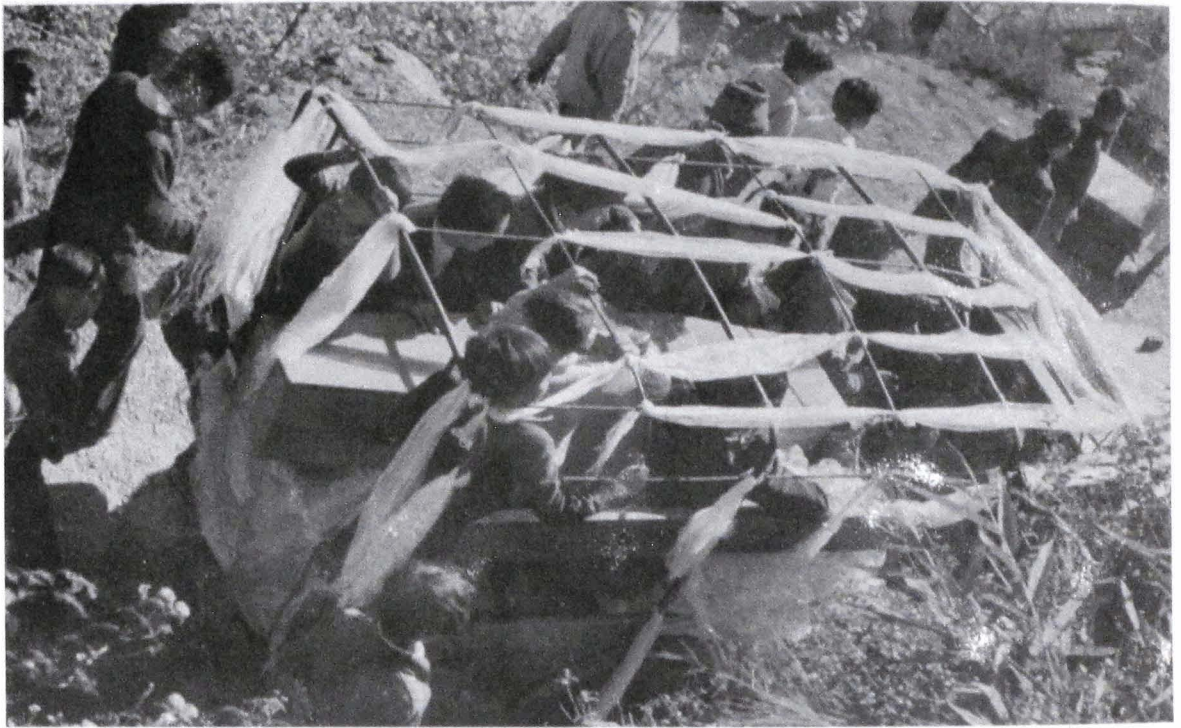
The final photograph has beautifully captured a heartwarming moment when towards the end of the audience there swept across the faces of both men two marvelous smiles, an unforgettable portrait of these two leaders among the Tibetans, indeed!





Pl. 44a-e Rev. Gergan Tharchin's Funeral Procession





In photo (a), Rev. Tharchin's coffin is shown being carried down from the family compound's main house sitting room where it lay while hundreds of visitors (Christian-Hindu-Buddhist-Moslem) came to pay their respects. The coffin is being carried past Rev. Tharchin's office as it then appeared on 9 Feb. 1976, three days after his death.

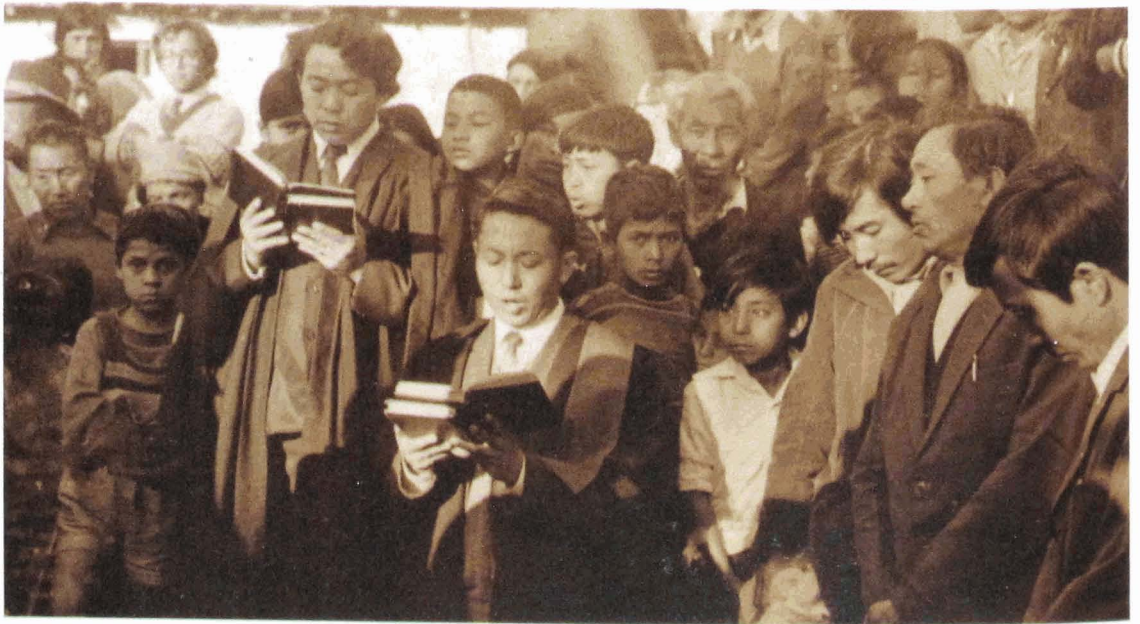
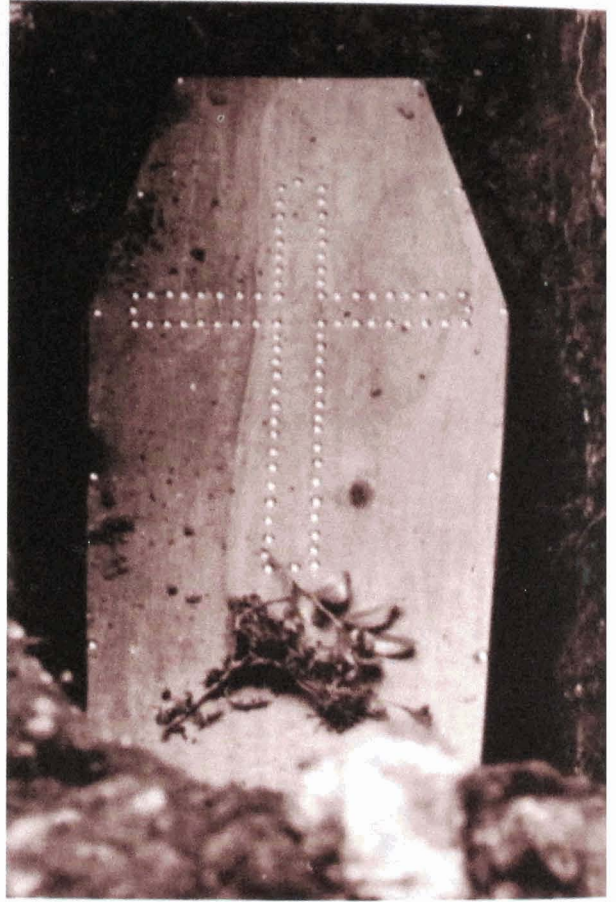
In photo (b), the gentleman with his hand on the jeep bearing the deceased along K.D. Pradhan Road is Gergan Tharchin's son, Sherab Gyamtsho. Leading the procession is a gentleman holding aloft a Christian cross which bore the words: Rev. G. Tharchin La, birth and death dates, and the capital letters RIP (Rest in Peace).

Photos (c) to (e): The many katas draped over the jeep were placed there by the Tharchin family as a sign of deep respect. Hundreds of people accompanied the jeep, laden with Rev. Tharchin's coffin and carrying its pallbearers (see photo d), as the procession made its way to Macfarlane Memorial Church for the funeral service.





Pl. 45a-c Top two photos: Scenes of the overflow crowd of attendees at the funeral service of Rev. Tharchin held in the Macfarlane Memorial Church, Kalimpong, at 12 Noon, 9 Feb. 1976.
Bottom photo: At right is Rev. S.D. Subba, MMC's Pastor, who officiated at the funeral.



Pl. 46a-c At the Gravesite of Rev. Tharchin. Upper left photo: Gergan Tharchin's momentarily open casket rests at its burial site within the grounds of the heretofore Scots Mission Cemetery (called God's Acre). The Christian cross is being held by one of Kalimpong's Tibetan Christian Church elders, Napa P. Tshering, the father of Rev. Tharchin's daughter-in-law Nini Tharchin, whose face can partially be seen (she is wearing horn-rimmed glasses, upper right). Elder Tshering has just offered up a prayer.

Bottom photo: Rev. Subba, officiating at the burial service, surrounded by many mourners.

Upper right photo: The closed casket of Rev. Tharchin now lies in the ground, with its cover bearing the outline of a cross embedded in its wood.

Pl. 47a-c Within days of the passing of the lowly man from Poo there poured into the Tharchin compound condolence messages from far and near. Three of the more noteworthy ones are reproduced here and on the next Plate page: one from a prominent Christian Church leader; a second, from the daughter of one of Tharchin-la's closest friends, David Macdonald (who had himself died years before), and sent on behalf not only of herself but also of three relatively well-known Western scholars in Tibetology; and a third one from His Holiness Dalai Lama XIV in the form of a telegram whose imperfectly written-out text had been recorded, of course, by the Telegraph Department's clerk on duty. They all are testaments to the noble character of this extraordinary human being.

Mr. S. G. Tharchin,
Kallimpong.
Dear Mr. Tharchin,
It was with deep regret that I heard a few days ago of the passing of your father, the Rev. G. Tharchin. Unfortunately, too, I did not get news of this until after the funeral, and so I was unable to be present, and to offer my condolences personally, to you and the other members of the family of Pastor Tharchin.
Although I have not known Rev. Tharchin very well I know and appreciate what he has done, over a long period of time, in evangelism and in literature for the Eastern Himalayan Church Council, and later for the Darjeeling Diocese, and especially for his own faith in God, and his desire that his own Tibetan people should come to accept the Gospel, we give thanks and praise to God, for so many years, even in his old age, he has been a faithful servant of God, and he will be an example to many for years to come.
In offering my sympathies and condolences to you and his family, and to the friends and colleagues of his in the Tibetan Pastorate, and outside it, in your grief at the loss of your father and Pastor, I wish also to express the sympathies of the whole Diocese, and our thanks to God for the life and witness of Rev. G. Tharchin.
Yours affectionately,
(Signature)
(Rt. Rev. J. M. Ghose)

THE RT. REV. J. M. GHOSE
BISHOP OF DARJEELING



DIocese OF DARJEELING

Telephone: 208
MISSION HOUSE
DARJEELING

20th February 1976

Read on 26/2/76

Mrs. V. A. Williams

Himalayan Hotel,

Kalimpong
West Bengal

9th February, 1976.

Dear Son,

It was with deepest sorrow that I heard the news of the passing away of a good man and a renowned scholar, your Father.

Please accept my sincere sympathies.

My son-in-law, Dr Sprigg, as also Mr Marco Pallis and Mr Nicholson, held Mr Tharchin in great esteem and affection. I have written to them and have sent khaddas from them.

Yours very sincerely,



INDIAN POSTS AND



TELEGRAPHS DEPARTMENT



Clas. Prefix: 0 Code: 1650 No. 37

Sent at: 4 M. Office: Tramp

Recd from: Mr. Tharchin To: Mr. Tharchin

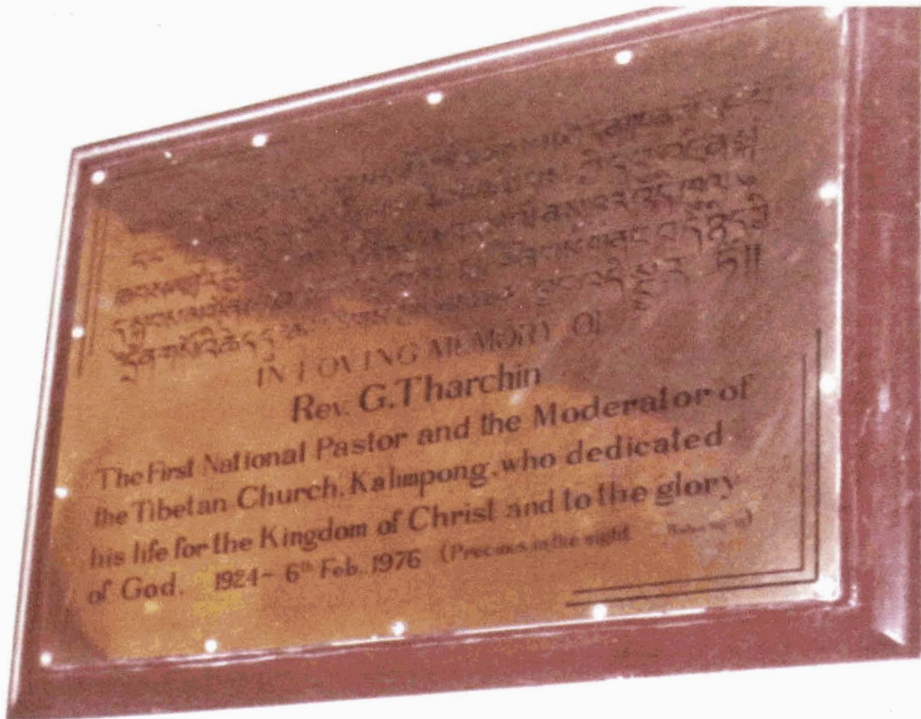
By: Mr. Tharchin By: Mr. Tharchin

Number of Office of origin: 1 Date: 15 Hour: 14 Minute: 00 Service instruction: cl Words: 60

As a dharamshala
C. S. Tharchin
Tibet Mirror Press 4/2

His holiness the dala Lama direct me to convey following stop we are deeply distressed at the death of Mr Tharchin stop we have lost a great and sincere friend of Tibet and its people stop his contribution before the cause of Tibet will be long cherished stop we offer our prayers for the departed soul
: Gyelche

N. 2 - The name of the sender if telegraphed, shall be written in the box separated from the text.



Pl. 48a,b Top photo: The front area of one of the side chapels with its pulpit, located within the main sanctuary of Kalimpong's Macfarlane Church and from where through the years Rev. Gergan Tharchin had faithfully delivered—from this same pulpit—numerous Christian messages to the Tibetan congregation seated before him. Above the pulpit on the wall hangs a Memorial Plate in honor of Rev. Tharchin.

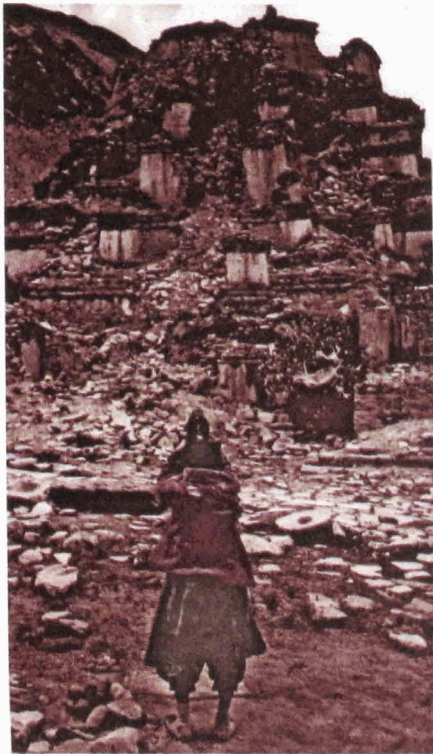
In the bottom photo can be seen a close up of the Plate whose brief text is written in both Tibetan and English. The English reads: "In loving memory of Rev. G. Tharchin, the first national pastor and the moderator of the Tibetan Church, Kalimpong, who dedicated his life for the Kingdom of Christ and to the glory of God. 1924-6th Feb. 1976. (Precious in the sight... Psalm 116.15)"

Pl. 49a-h The Destruction of Tibet's Religious Culture and the Country's Future



Pl. 49a-h Prior to the Chinese Communist occupation of Tibet nearly one-fifth of her population had consisted of monks and lamas, some of whom are shown at left in a monastery which probably no longer exists in present-day Tibet. For when Mao Tse-tung's forces marched into the Land of Monks and Monasteries, it was with the intent to thoroughly overturn the country's ancient culture and in particular totally eradicate her religion. Nearly six tumultuous decades have now passed since the People's Liberation Army invaded Tibet; and although Tibetans there still

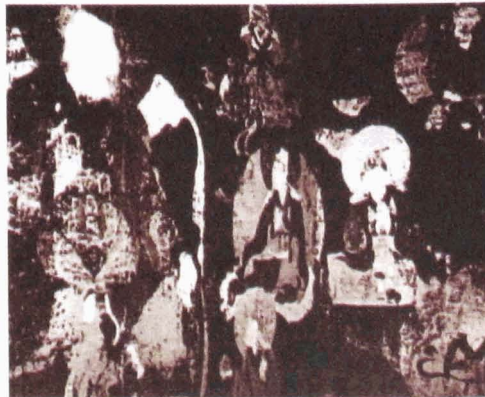
refuse to give up their religion, the Communist attempt to wipe it out completely has been remarkably effective thus far—at least with respect to (a) its monastic inmates (by 1979, most of the 600,000 monkish population were either “dead or had disappeared without a trace”) and (b) its external appearances: indeed, knowledgeable writers on Tibet generally agree that by 1970 the rampaging Red Guards, set loose several years earlier by Chairman Mao, had destroyed some 95 percent of Tibetan Buddhism's material manifestations so central to the religious life of the country. Several of the other photos displayed here, along with their explanatory captions, will attest in part to this astounding observation.



The Jonang Kumbum in Tibet's remote Phuntsoling Valley was dynamited by the Chinese in 1959 and today lies in ruins, with chips of 14th-century mural paintings and beheaded Buddhas now littering the ground. At one time this magnificent temple had housed thousands of sacred images that symbolized “the totality of the Buddha's teachings.”



The top small photo here shows nearly shapeless chunks of rock but now recovered and wrapped respectfully with *katas*, for they had been heads of heretofore beautifully carved stone statues which the Chinese had mutilated. Later rescued by devout Tibetans,



they were smuggled into India and are today preserved relics housed within a temple at Dharamsala.

In the lower small photo one can see numerous images belonging to the Tradug Dolma lhakhang now obliterated as a sign of “the Chinese contempt for religion.”



This had been one of the courtyards of the Dalai Lamas' Norbu Lingka Summer Palace at Lhasa. "Statues made of precious metal were melted for bullion; others, some over a thousand years old, were stamped flat and taken for scrap."



Previously a monastery, this religious structure—destroyed during Mao's infamous Cultural Revolution (1966-76)—was later used as a stable. Yet this was but one kind of desecration of the sacred objects of Tibetan Buddhism: other monasteries became the deliberate sites for numerous slaughterhouses; sacred mani stones were converted into toilet-making material; sacred scripture texts were routinely ploughed into the soil along with manure; and the most holy place in all of Tibetan Buddhism—the Jo-khang Cathedral—was used for a time as a filthy pigsty!

The ruthless Chinese, however, treated the monks equally as cruelly as they did the sacred structures and artifacts of Tibetan Buddhism, as one East Tibetan lama at Chamdo sadly recalled: "We were brutally beaten and forced to kneel on broken glass with our bare knees. Then many of us were thrown on our backs on the ground and our arms and legs were pulled apart. The torture also included tearing off the prisoner's ears and nose from his head. Some prisoners were blinded when the Chinese poked their fingers into their eye sockets and extracted their eyeballs. Others had dirt stuffed into their mouths, causing them to choke and suffocate. Then they would laugh in our faces and say, 'Now where is your God? If he exists, call him.'"

Surely, Alexander Solzhenitsyn, himself no stranger to Communist torture, was right when in a speech at Tokyo in 1982 he declared the following: "The holocaust that happened in Tibet revealed Communist China as a cruel and inhumane executioner—more brutal and inhumane than any other Communist regime in the world." More so, even, than the harsh Siberian gulag tortures he had himself been subjected to for decades at the hands of the Soviet Communist regime!



Yet, though not condoning the Chinese atrocities one iota, the current Dalai Lama, shown here at Dharamsala in 1980, humbly acknowledged, in an astonishing admission which even included a word of gratitude towards his country's hated Chinese oppressors, that what had been needed for too long a time in his homeland was a thorough cleansing of the entire Tibetan Lamaist religion. "You have to admit," he has been quoted as saying in 1988, "that our religion needed purifying. For that, at least, we can be grateful to the Chinese." And in 1991 His Holiness remarked quite frankly on the past religious excess among his countrymen: "Some younger Tibetans feel that Tibet had too much religion in the past, that we lost our country because of this. They are partly right. There was too much concentration on monasteries and too little contact with the outside world."

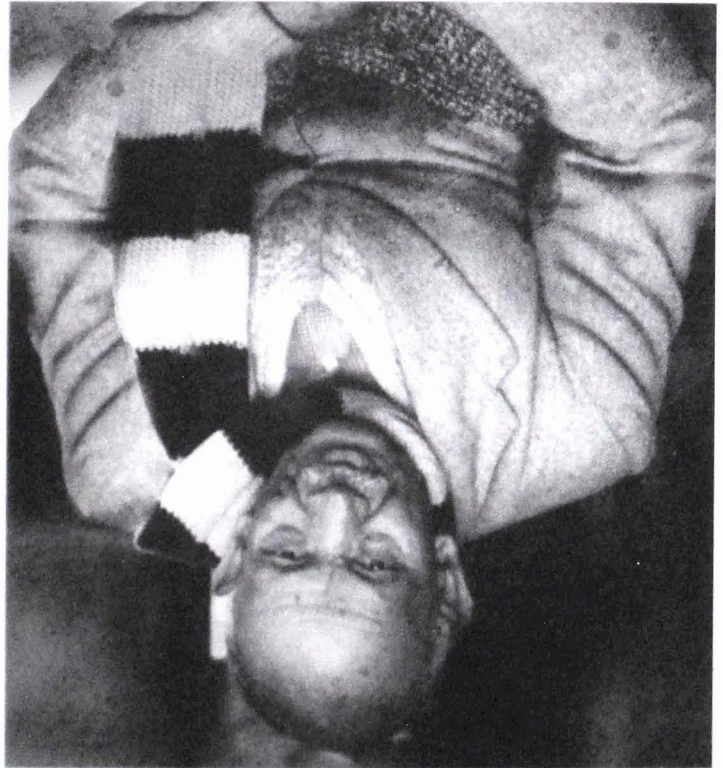
Some 15 years later Tibetans in the homeland, faced with continuing Han population transfers into their land, are now confronted with the very real possibility of cultural genocide at its worst: the extermination of everything Tibetan, including not only the people themselves but by logical extension the Tibetan Buddhist religion as well. Even the staunchest Tibetan Communist of them all and the leading Tibetan critic within the

Chinese Communist Party itself, Phuntsog Wangyal, warned his top superior in 1983, the then CCP General Secretary Hu Yaobang, that "if policies [regarding minority groups within the Chinese Motherland] are not altered,...there is a danger that...Tibetans will end up...having a nationality name but no language or distinctive culture." Writing in 2002, Phuntsog reluctantly had to acknowledge "that after twenty years [more] the situation is not improving..."

Given the present Dalai Lama's age of over 70 and Beijing's apparent determined disinclination to resolve "the Tibet question" with the current Dalai Lama (a "question" or "issue," incidentally, which it adamantly denies exists!), it is remarkable that there are Tibetan intellectuals and even some prominent Chinese who still consider the key to a resolution of the problem over Tibet to be the Dalai Lama—*this* Dalai Lama—himself. Speaking as a Han, the well-known and respected Chinese author, Wang Lixiong, has declared in no uncertain terms in his latest book (2002) that His Holiness is indeed the key. And it is a reasoned stance with which the Tibetan Communist and nationalist Phuntsog Wangyal readily agrees. For as Wang has asserted, the Dalai Lama (1) is truly sincere in his expressed desire for autonomy for Tibet, *not* independence; (2) is still very healthy in both mind and body despite his age; and (3) is a famous and highly revered figure in the West. "Based on these three points," writes Phuntsog, the current Dalai Lama is most logically "the key to settling the Tibet issue." "If China," he adds, "would talk with the Dalai Lama and they were able to settle the issues that concern all Tibetans, then the Central Government [at Beijing] would at last be able, with a single stroke, to achieve a tremendous success..."

The Dalai Lama, however, is not one to sit idly by waiting for a call from Beijing, which, were it to come nonetheless, he would be most willing to respond to, consonant with what he feels is best for his people. In the meantime, he will continue to do what he has been tirelessly doing for the past four decades: traveling, speaking, and listening—in his efforts to galvanize support for his countrymen's cause, and ever hoping for a breakthrough, somehow, in the longstanding impasse between Beijing and Dharamsala.

Shortly before his death in 1976 Gergan Tharchin (shown here as he appeared in the early 1970s) offered up a prophetic vision concerning the future of Tibet. Obviously lacking the benefit of hindsight with regard to what has occurred in Tibet during the past 30 years since his death, the Indo-Tibetan champion for Tibet's freedom expressed a different opinion from that of the 14th Dalai Lama and those like Phuntsog Wangyal and Wang Lixiong who naturally embrace the repeatedly stated view of His Holiness that autonomy, no longer independence, is now the desired goal for Tibet. "I have full faith," declared Tharchin-la, "that Tibet will regain its independence. The doctrine of Chinese suzerainty over Tibet will be thrown to the winds. Many will be able to go back to the land. By that time the country will be altogether changed.... There will still be some monasteries, but they will not be as before. Too great a change has now been wrought by the present Chinese occupation for them ever again to be the same. Even so, according to a Tibetan proverb, 'A bad cause will be changed into a good cause.'"



"After regaining independence," continued the ever sanguine Tharchin, "the exiled refugees, headed by His Holiness, will return and establish a new government in Tibet which will be kind and favorable to the Christians, for they have helped Tibetans very sincerely and sacrificially. It is for this reason that the Dalai Lama himself has such a high respect for the Evangelical Protestant Church."

Indeed, ever prayerful for the spread of the Christian gospel in the land of his ancestors, it became the view of this longtime Christian pastor of Kalimpong's Tibetan flock that "there will one day be freedom of religion in Tibet. Because of the gratitude of Tibetans towards Christians, Christianity and evangelism will find open doors and open hearts. Christianity will spread [in the new Tibet], inasmuch as no restrictions will be imposed on its propagation.... [For] this is now a different age with a different set of circumstances which will be conducive to the spread of the Christian message and its attendant literature."

By way of conclusion, God's humble servant from Poo gave an optimistic summation with regard to Tibet's future and the place the Christian faith would have in it. He gave this summation despite the godless, anti-religious character of the occupation of the Snowy Land by the Chinese as horribly exemplified by Mao's Cultural Revolution and his uncontrollable young Red Guards. Said he, as that terrible chapter in Tibet's most recent history was even then drawing to a close: "In God's good time Tibet will enjoy true political freedom under His Holiness the Dalai Lama. This will provide opportunities for the proclamation of the kingdom of God in the hearts of Tibetans." The kingdom of God, he went on to make clear, "is not of this world. It is a spiritual kingdom that can only be birthed by the Holy Spirit of God within man...."

The prophetic Tharchin went on to describe a visionary scene he had glimpsed one day, as follows: "It is a glorious picture before my eyes: the 14th Dalai Lama—if not he, perhaps his successor—bends his knee before the true High Priest, Jesus, and takes his whole people with him in this [act of] homage.... The door to Tibet in the past had for the most part been closed to the only Saviour. There was, however, success for Him, in that during the past one hundred years or so, a few Tibetans along the border regions were won to His service. Now, hundreds and perhaps thousands more have come to Him from within the refugee exodus that has been scattered to all countries. Can it be that all other Tibetans will still be able to resist Jesus.... the true God? "This is a great task.... and.... only God can achieve its fulfillment, for what is impossible with man is most certainly possible with God, even as the Christian Scriptures have declared." Optimistic to the very end concerning the Christian evangelization of his beloved Tibet, the aged Tibetan pastor was moved to quote the provocative words of his resurrected and ascended Lord and Saviour Jesus recorded in the last book of the Bible: "Behold, I have set before thee an open door and no man can shut it...." (Revelation 3:8).



Pl. 50 The venue at Lausanne, Switzerland, where was held the Lausanne 1974 World Evangelism Conference (of Protestant Christian Churches), at which Sherab Tharchin, on behalf of his ailing father, Rev. G. Tharchin, delivered the latter's message on Tibet and Christian evangelism. Again, the tone of this statement of Pastor Tharchin was most sanguine, in keeping with all of his other late-in-life optimistic observations on the Christian evangelization of his ethnic land and people.

PHOTO/ILLUSTRATION CREDITS

Plate

- 1a-g
- a Tharchin's *Tibet-Mirror* photo file.
 - b Pyne Studio, Kalimpong, taken in 1941 or 1942.
 - c Arch T. Steele, "The Boy-Ruler of Shangri-la," *Saturday Evening Post* (Philadelphia USA) (13 Apr. 1946):15, and taken by Steele at Lhasa when he visited there in summer 1944.
 - d ThPaK.
 - e-g Self-explanatory.
- 2a-e
- a W.D. Shakabpa, *Tibet: a Political History* (New Haven CT USA, 1967), facing p. 179.
 - b,d Associated Press photos of family and of Lhamo Dhondrub.
 - c Alexandra David-Neel, *With Mystics and Magicians in Tibet* (London, 1931), facing p. 94.
 - e This photo first appeared in the Chinese publication, *Meng Zang Yuebao*, 1939, and is reproduced in Hsiao-ting Lin, *Tibet and Nationalist China's Frontier: Intrigues and Ethnopolitics, 1928-49* (Vancouver/Toronto: UBC Press, 2006), 114
- 3a-g
- a,c Rev. Frank Learner. These two pictures were published in the China Inland Mission's periodical, *China's Millions*, North American edition, printed in Philadelphia PA USA (Sept. 1939):135. Interestingly, the (c) photograph would also appear less than a year later—in fact, just a few short days following the Installation in Lhasa's Potala Palace of the peasant boy Lhamo Dhondrub as Tibet's 14th Dalai Lama—in *Time* magazine (26 Feb. 1940):54, with credit for the photo noted as: "F.D. Learner & George Fitch."
 - b This appeared in *Life* magazine (6 Apr. 1959):33, with picture credit assigned to "Rev. F.D. Learner and George Fitch" on p. 2 of this *Life* issue. This same photo had also appeared 20 years earlier—at the time of the arrival at Lhasa from Kumbum of Tibet's Boy-King—in the London *Times*, 4 Nov. 1939, p. 10, with photo credit having been assigned to Rev. Learner's governing missionary organization, the China Inland Mission.
 - d,e These two photos are incorrectly credited to Archibald T. Steele, they appearing on pp. 56 and 53, respectively, in Steele's book, *In the Kingdom of the Dalai Lama* (Sedona AZ USA: In Print Publishing, 1993). The (d) photo also appeared in Steele's article, "The Boy-Ruler of Shangri-la," in *Saturday Evening Post* (13 Apr. 1946):14. Both (d) and (e) were, of course, taken by missionary Learner.
 - f Learner; but as explained in the caption, the photo-basis (b) for (f) was later converted by Tharchin into the large portrait-style photo shown here. Two copies were found among the ThPaK.
 - g Learner, and published in the *Tibet Mirror* (1 Dec.-1 Jan. 1950/51):2.
- 4a-g
- a A Nepal-printed postcard view of the Potala, obtained by the author in Kathmandu.
 - b Published in Hugh E. Richardson, "Tibetan Lamas in Western Eyes," *Bulletin of Tibetology* (1988, no. 1):31.
 - c Self-explanatory.
 - d Published in the *Times* (London), 30 Mar. 1940, p. 12.
 - e Published in James Shen, "A New Dalai Lama Is Found," *Asia* (Jan 1940): facing p. 25.
 - f Plate 33 in Melvyn C. Goldstein, *A History of Modern Tibet* (Berkeley, 1989).
 - g Published in GT's *Tibet Mirror*, 24 Nov. 1956, p. 3.

PLATE

- 5a-e a Arch T. Steele, "The Boy-Ruler of Shangri-la," *Saturday Evening Post* (13 Apr. 1946):15.
 b Steele, *In the Kingdom of the Dalai Lama* (Sedona AZ USA: In Print Publishing, 1993),
 61.
 c Steele (though uncredited), published as Pl. 32 in M.C. Goldstein, *A History of Modern
 Tibet* (Berkeley, 1989).
 d Amaury de Riencourt, *Roof of the World: Tibet, Key to Asia* (New York, 1950), between
 pp. 116-7.
 e Lowell Thomas, Jr., and published in *Catalogue of the Tibetan Collection and Other
 Lamaist Articles in the Newark Museum* (Newark NJ USA, 1950), 15.
- 6a-d a ThPaK.
 b Photo taken by Chicago *Daily News* correspondent Arch T. Steele when at Lhasa, summer
 1944, and was granted an audience by Tibet's Boy-Ruler at Norbu Lingka. Without
 any credit being given to Steele by those who reproduced and published it (out of
 ignorance as to the photo's source), it appears as Fig. 8 on page 26 in *Catalogue of the
 Newark Museum Tibetan Collection* (Newark NJ USA, 1983).
 c Michael H. Goodman, *The Last Dalai Lama* (Boston, 1986), facing p. 105.
 d *TR* (Nov. 1981):7.
- 7a-l a *Zhongguo Fojiao huagi* (Beijing, 1976), Pl. 178, and appearing as Pl. 9 in H. Stoddard, *Le
 mendiant de l'Amdo* (Paris, 1985).
 b Private Collection, and published as Pl. 50 in M.C. Goldstein, *A History of Modern Tibet*
 (Berkeley, 1989).
 c D.C. Ahir, *Himalayan Buddhism Past and Present: Mahapandit Sankrityayan Centenary
 Volume* (Delhi: Sri Satguru Publications, 1993), frontispiece.
 d As published in Horkhang Jampa Tendar, "The Geshe Chödrak I knew and His Dictionary,"
 Latse Library Newsletter (Fall 2005):19.
 e As published in Pema Bhum, "Geshe Chödrak's Orthographical Dictionary," *ibid.*, 27.
 f Private Collection.
 g Painting by Kanwal Krishna, and published as Pl. 26 in H. Stoddard, *Le mendiant de
 l'Amdo* (Paris, 1985).
 h,i Gedun Chophel, from his Sketchbook of 1938, part of the Kanwal Krishna Collection,
 and published by Heather (Stoddard) Karmay in her article, "Dge-'dun Chos-'phel,
 the Artist," in M. Aris and A.S.S. Kyi, eds., *Tibetan Studies in Honour of Hugh
 Richardson* (Warminster UK, 1980), 147.
 j Painting by Gedun Chophel (Collection: Mrs. Namgang Tsomo, Lhasa), and published as
 part of article, "English Poems of Gedun Choephel," in *Lungta* 9 (Winter 1995):13.
 k As published in "Notes" section of *TJ* (Spring 1983):56-7.
 l Self-explanatory.
- 8a-d a Roerich 1933, couverture, and published as Pl. 22 in H. Stoddard, *Le mendiant de l'Amdo*
 (Paris, 1985).
 b Sviatoslav Roerich, and published in Robert A. Rupen, "Mongolia, Tibet, and Buddhism
 or, A Tale of Two Roerichs," *The Canada-Mongolia Review* (Apr. 1979):16.
 c Frontispiece of George N. Roerich, *Tibetskii iazyk* (Moscow, 1961).
 d Postcard, printed at Rakmo Press Pvt. Ltd., New Delhi.
- 9a-j a,g,h Phuntsog Wangyal, and published in M.C. Goldstein et al., eds., *A Tibetan Revolutionary*
 (Berkeley/Los Angeles/London, 2004), respectively: front cover, Pl. 20, Pl. 21.
 b Giuseppe Tucci, *To Lhasa and Beyond* (Rome, 1956), 78.
 c *Tibet Mirror* preparatory photo, ThPaK.

PLATE

- d,e Collection Alexandra David-Neel, appearing, respectively, as Pl. 13 and Pl. 12, in H. Stoddard, *Le mendiant de l'Amdo* (Paris, 1985).
- f Tseten Tashi Studio, Gangtok, and published in J.K. Knaus, *Orphans of the Cold War* (New York, 1999), after p. 146.
- i Mark Leong, and appearing in Matt Forney, "Lunatic Notions?" *Far Eastern Economic Review* (19 Dec. 1996):51.
- j Cynthia M. Beall, and published on inside back flap of book cover of M.C. Goldstein et al., eds., *A Tibetan Revolutionary* (Berkeley/Los Angeles/London, 2004).
- 10a-e a-c *Tibet Mirror* (1 Dec.-1 Jan. 1950/51).
- d Appearing in David Snellgrove, "An Appreciation of Hugh Richardson," in M. Aris and A.S.S. Kyi, eds., *Tibetan Studies in Honour of Hugh Richardson* (Warminster UK, 1980), x.
- e Appeared in *Tibet Mirror*.
- 11 John C. White, *Sikkim and Bhutan* (London, 1909), facing p. 58.
- 12a-e a Tharchin family photograph collection.
- b-d *Time and Life* magazines' New Delhi Bureau Chief, Jim Burke, 1951. See Goldstein 1989, p. 774, where he mentions that Burke was in India in Mar. 1951, having "brought Heinrich Harrer [down from Kalimpong?]...to see [U.S.] Ambassador Loy Henderson in India...." See also Goldstein 1989, p. 786, where he mentions that on 26 June 1951 evening, Shakabpa and the U.S. Consulate's Vice-Consul, Calcutta, Mr. N.G. Thacher, held a secret lengthy talk at Kalimpong's Rinking Farm, with Jigme Taring present as interpreter.
- e Baron René de Nebesky-Wojkowitz, *Where the Gods Are Mountains*. trans. M. Bullock (New York, 1955?), opp. p. 113 (detail).
- 13a-e a David Tharchin, 1991.
- b Frontispiece in S.C. Das, *Journey to Lhasa and Central Tibet*, ed. W.W. Rockhill (London, 1902).
- c ThPaK.
- d GT's camera photo, Calcutta 1948, which appeared later in the *Tibet Mirror*.
- e A photocopy of a reproduction of this 22 Mar. 1948 issue's front page that appeared on the second page of the covering pages at the front of the *Tibet Mirror*'s Silver Jubilee issue (1 Dec.-1 Jan. 1950/51).
- 14a-d a-c ThPaK.
- d Upper fold of page 1 of the *Tibet Mirror*'s Silver Jubilee issue, dated 1 Dec.-1 Jan. 1950/51, ThPaK.
- 15a-d a ThPaK.
- b-d All three preparatory photos subsequently appeared in the *Tibet Mirror*.
- 16 Pages 1 and 13 of *World's Press News*, London, 25 May 1950.
- 17 *The Hindusthan Standard* (Calcutta), Sunday Magazine, 24 Sept. 1950, pp. I, III.
- 18a-e a-c,e ThPaK.
- d Dr. D.R. Kindschi, USA, a guest in GT's home, 1960; a copy of the photo was sent back to GT with the Dr.'s compliments; ThPaK.

PLATE

- 19a,b a Front page of the *Tibet Mirror* issue for 1 Sept. 1953, ThPaK.
b Krishna Kripalani, *Rabindranath Tagore, a Biography* (London, 1962), opp. p. 167.
- 20a-c a,b U.S. National Archives Still Picture Collection, and published in J.K. Knaus, *Orphans of the Cold War* (New York, 1999), after p. 50.
c Government of India's Press Information Bureau photo, issued 10 July 1949, an official copy of which was found among the ThPaK.
- 21a-e a Alexander Andreyev, and appearing in P. French, *Younghusband, the Last Great Imperial Adventurer* (London: Flamingo, 1995), facing p. 280.
b Carroll Dunham and Ian Baker, *Tibet: Reflections from the Wheel of Life* (New York/London/Paris, 1993), 108.
c India Office Library and Records, British Library, and published as Pl. 15 in M.C. Goldstein, *A History of Modern Tibet* (Berkeley, 1989).
d Alexander Andreyev, "Bolshevik Intrigue in Tibet," in H. Krasser et al., eds., *Tibetan Studies*, 2 vols (Vienna, 1997), II:15.
e Plymire's photo appeared in *Today's Pentecostal Evangel* (4 May 2008):7.
- 22a-w a John K. Knaus, *Orphans of the Cold War* (New York, 1999), after p. 50.
b "Nechung Medium Passes Away," *TR* (May 1984):5.
c Charles A. Bell, *Tibet Past and Present* (Oxford, 1924), 52.
d Martin Brauen, *Heinrich Harrers Impressionen aus Tibet* (Innsbruck, 1974), 126.
e ThPaK.
f Tseten Tashi Studio, Gangtok, and published in J.K. Knaus, *Orphans of the Cold War* (New York, 1999), after p. 50.
fa Melvyn C. Goldstein, *A History of Modern Tibet—Volume 2: the Calm before the Storm. 1951-1955* (Berkeley, 2007), 157.
g Marco Pallis, *The Way and the Mountain* (London, 1960), facing p. 174.
h Phuntsog Wangyal, as published in M.C. Goldstein et al., eds., *A Tibetan Revolutionary* (Berkeley/Los Angeles/London, 2004), Pl. 14.
i Khedroob Dhondup Collection, and published in K. Dhondup, *Tibet in Turmoil* (Tokyo, 1983), 25.
j Heinrich Harrer, and published in J.K. Knaus, *Orphans of the Cold War* (New York, 1999), after p. 146.
k Patterson, and published in Knaus, after p. 50.
l Tseten Tashi Studio, Gangtok, and published in Knaus, after p. 146.
m Carroll Dunham and Ian Baker, *Tibet: Reflections...* (New York/London/Paris, 1993), 111.
n Khedroob Dhondup Collection, and published in K. Dhondup, *Tibet in Turmoil* (Tokyo, 1983), 30.
o *Life* (6 Apr. 1959):33.
p Published in GT's *Tibet Mirror*, 24 Nov. 1956, p. 3.
q Government of India Press Information Bureau, and published in P.P. Karan, *The Changing Face of Tibet* (Lexington KY USA, 1976), after p. 24.
r W.D. Shakabpa, *Tibet: a Political History* (New Haven CT USA, 1967), 179.
s,t Khedroob Dhondup Collection, and published in K. Dhondup, *Tibet in Turmoil* (Tokyo, 1983), 22, 113.
u Embassy of India Information Office, Washington DC, and published in J. K. Knaus, *Orphans of the Cold War* (New York, 1999), after p. 146.
v An Associated Press photo, appearing in *Time's* article, "The Three Precious Jewels" (20 Apr. 1959):27.
w D.N. Tsarong (son "George"), *In the Service of His Country: the Biography of... Tsarong, Commander General of Tibet* (Ithaca NY, 2000), 81.

PLATE

- 23a-c a *The Hindusthan Standard* (Calcutta daily paper), 4 July 1951, p. 5.
 b David Tharchin, 1991.
 c Phuntsog Wangyal, and appearing in M.C. Goldstein et al, eds., *A Tibetan Revolutionary*
 (Berkeley/Los Angeles/London, 2004), Pl. 16.
- 24a-c a,b David Tharchin, 1991.
 c ? Gergan Tharchin ?, 5 July 1951, ThPaK.
- 25a-e a George N. Patterson, *Tibet in Revolt* (London, 1960), Pl. 14 (detail).
 b Melvyn C. Goldstein, *A History of Modern Tibet* (Berkeley, 1989), Pl. 49.
 c G.N. Patterson, *Tibet in Revolt* (London, 1960), Pl. 7.
 d C. Suydam Cutting, published as Fig. 48 in *Catalogue of the Newark Museum Tibetan*
 Collection (Newark NJ USA, 1983), detail.
 e Heinrich Harrer, "Flight in a Sandstorm: a Miraculous Escape." *Life* (4 May 1959):30.
- 26a-e a,c David Tharchin, 1992.
 b David Tharchin, 1987.
 d James R. Minto, *Graham of Kalimpong* (Edinburgh, 1974).
 e Hisao Kimura, *Chibetto Senko Junen* (Ten Years Incognito in Tibet) (Tokyo, 1958),
 between pp. 122-3.
- 27a-i a-d,g,h Part of Kimura's private photo collection, and published in his book (as told to Scott
 Berry), *Japanese Agent in Tibet* (London, 1990), appearing between pp. 120-21.
 e,f Both photos appear between pp. 122-3 in Kimura, *Chibetto Senko Junen* (Ten Years
 Incognito in Tibet) (Tokyo, 1958).
 i Courtesy, Mrs. Hisao (Nobuko) Kimura, Tokyo, Japan.
- 28a-c a This photo appears after p. 18 in T. Skorupski, ed., *Indo-Tibetan Studies: Papers in*
 Honour...of...Snellgrove's Contributions... (Tring UK, 1990).
 b,c ThPaK.
- 29a-h a Courtesy, Mrs. Hisao (Nobuko) Kimura, Tokyo, Japan.
 b ThPaK.
 c Private Collection.
 d ThPaK, taken, most likely in the 1950s, at Tharpa Chholing Gompa, Kalimpong, near
 GT's residence. The larger photo, of which this is but a small portion, is of a group
 of nearly 60 Tibetans—men, women and children.
 e Phuntsog Wangyal, and published in M.C. Goldstein et al., eds., *A Tibetan Revolutionary*
 (Berkeley/Los Angeles/London, 2004), p. 117.
 f Theos Bernard, most likely taken by him of the Geshe at Kalimpong in the spring of 1937
 when both were there; found among the ThPaK, and stamped on back: Exclusive
 Property of Theos Bernard.
 g U.S. National Archives Still Picture Collection, and appears after p. 50 in J.K. Knaus,
 Orphans of the Cold War (New York, 1999). Dzasa Tsarong is flanked by the two
 Americans, while British Mission Head at Lhasa, Frank Ludlow, looks on.
 h Gergan Tharchin's Tibet Mirror Press, Kalimpong, taken either in 1946 or later in 1948
 or 1949 before the Dilowa departed Asia for good and went to the U.S.
- 30a-e a Probably taken by Theos Bernard, when both he and the Geshe were in Kalimpong;
 ThPaK.
 b David L. Snellgrove, who termed these four as some of his "friends and helpers in
 Kalimpong" in furthering his Tibetological and Buddhist research, and appeared as
 part of Pl. 29 in Snellgrove, *Buddhist Himalaya* (Oxford, 1957).

PLATE

- c Frontispiece in the Geshe's published translated work, *The Door of Liberation* (New York, 1973).
- d Courtesy, Joshua Cutler, as published in K. Conboy and J. Morrison, *The CIA's Secret War in Tibet* (Lawrence KS USA, 2002), 49.
- e Sarah K. Lucas, and appearing on the back cover of the Geshe's final work, published in paperback posthumously, *The Jeweled Staircase* (Ithaca NY, 1986).
- 31a-e a Hisao Kimura, *Chibetto Senko Junen* (Ten Years Incognito in Tibet) (Tokyo, 1958), appearing on plate between pp. 122-3.
b-e *Tibet Mirror* photo file.
- 32a-g a Pyne Studio, Kalimpong, 13 Nov. 1948.
b-e,g ThPaK.
f Courtesy, Grace Tharchin.
- 33a-d (a),(d) Tharchin family photograph collection.
(b),(c) *Tibet Mirror*, Apr. 1955, p. 5.
- 34 *Tibet Mirror*, Apr. 1955, p. 5.
- 35a-k a-c,g ThPaK.
d,j,k Tharchin family photograph collection.
e Courtesy, Grace Tharchin.
f,h,i Courtesy, S.G. Tharchin.
- 36a,b a Courtesy, Grace Tharchin.
b ThPaK.
- 37a-h a,b Tharchin family photograph collection.
c,e Photos taken on author's camera by David Tharchin, 1987.
d,g Michael Mason, 1986.
f Author, 1987.
h Photo taken on author's camera by David Tharchin, 1992.
- 38a-d a *Current Biography Yearbook 1969* (New York, 1970), 147.
b Rinchen Dolma (Mary La) Taring, *Daughter of Tibet* (London, 1970), 241.
c,d David Tharchin, 1991.
- 38aa-bb aa S.G. Tharchin, 1964.
bb ThPaK.
- 39a-z a A.H. Francke, *Antiquities of Indian Tibet*, 2 vols (Calcutta, 1914, 1926), I: facing p. 16.
b L. Icke-Schwalbe and G. Meier, eds., *Wissenschaftsgeschichte und gegenwärtige Forschungen in Nordwest-Indien* (Dresden, 1990), 21.
c *Moravian Missions* (Sept. 1915):135, detail.
d Tharchin family photograph collection.
e John T. Hamilton, *A History of the Missions of the Moravian Church...* (Bethlehem PA USA, 1901), 153.
f *Periodical Accounts* (Sept. 1891): facing p. 306.
g "Language Problems in Tibet," *The Bible in the World* (June 1905):167.
h Vernon Mortenson, *God Made It Grow* (Pasadena CA USA, 1994), 432.
i "Fifty Years of Mission Service," *Periodical Accounts* (Sept. 1903):331.

PLATE

- j Otto C. Grauer, comp./ed., *Fredrik Franson, Founder of the Scandinavian Alliance Mission of North America* (Chicago, n.d. 1940?), 25.
- k,l Title page and pp. 4-5 of Edward Amundsen's *Primer of Standard Tibetan* (Ghoom Darjeeling: SAM Tibetan Press, [1903]).
- m Luree Miller, *On Top of the World: Five Women Explorers in Tibet* (New York, 1976), 72.
- n Title page, *The Holy Bible in Tibetan* (Lahore: Bible Society of India and Ceylon, 1948).
- o Public domain, and found among the ThPaK.
- p *Moravian Missions* (Jan. 1935):4.
- q Rev. Chandu Ray, "Therefore Let Us Praise God," *The Bible in the World* (July-Aug. 1949):52.
- r Photo taken by Rev. Persons, 1949, part of Collection Newark (NJ USA) Museum, and published as Pl. 15 in H. Stoddard, *Le mendiant de l'Amdo* (Paris, 1985).
- s Lillian Carlson et al., *If the Vision Tarry* (Minneapolis, 1988), facing p. 42.
- t Photo taken during Jan.-Aug. 1962, Kalimpong (at Tharchin Compound?); courtesy, Grace Tharchin.
- u Tharchin family photograph collection.
- v *Moravian Missions* (Mar. 1947):17.
- w Title page of Revised New Testament in Tibetan, 1970-71 edition (Bangalore: Bible Society of India).
- x Tharchin family photograph collection.
- y *Voices in the Wilderness Newsletter* (Published by Advancing Native Missions, Charlottesville VA USA) (Dec. 1995):4.
- z Tharchin family photograph collection.
- 39aa-ee aa-dd Margaret Urban, *Jesus unter Tibetern* (Berghausen Gmy, 1967), title page and p. 49.
ee Photo taken on author's camera by Neeraj Koirala, 1995.
- 40 ThPaK.
- 41 Page 1 of 10 Middle Center: SUM Institution (B.K. Subba, ed.), *SUMITE Centenary Souvenir* (Kalimpong, 1986), opp. p. 4.
All others: ThPaK.
- 2 All but Lower Right: ThPaK.
Lower Right: courtesy, S.G. Tharchin.
- 3 Top & Middle: courtesy, S.G. Tharchin.
Bottom: David Tharchin, 1991.
- 4 Top: courtesy, S.G. Tharchin.
Bottom: Pushpa Studio, Kalimpong, and found among the ThPaK.
- 5 Top: ThPaK.
Bottom: this appeared as last page of the 1952 calendar, printed by Editor Tharchin, Tibet Mirror Press, Kalimpong.
- 6 Note: Tucci to GT, Roma, probably 5 Mar. 1940, ThPaK.
Note: the Rani to GT, Bhutan House, Kalimpong, 14 Nov. 1942, ThPaK.
Letter: Prince Peter of Greece to GT, "Tashiding," Kalimpong, 12 June 1954, ThPaK.
Letter: Taring to GT, Taring House Lhasa, 18 Feb. 1943, ThPaK.
Letter: Baron Nebesky-Wojkowitz to GT, Himalayan Hotel, Kalimpong, early 1950s (most likely 1953), ThPaK.
Letter: Sir Charles Bell (CaB) to GT, Edgecumbe England, 13 Aug. 1937, Bell Papers.

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- c Frontispiece in the Geshe's published translated work, *The Door of Liberation* (New York, 1973).
- d Courtesy, Joshua Cutler, as published in K. Conboy and J. Morrison, *The CIA's Secret War in Tibet* (Lawrence KS USA, 2002), 49.
- e Sarah K. Lucas, and appearing on the back cover of the Geshe's final work, published in paperback posthumously, *The Jeweled Staircase* (Ithaca NY, 1986).
- 31a-e a Hisao Kimura, *Chibetto Senko Junen* (Ten Years Incognito in Tibet) (Tokyo, 1958), appearing on plate between pp. 122-3.
b-e *Tibet Mirror* photo file.
- 32a-g a Pyne Studio, Kalimpong, 13 Nov. 1948.
b-e,g ThPaK.
f Courtesy, Grace Tharchin.
- 33a-d (a),(d) Tharchin family photograph collection.
(b),(c) *Tibet Mirror*, Apr. 1955, p. 5.
- 34 *Tibet Mirror*, Apr. 1955, p. 5.
- 35a-k a-c,g ThPaK.
d,j,k Tharchin family photograph collection.
e Courtesy, Grace Tharchin.
f,h,i Courtesy, S.G. Tharchin.
- 36a,b a Courtesy, Grace Tharchin.
b ThPaK.
- 37a-h a,b Tharchin family photograph collection.
c,e Photos taken on author's camera by David Tharchin, 1987.
d,g Michael Mason, 1986.
f Author, 1987.
h Photo taken on author's camera by David Tharchin, 1992.
- 38a-d a *Current Biography Yearbook 1969* (New York, 1970), 147.
b Rinchen Dolma (Mary La) Taring, *Daughter of Tibet* (London, 1970), 241.
c,d David Tharchin, 1991.
- 38aa-bb aa S.G. Tharchin, 1964.
bb ThPaK.
- 39a-z a A.H. Francke, *Antiquities of Indian Tibet*, 2 vols (Calcutta, 1914, 1926), I: facing p. 16.
b L. Icke-Schwalbe and G. Meier, eds., *Wissenschaftsgeschichte und gegenwärtige Forschungen in Nordwest-Indien* (Dresden, 1990), 21.
c *Moravian Missions* (Sept. 1915):135, detail.
d Tharchin family photograph collection.
e John T. Hamilton, *A History of the Missions of the Moravian Church...* (Bethlehem PA USA, 1901), 153.
f *Periodical Accounts* (Sept. 1891): facing p. 306.
g "Language Problems in Tibet," *The Bible in the World* (June 1905):167.
h Vernon Mortenson, *God Made It Grow* (Pasadena CA USA, 1994), 432.
i "Fifty Years of Mission Service," *Periodical Accounts* (Sept. 1903):331.

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- j Otto C. Grauer, comp./ed., *Fredrik Franson, Founder of the Scandinavian Alliance Mission of North America* (Chicago, n.d. 1940?), 25.
- k,l Title page and pp. 4-5 of Edward Amundsen's *Primer of Standard Tibetan* (Ghoom Darjeeling: SAM Tibetan Press, [1903]).
- m Luree Miller, *On Top of the World: Five Women Explorers in Tibet* (New York, 1976), 72.
- n Title page, *The Holy Bible in Tibetan* (Lahore: Bible Society of India and Ceylon, 1948).
- o Public domain, and found among the ThPaK.
- p *Moravian Missions* (Jan. 1935):4.
- q Rev. Chandu Ray, "Therefore Let Us Praise God," *The Bible in the World* (July-Aug. 1949):52.
- r Photo taken by Rev. Persons, 1949, part of Collection Newark (NJ USA) Museum, and published as Pl. 15 in H. Stoddard, *Le mendiant de l'Amdo* (Paris, 1985).
- s Lillian Carlson et al., *If the Vision Tarry* (Minneapolis, 1988), facing p. 42.
- t Photo taken during Jan.-Aug. 1962, Kalimpong (at Tharchin Compound?); courtesy, Grace Tharchin.
- u Tharchin family photograph collection.
- v *Moravian Missions* (Mar. 1947):17.
- w Title page of Revised New Testament in Tibetan, 1970-71 edition (Bangalore: Bible Society of India).
- x Tharchin family photograph collection.
- y *Voices in the Wilderness Newsletter* (Published by Advancing Native Missions, Charlottesville VA USA) (Dec. 1995):4.
- z Tharchin family photograph collection.
- 39aa-ee aa-dd Margaret Urban, *Jesus unter Tibetern* (Berghausen Gmy, 1967), title page and p. 49.
ee Photo taken on author's camera by Neeraj Koirala, 1995.
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Letter: Baron Nebesky-Wojkowitz to GT, Himalayan Hotel, Kalimpong, early 1950s (most likely 1953), ThPaK.
Letter: Sir Charles Bell (CaB) to GT, Edgecumbe England, 13 Aug. 1937, Bell Papers.

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- 7 Letter: Richardson to GT, St. Andrews Scotland, 5 July [1954], ThPaK.
All: ThPaK.
- 8 All: ThPaK.
- 9 Aoki card: ThPaK.
All others: GT's personal library.
- 10 GT's personal library.
- 42a-g ThPaK.
- 43a-g a,b,d,e,g S.G. Tharchin
c Peter Rapgey.
f Information Office/Dharamsala, and published in *Himal* (Mar./Apr. 1991):8.
- 44a-e a Berman Studio, Kalimpong.
b-e OM Studio, Kalimpong.
- 45a-c a Berman Studio, Kalimpong.
b,c OM Studio, Kalimpong.
- 46a-c OM Studio, Kalimpong.
- 47a-c S.G. Tharchin family papers.
- 48a,b David Tharchin, 1992.
- 49a-h a *Life* (6 Apr. 1959):33.
b,f As published in C. Dunham and I. Baker, *Tibet: Reflections from the Wheel of Life* (New York/London/Paris, 1993), 120, 122, respectively.
c-e As published in Roger Hicks, *Hidden Tibet, the Land and Its People* (Longmead UK, 1988), 78, 79, 80, respectively.
g Michael H. Goodman, and published in M.H. Goodman, *The Last Dalai Lama, a Biography* (Boston, 1986), facing p. 315.
h Taken of GT seated in the main house sitting room of the Tharchin Compound, Kalimpong, early 1970s; courtesy, Grace Tharchin.
- 50 Lausanne 1974 Conference organizers, and found among the ThPaK.

END-NOTES

The reader is referred back to the “Abbreviations” page at the front of the volume for an important statement and explanation about the abbreviations employed in these End-Notes for documenting the use of the Tharchin Unpublished “Memoirs” (GTUM). A further word, however, needs to be appended here about this same documentation.

The reader will notice from a perusal of these Notes that the documentation of the use of the GTUM material appears in the following places within the listing of each of the Text chapter’s End-Notes:

- (1) at the very beginning of the section of End-Notes for each chapter there appears a *general* citation which includes:
 - (a) the total pagination of the relevant part of the GTUM material used in composing the Text of that chapter of the present narrative, and
 - (b) a summary enumeration of the specific pages of the GTUM material from which were taken particular quotations appearing in the Text of that chapter of the present narrative (see at the head of Ch. 23, e.g., which reads: GTUM TwMs, Ch. 22, pp. 1-5; quotes: 2, 3, 4, 4-5, 5);
- (2) in those important instances where unambiguity about the specific GTUM pagination was felt necessary to provide the reader with beyond what (1)(b) above already provides, there is indicated in some of the individual end-notes for each chapter of the present narrative a GTUM source citation which gives the particular page(s) that was used or quoted from (see, e.g., note 64 of Ch. 1); and finally,
- (3) in those individual end-notes themselves in which quotes and/or information have been included that were derived from the GTUM material, appropriate documentation, with an indication of the specific page(s) of the GTUM, has been provided (see e.g., note 44 of Ch. 3).

Chapter 21

GTUM TwMs, Ch. 19, pp. 1-5; quotes: 1-5.

1. F.M. Bailey, "Sir Basil Gould, C.M.G., C.I.E." (Obituary Essay), *GJ* (June 1957):281; Richardson 1962, p. 148; *Who Was Who. 1951-1960* (London, 1961), 439; H.W. Tobin, "In Memoriam: Sir Basil Gould...", *JRCAS* (Jan. 1957):4; see also Gould 1957, pp. 17, 32, 169; and for another source for additional bio-data on Gould found scattered throughout this discussion of his life and career, including the profile quoted about him as a man, see McKay 1997, pp. 143-4, 169, 225, 229, 230, 231.

2. The six main sources for the information and quotations found in this and the preceding paragraph regarding Richardson are: Snellgrove, "An Appreciation of Hugh Richardson," in Aris & Kyi (eds.) 1980, pp. ix-xi; *Who's Who 1994* (London, 1994), 1606; Hopkirk 1982, p. 235; *Bulletin of Tibetology* (8 Feb. 1978):4; McKay 1997, pp. 75, 147-8, 226, 230, 231, 232; and Harrer 1956, p. 179.

3. The mid-Jan. 1940 departure for Tibet from Gangtok is according to Gould 1957, p. 208. Tharchin, in having his "memoirs" prepared, had said the first week of January, but Gould's statement is probably more accurate. The source for all other information in this paragraph is GTUM TwMs, Ch. 19, pp. 1-2.

4. All quoted phrases in this paragraph are derived from Tharchin Late 1966, p. 3, whereas most of the information appearing in the paragraph is *per ibid.* and GTUM TwMs, Ch. 19, p. 2.

5. See GTUM TwMs, Ch. 19, p. 2. Missionary Learner had been one of various Western "photographers" alluded to by the Boy-King's eldest brother when the latter wrote of what was happening at Kumbum during that momentous winter of 1938-9: "...by 1938 rumors were coming thick and fast. Finally they had spread so far that Chinese photographers arrived in Tengtser [Taktser] to take photographs of Lhamo Dhondrub" (the Boy-King's name at birth). "The interest of world public opinion had now been aroused, and inquisitive visitors were becoming more and more frequent at Kumbum, and they all wanted to see the famous child. Many Chinese and quite a number of European photographers took pictures of him..." Norbu 1961, pp. 134, 136.

6. Although the photo by Learner was not the first ever taken of the future Dalai Lama of Tibet—there having at least been those taken by Chinese photographers who came to Tengtser as early as the latter part of 1938 (see previous note)—it was one of the very first, if not the first, ever taken by a Westerner and predates by several months the first photograph taken of the young Lama-King inside Tibet. This latter instance is recounted by Michael Goodman in his biography of the current Dalai Lama. The Tibetan official who took the picture "had to keep it a secret for years because photographing a Dalai Lama was not ordinarily permitted." Goodman 1986, p. 60. Such a stricture no longer exists now, of course; and even the 14th Dalai Lama's predecessor had had one or two pictures taken of him; see the following chapter concerning this. Possibly the very first Westerner to take a photo of the new Dalai Lama was the German missionary Matthias Hermanns (see Ch. 22's end-note 9 for details).

7. An illustration of this hat can be found in Norbu & Turnbull 1968, p. 86.

8. For example, the *Times* of London, in a photo-spread of the young Priest-King's arrival at Lhasa included a large replica of this very photograph (with photo credit given to the China Inland Mission) in a full-page picture coverage of the event on page 10 of its 4 Nov. 1939 issue. Two decades later, a world-famous American magazine carried the same photograph (with credit given, page 2, to Rev. F.D. Learner) in its photo-article, "An Incredible Land's Incredible Revolt," *Life* (6 Apr. 1959):33. The picture's caption indicated it was taken by Learner just three months after priests in the search party had found the future Theocrat of Tibet.

In the article by Learner in *China's Millions* (see next note) in which his now celebrated photograph had first appeared, there were shown two other photos of the future Boy-King that were taken at the same time as was the more famous one under discussion. The first of these two shows the boy standing full-height, wearing not only hat and peasant garb but also black boots, and holding the Gospel text cards with both hands (shot taken by Learner); the other one (snapped by his friend and China-based YMCA executive, George A. Fitch, on Learner's camera) is even more significant, it being the first photograph ever taken of the future Dalai Lama

with a white man. It shows Learner in a squat-down position with his arm around the waist of the boy, one of the latter's hands still grasping hold of the Gospel cards!

Time magazine, in a humorously-entitled article ("Koko Nor Kid") that appeared in its 26 Feb. 1940 issue, carried this same photo of Learner and the Dalai Lama on page 54 (and giving photo credit to Learner and Fitch).

But by far the most intriguing of Learner's photographs of "the boy who would be King" was one that exuded drama, dignity and charm all at the same time. It shows the absolutely charming tiny boy-lama, still clutching the Gospel text cards with his left hand while standing solemn and serene, as three towering and formidable ecclesiastical figures, positioned directly behind the lad and garbed in their flowing red lama robes, look straight out at the camera with quiet but determined expressions etched upon their faces. In fact, the central figure among this trio of "protectors" flanking His Holiness, and whose head nearly reaches the top of the huge doors behind him, has a forbidding scowl on his face. All four stand immediately in front of the beautifully decorated and carved double-door entrance to the guest hall of Kumbum Monastery that provided the background for most of Learner's photos taken that day. [A rather large reproduction of this photograph, incidentally, graced page 2 of the Silver Jubilee Number of Gergan Tharchin's 25th Anniversary Issue of his newspaper, the *Tibet Mirror* (1 Dec. 1950-1 Jan. 1951).]

9. Learner, "The New Dalai Lama," *China's Millions* (North American edition, Philadelphia) (Sept. 1939):135 and Learner, *Tibetan Journey* (London: H.E. Walter Ltd, 1949), 56 (a little volume of children's stories of his experiences along the Sino-Tibetan border, as told by "Wilfred," Learner's faithful horse of many years in China).

10. The two quotations appearing in this paragraph are derived from GTUM TwMs, Ch. 19, pp. 2 and 3, respectively; and all information and observations to be found in this and the preceding paragraph are per *ibid.* p. 2.

11. Quoted in *ibid.*, p. 3.

12. Gould 1957, pp. 198-9.

13. "Fifty-Year-Old Film on Dalai Lama," *Times of India*, 9 Nov. 1990, reprinted in *TR* (Dec. 1990):18.

14. *Times* (London), 9 Feb. 1940, p. 8.

15. All British Missions to Lhasa would usually stay in a house and somewhat spacious grounds rented from Kundaling Monastery in whose park such facilities were located nearby to Lhasa. See P.O.S. 1938, pp. 34, 65. It was called Dekyi Lingka and is more fully described in the End-Notes for Ch. 27.

16. Gould and Richardson, *Tibetan Word Book* (London/Bombay/Calcutta, etc.: Oxford University Press, 1943), ix, xii-xiii. The description of the word-book, syllable-book and sentence-book given in the preceding two paragraphs of the narrative text is based upon the author's own review of these volumes at the Library of Congress, Washington, D.C., and upon what is described by Gould himself in the *Tibetan Word Book's* General Preface and Introduction as well as in the Introduction of his *Tibetan Syllables* (London/Calcutta, etc.: Oxford University Press, 1943). The Verbs volume to which Gould made reference and on which Tharchin also labored, came out later under the title of *Tibetan Verb Roots*. As described in advance in the *Tibetan Word Book's* General Preface (p. xi), the Verbs book would be a small volume that would "give—in a form which may remind some readers of their early efforts in Greek—the infinitive, past, future, and imperative roots" of well over several hundred Tibetan verbs. The quotation about Doring Thajji is found in *ibid.*, xii.

17. The story of Ringang and the other three boys being sent abroad is a most fascinating one, and of particular interest to the reader with respect to the story of Ringang (see further in this note) and that of Kyipup (see Ch. 14 earlier). As one writer on these events (Tsering Shakya) aptly put it, the sending in Apr. 1913 of these Tibetan students to England for education and British willingness to help in the venture could be seen as "the beginning of a race to place English-educated Tibetans in the Tibetan government, and to teach Tibetans how to play the Great Game [of Central Asian geopolitics]." The whole affair constituted—at least

in part—a reaction by the British to a report earlier that same year and telegraphed to the London Foreign Office on 17 Feb. by Britain's ambassador in St. Petersburg, Sir George Buchanan, that there had appeared in the Russian press various reports indicating that 15 Tibetan students would be arriving in Russia for study in Russian institutions and that, moreover, they would be “accompanied by the enigmatic Dorjief,” the Russian Buddhist Buriat Mongolian Lama who had become a resident of Lhasa and who had reportedly ingratiated himself with the 13th Dalai Lama (see Ch. 16 above). These reports from St. Petersburg no doubt speeded up the momentum which had begun much earlier when on the advice of Sir Charles Bell and with the help of the British Government of India, the Tibetan Grand Lama instructed that four Tibetan boys be sent to England to be educated. They departed India on 5 Apr. 1913 in the company of none other than Basil John Gould (at that time the British Trade Agent at Gyantse), along with a member of the Bengal police (S.W. Laden La), and a young Tibetan Army officer, the *Tsipon* (Finance Minister) Lungshar (who by 1925 would replace Tharchin's friend, Tsarong Shape, as one of the Chief Commanding Officers of the Tibetan Army but who would later fall from grace, as was explained in the previous chapter of the present narrative). It was anticipated that these boys would imbibe Western technological methods and ideas, and, upon the completion of training in different branches of modern enterprise, would then be useful in the development of Tibet's resources.

They all returned from England by 1917 or 1918 totally Westernized: they spoke flawless English, appeared to be polished men of the world, and had nearly forgotten their mother tongue. Yet only one of the four, Ringang, really experienced much success; but perhaps this was partly due to the fact that he enjoyed the favor of the Dalai Lama. Having studied electrical and hydroelectric engineering, Ringang was eventually placed in charge of a hydroelectric power plant which he himself had literally brought back with him when he returned from England a second time in 1924, and whose construction was completed in three years under his direction. It provided electricity to the city and to Norbu Lingka. However, because the site chosen for the plant was along a weakly-flowing small tributary of the main river Kyi, it could never produce enough electricity to satisfy the growing demands of a populace that, due to Ringang's expertise, had become fascinated with electrical gadgetry of the West. Sources: Bernard 1939, p. 98; Gould 1957, pp. 27ff.; Harrer 1956, p. 182; Macdonald 1932, pp. 218-21, 305-6; Tucci 1956, p. 75; P.O.S. 1938, pp. 13, 36, 44, 45-6; T. Shakya, “Making of the Great Game Players: Tibetan Students in Britain between 1913 and 1917,” *TR* (Jan. 1986):9-14, 20; and K. Dhondup, “The Thirteenth Dalai Lama's Experiment in Modern Education,” *TJ* (Autumn 1984):56-7.

Ringang (personal name: Rinzin Dorji) was in time appointed in 1933 the *Dzongpon* or District Governor of Purang (duties: collection of revenues and administration of justice), yet never did he visit his *dzong* or fortress residence but would always remain at Lhasa (fortunately for Purang, there was a co-*Dzongpon*, there usually always being two such officials in every Tibetan District). Instead, his wife would at times go there in his place! Ringang was promoted to an officer of the fourth rank in 1937. Since that year Ringang had also been serving as one of the *Nyer-tsang-nga* (Municipal Officers) of Lhasa. According to *Who's Who in Tibet*, at this time he was “pro-British but cautious.” P.O.S. 1938, p. 13; see also again the Dhondup article (see above), pp. 56-7; and Gould 1957, p. 237.

18. See Gould 1946, p. 256; and also, Gould 1957, p. 237. Coincidentally, another of the four Tibetan boys sent off to England, Kyipup, would serve as City Magistrate of Lhasa during these same New Year festivities which would last for an entire month. *Ibid.*

19. See GTUM TwMs, Ch. 19, p. 3. Sir Basil had these two other scholars also in mind when in the Preface to his *Word Book* he wished to single out others besides Tharchin for commendation who had rendered him valuable assistance. “The Old Rugbeian and former student of London University, R.D. Ringang (now known as Kusho Changngopa), who for many years has been in charge of the hydroelectric installation at Lhasa, and English translator and interpreter to the Tibetan Cabinet, not only gave the greatest possible help himself but also enlisted that of his wife...and of his brother...and of others in Lhasa. The learned Lama Tshatrul Rimpoche, who was a close confidant of His Holiness the late Dalai Lama in literary matters, gave special help in the revision of spellings and in ensuring that the Word Book is in accordance with modern usage.” Gould and Richardson, *Tibetan Word Book*, xii.

20. GTUM TwMs, Ch. 19, pp. 4, 5 note 1.

21. Chapman, “Lhasa in 1937,” *GJ* (June 1938):503. Chapman had served as Gould's private secretary on this British Mission to Lhasa, 1936-7. Another person who gave solid testimony to Ringang's facility in

English (this time, as to his writing ability) was Charles S. Cutting, probably the first American to visit Lhasa. In fact, this regular correspondent with Dalai Lama XIII (though the two of them never met) had been to Lhasa on three occasions: in 1930, 1935 and 1937. Cutting describes the English translations of the Dalai Lama's letters to him which were always provided by Ringang, who was Secretary to His Holiness: "The Dalai Lama's answering letters were done in fine Tibetan script on native paper.... But originals and translation arrived in intricate envelopes, addressed in both Tibetan and English, and sealed with the Dalai Lama's official seal. Ringang's translations were always typewritten, without a single typographical error. While his style showed a slight foreign flavor, the sentences were fluent, and there were no slips in grammar." Cutting 1940, p. 176.

22. GTUM TwMs, Ch. 19, p. 4.

22a. The fact that it had been Tharchin who had coined the appellation is per the Babu's daughter-in-law Nini as reported to the author by the Babu's grandson David in two emails sent the author: (a) one dated Kalimpong, 22 Oct. 2006, Point 2.; and (b) one from Delhi, 30 Nov. 2006, Point A—both being David's reporting of what he had learned from his mother Nini (with the latter being referred to in both emails by the endearing term Amala).

23. Letter, Tharchin to Richardson, Kalimpong, 10 Feb. 1962, part of the Richardson Papers, Bodleian Library, Oxford University, MS. Or. Richardson 41, Folio 215. Transcribed and kindly sent to the author by email, 4 and 9 Mar. 2006, by Tibetan historian Tsering Shakya, Vancouver BC.

23a. Two sources confirm this date: (a) letter, Tharchin to the Calcutta American Consulate General, Kalimpong, 16 June 1965: "I have been preparing another large dictionary in Tibetan to Tibetan since the last 35 years. It contains over 58,000 words..."; and (b) letter, Tharchin to Walter W. Ross, Kalimpong, 17 June 1965: "I have a large Tibetan dictionary to be printed, which I started to compile from 1930. It will be very useful for...all the research scholars." ThPaK.

24. Stoddard 1985, p. 219.

25. Re: the Lama's employment by Tharchin, GTUM TwMs, Ch. 19, p. 4 reads: "...the Mongolian Lama was once employed by Tharchin in Kalimpong where he picked up the plan and system [for] composing a dictionary." And re: his promise, *ibid.* also reads as follows: "When the Lama returned to Tibet he had promised to send some additional books of Tibetan words for Tharchin's dictionary."

26. *Ibid.*, 5 note 3.

27. *Ibid.*, 5, which reads in part: "At this time [1937] the Mongolian had passed the examination[s] for the title of 'Gyeshe'"—which statement is then followed by a discussion on the matter of "giving 'tongo'" (whose significance in relation to achieving the *geshe* degree is explained several pages later in the Text).

27a. Norbu 2005, Part III, unnumbered page.

28. The quote about the Mongolian's Communistic leanings, etc. can be found in GTUM TwMs, Ch. 19, p. 5; and the information re: the Cultural Revolution's victimization of Geshe Chodak is per Horkhang 2005, pp. 24-5.

29. Except for the "thirteen long years" quote, all other quotations, as well as the information to be found in this paragraph, are derived from Horkhang 2005, pp. 20-21, 23; and from Stoddard 1985, pp. 219, 311 note 12, 332, 380. The exception can be found in T. Tsering, "Obituary: K. Dhondup...." *TJ* (Summer 1995):95.

30. Horkhang 2005, pp. 22, 23, 24.

31. The sources for the information and quotations to be found in this paragraph are: Stoddard 1985, pp. 219, 311 note 13, 332; Richardson 1993, p. 127; Donald S. Lopez Jr, "...a Preliminary Study," in Kvaerne 1994, 1:492; Shakya 1999, p. 99; and for the title and date of the Tibetan-Chinese dictionary cited by Shakya, see Bhum 2005, p. 26.

32. Kimura 1990, p. 197.

33. *Ibid.*, 146.

34. Except where already documented, the source for all other information and quoted material in this and the preceding two paragraphs is GTUM TwMs, Ch. 19, pp. 4-5.

35. See T.Y. Pemba, "Tibetan Reminiscences," *TR* (July 1977):22-5 and Pemba 1957; and for more information on the life of this most interesting Tibetan family, see McKay 1997, pp. 81-2, 123, 125, 129, 164, 219, 226, 230-1, 233, 271.

36. Except for the McKay quotation, which is derived from McKay 1997, p. 125, all other quoted material in this paragraph is from GTUM TwMs, Ch. 19, p. 5.

37. See (a) "The Afterword..." *Latse Library Newsletter* (Fall 2005):28; (b) Horkhang 2005, pp. 23-4; and (c) re: the Dictionary's fifth reprint, see Bhum 2005, p. 27.

38. See T. Tsering, "Obituary: K. Dhondup..." *TJ* (Summer 1995):94-5. It should be noted that this translated version of the Afterword's poetry omits the final four-line stanza, which nonetheless is irrelevant to this discussion. See additionally Horkhang 2005, pp. 23-4; Bhum 2005, pp. 26, 27; and "The Afterword..." *Latse Library Newsletter* (Fall 2005):28.

39. Kimura 1990, pp. 197-9, 201.

40. Aside from the three Prefaces quoted from extensively in the Text and which appear in Gergan Tharchin's *English-Tibetan-Hindi Pocket Dictionary* of 1965 and 1968, the sources for all other information and quoted material appearing in the Text pages that discuss the *Pocket Dictionary* episode involving the Geshe and the Marwari are the following: for the information and quote re: the birth and its approximate date of Geshe Chodak's daughter, see Horkhang 2005, pp. 24-5; for Rev. Peter Rapgey's confirmation that the Bad Mongolian Lama and Geshe Chodak were the same person is per interview with him, Feb. 1992; and for all other information and quoted material—which have been derived from David and Nini Tharchin (aka: Amala)—see the following emails which were sent to the author and received by him from David Tharchin on behalf of himself and his mother Nini: 14 Oct. 2006, 22 Oct. 2006, and 30 Nov. 2006.

41. Many years later, when the Indian Parliament was debating the Tibet issue, Prime Minister Nehru, in the reply he gave to the debate in the Rajya Sabha (Upper House) of Parliament, declared at one point: "I do not particularly fancy this constant sensational way of referring to the Dalai Lama as the God-King, and, in fact, I do not think he likes it either. This is not the Indian way..." That was on 4 May 1959. Four days later, on the 8th, in a speech on the same subject of Tibet and given in the Lok Sabha or Lower House, the Indian leader repeated the declaration in more emphatic terms: "...all this business of God-King etc. is not to my liking.... I may say that the Dalai Lama himself does not like this business." Quoted from Sen 1960, pp. 203, 213. A few months later, it was reported by the *Hindustan Times* of India that the Dalai Lama, by that time in exile at Mussoorie in the Himalayan hills of northwestern India, had made it known that he "does not like the title God-King" because in his opinion "it is not correct." As further reported by the *Times*, Western writers, sources close to the Dalai Lama at Mussoorie declared, "have wrongly described him as 'God-King' [and also as] 'Living Buddha' (incarnation)..." The newspaper report went on to say that the then 24-year-old ruler of Tibet "has told his visitors that he is not a 'Living Buddha' but a 'servant of the Master [i.e., of Buddha]'," *Hindustan Times*, datelined Mussoorie, 28 Aug. 1959. And ten years later the eldest brother of the Dalai Lama, Thubten Jigme Norbu as co-author with Colin Turnbull, wrote in a similar vein to that of His Holiness, as follows:

It is often thought, outside Tibet, that we Tibetans regard the Dalai Lama as a God, holy and untouchable. This is not so. The Dalai Lama is two things. He is the reincarnation of Chenrezi, and he is a human being like anyone else. It is the spirit of Chenrezi, which animates his body, that we revere. We give thanks that Chenrezi has entered human form so that he can more effectively give us the guidance we need. It is the Buddha, through his manifest form as Chenrezi, whom we worship, not the body or being of a human. We believe that the body, the form of the Dalai Lama, while likely to be in many respects superior to others, is still essentially human. That is the whole point of Chenrezi's sacrifice. The body he enters, for our sake, is subject to decay, as are all things. It is subject to illness and suffering; it is subject to weakness; and death will come to it in the normal course of time, just as it comes to all human bodies. Norbu & Turnbull 1968, p. 234.

Now it will be noticed by the reader that the phrase "god-king" has been placed in quote marks at this point in the regular Text of the present biography, and will continue to be so marked—out of deference to His Holiness the Fourteenth Dalai Lama—whenever throughout the remainder of the narrative this title is used in reference to the current ruler of Tibet. Nevertheless, although Dalai Lama XIV may himself view the title of "god-king" as incorrect, it is obvious to the present author, as a result of his investigation into the matter, that the Dalai Lama's fellow Tibetans—almost to a man, woman and child—have always looked upon and revered him as such: their god and king. And most certainly, the current Dalai Lama's predecessor thought himself such. Sir Charles Bell, who was on intimate terms with the Great Thirteenth and knew him better than any other Westerner, has an illuminating passage on the subject in his highly respected biography of the Thirteenth Dalai Lama. He writes:

What was the Dalai Lama's own attitude to his status in the Buddhist world? Did he himself believe that he was supreme among Buddhists, a god on earth? Among Tibetans and other Asiatics he claimed this supremacy in every word and deed. As for myself, it was undesirable and unnecessary for me to ask such a question....Whenever the idea was in the background of our talks, he would look at me with a deprecating smile, as much as to say, "I know I cannot expect you to believe it." And he was always ready to admit a lack of knowledge or lack of power in the presence of a few daily associates, such as the Court Physician. But in public it was always asserted. On the medal that he gave me it is confidently claimed; in his Political Testament it is placed clearly on record. Bell 1946, p. 192.

Moreover, the author of what may well be one of the more "definitive" biographies of the current Dalai Lama in the English language has gently confronted His Holiness on this sensitive matter. Having had many interviews with the Tibetan ruler over a five-year period (1979/80-85) in the U.S., Switzerland and during a two-month stay at Dharamsala, Michael Goodman felt free to bring up the subject with him and wrote as follows:

[the] God-King...label he does not much care for and which he has taken pains to correct. But is he not, in fact, a god? "There are many different types of reincarnations," he says. "My own has been blessed by Chenrezi, and my being has been sent to earth as his representative. So it is true." And is he not a king? He laughs gleefully. "The line of Tibetan kings—Songtsan Gampo and the others—ceased many centuries ago. But in the sense of the Sanskrit term *Dharma Raja*, or Religious King, I am the head of the religious community. So this is true also." He pauses to adjust his robes. "I rather think of myself as a *bhiksu*, a simple Buddhist monk."

But though the Dalai Lama may think himself only a simple monk, "members of his staff," noted Goodman, "still draw in their breath when addressing him and back out of the room when taking their leave, and Tibetans greet him with the traditional threefold prostration. When he issued strict orders to [refugee] settlement administrators that there were to be no grandiose preparations made for his visits, the people were horrified, for above and beyond his temporal aspect they value him as the living symbol of their country." Goodman 1986, pp. 325, 326. More recently, His Holiness has written in the volume of his memoirs published in 1990, the following: "I have no difficulty accepting that I am spiritually connected both to the thirteen previous Dalai Lamas, to Chenrezi and to the Buddha himself." Quoted from *Freedom in Exile* in Mirsky 1990, p. 53.

Furthermore, Heinrich Harrer, when writing of his many years at Lhasa in the late 1940s and early '50s, was wont to comment that "the Tibetan people regarded [the Fourteenth Incarnation of Chenrezi] rather as the Living Buddha than as a king" and that "their prayers were directed to him not as ruler so much as patron god of the land." Harrer 1956, p. 248. In addition, subsequent to his return visit to Tibet in the spring of 1982 after a 30-year absence, Harrer wrote that numerous Tibetans he had talked with assured him "that for them the Dalai Lama was the only one who commanded veneration." Harrer 1985, p. 68.

Hence, in the light of all this, there is more than ample justification in applying the title of "god-king" to the current Grand Lama of Tibet in the present biography. As one British Political Officer for Tibet once declared on the matter: "All that the people of Tibet in general know, or desire to know, is that in the persons of these

Lamas [the Dalai and Panchen Lamas] they are worshiping actual Incarnations of Divinity, and that on the demise ('passing away') of one of them the same spirit reappears in the body of a baby born soon afterwards. It is, in fact, the same Divinity only in a different body." Sir Frederick O'Connor, "Tibet in the Modern World," *Geographical Magazine* (Dec. 1937):108. Sir Frederick, incidentally, knew the Panchen Lama of his day personally and somewhat intimately; see Ch. 27.

Chapter 22

GTUM TwMs, Ch. 20, pp. 1-6; quotes: 1, 2, 3, 4.

1. Tharchin Late 1966, p. 3.

2. There would be another instance of this in the Jo-khang some 40 years later. This, of course, was after His Holiness had felt compelled to quit Lhasa and go into exile in India, an event that would usher in a period, still present today, of untold hardship, oppression and seeming hopelessness among Tibetans in the Land of Snows. Yet one of the ways in which hope had been kept alive had been the surreptitious placing of photographs of the Dalai Lama in sacred places such as the Jo-khang and Potala. Heinrich Harrer made a return visit to Lhasa in the spring of 1982 after a 30-year absence from Tibet. Later he told of seeing in the Jo-khang a small colored photo of His Holiness attached to a golden Buddha image there. He spotted another picture of the Tibetan "god-king" on one of the Potala's altars. He found still other photographs publicly displayed on the altars of other temples. Harrer 1985, pp. 112, 152, and caption of one of the book's illustrations opposite p. 88.

3. Bell 1946, p. 114.

4. Gould 1946, p. 256.

5. According to the American wartime correspondent in Asia for the *Chicago Daily News*, Arch T. Steele, writing in 1946 about his two-week visit to Lhasa during the summer of 1944, this "strange, many-fingered fungus" was "still preserved where it [had first] appeared [in the Potala]. It is enclosed today in a glass case." Steele, "The Boy-Ruler of Shangri-la," *Saturday Evening Post* (13 Apr. 1946):78.

6. A Tibetan friend of Charles Bell, whom the latter had met in China, had at one time earlier visited this sacred lake, and described to Bell how the visions came: "The water of the lake is blue. You watch it from the hillside. A wind arises, and turns the blue water into white. A hole then forms in this white water; the hole is blue-black. Clouds form above this hole, and below the clouds you see images showing future events." Bell went on to explain that Tibet's proverbial "tempestuous winds" that "are never far away" arise quite suddenly on such lakes, adding also that hot springs were numerous. "My friend," Bell continued, "saw beneath the cloud some Chinese houses, and houses of the Calcutta type, before there was any idea that his Government would send him via Calcutta to China." Bell 1946, pp. 40-1.

7. Incredible as it may appear, not only did the boy correctly identify the Sera Lama and two other members of the search party; he also, when answering the Rimpoche's questions, replied "correctly in the dialect of the Tibetan court of Lhasa..., which was completely unknown in the area" where the boy lived! See both Anon. 1992, p. 6 and Levenson 2002, p. 12.

8. On page 6 of Anon. 1992, it is stated that "the boy bore all eight of the Dalai Lama's traditional distinguishing marks." Moreover, these Lhasan emissaries "satisfied themselves that the body of the child had the 32 secret major and minor marks which are supposed to be signs of a spiritual heritage..." Levenson 2002, p. 13.

8a. *Ibid.*, 12.

8b. Per John Avedon's *An Interview with the Dalai Lama* (1980), and reported in Craig 1997, pp. 72-3.

9. A few months after Learner's earlier visit to Kumbum Lamasery that had made possible the taking of the photograph of the future Tibetan Boy-King which Tharchin had reproduced *en masse*, the missionary, writing long afterwards in his book *Tibetan Journey* (London, 1949), 56, "happened to be in the Lamasery on the very day when the little Dalai Lama was to leave Kumbum to start on his long journey to Lhasa..." Learner

not only saw him from the vantage point of the crowd but was even able to speak with him and to give him some additional Christian literature beyond what he had given to the future Boy-King on the earlier visit. The account of what happened on this subsequent occasion is further related in the same Learner book, described in the previous chapter's End-Notes as a little volume of children's stories of the missionary's experiences along the Sino-Tibetan border, as told by "Wilfred," Learner's faithful horse of many years in China. And hence it must be understood that the phrase "my master" which appears in the quoted passage to follow has reference to Learner himself. He writes again on p. 56:

Just before he was put into his yellow satin sedan chair, carried by two large black mules, my master was able to say goodbye to him and he put some more Tibetan Gospel literature into his hands. I wonder if these text cards and Scripture portions ever reached Lhasa, and if so, whether they are still there? As the sedan chair was leaving, a crowd gathered, including some hundreds of red- and yellow-robed lamas, to see the Dalai Lama go. Many relatives were there too, and were weeping as they said goodbye, but the little lad did not shed a tear. He was perfectly composed, as if he realized the seriousness of the responsibilities ahead of him. His parents went in another sedan chair beside him, and traveled with him to Lhasa... Was it not a wonderful opportunity for my master to see the Dalai Lama, and to be able to give him some Tibetan Scriptures? Most probably it is the one and only chance that a missionary has ever had to meet the Dalai Lama of Tibet, and who knows but that a ray of Light may penetrate the closed, sacred City of Lhasa through my master's contact with him?

To be completely accurate, there was another missionary who had met the future Dalai Lama some months before this event and most likely even prior to Learner's earlier encounter with the youngster. This was the German Roman Catholic missionary in Amdo, Fr. Matthias Hermanns, whose missionary organization was the Society of the Divine Word. It so happened that in March of 1939 Hermanns had attended Kumbum's butter festival where he encountered Tibet's newly-discovered Priest-King and had even taken pictures of the lad. Two of these photographs would subsequently appear later that same year in a published article by the missionary, "Dalai-Lamas Wiedergeburt entdeckt [The Dalai Lama's Rebirth Discovered]," in *Steyler Missions-Bote* 66 (1939), 11-16. The present author is indebted to research scholar and writer John Bray for having alerted the author to this information. For additional details about Hermanns, see T. Dodin and H. Räther (eds.), *Imagining Tibet* (Boston, 2001), 39 and 53, which pages are part of two articles authored by, respectively, Bray and Per Kvaerne.

10. The text of Richardson's account of the arrival in Lhasa of Tibet's new Child-King represents a composite formulation by the present writer of what this eyewitness had recounted in several anonymously written reports a few days following the event and which were subsequently dispatched either to the Associated Press of India or the *Times* of London. In fact, the latter would publish one version of these reports entitled "Boy God in Lhasa," in its issue of 4 Nov. 1939, p. 7, the dateline of which read: "From a Special Correspondent, Lhasa, Oct. 8." The three versions which served as the basis for this composite account of the event can be found in Richardson 1998, pp. 672-8.

10a. Lobsang Samden would be one of three of the 14th Dalai Lama's brothers who would at one time or another become monks. But two of these three would also be identified—like His Holiness—as a *Trulku* or Incarnation of a previous holy man or great spiritual teacher: Thubten J. Norbu (aka: Taktser Rimpoche) and Tendzin Choegyal (aka: Ngari Rimpoche). Interestingly enough, all three monk-brothers would eventually disrobe themselves as monks, marry, and even express serious doubts about the entire trulku tradition of reincarnation. See Craig 1997, pp. 156, 157, 258, 364; and for a brief history of the trulku system of Tibetan Buddhism, see pp. 5-6, 9 notes 14 and 15.

11. Except where already documented, the sources for all preceding paragraphs and pages dealing with the "supernatural selection process," birth, home village area, "discovery," "recognition," and caravan journey to Lhasa of the child Lhamo Dhondrub are the following: Goldstein 1989, pp. 310-11; Goldstein, "An Anthropological Study of the Tibetan Political System," Ph.D. dissertation, Univ. of Washington, Seattle, 1968, p. 162, and quoted in Nowak 1984, p. 26; Dalai Lama XIV 1962, pp. 18, 23, 25, 28, 31; Dalai Lama XIV 1990, pp. 3, 12, 13, 17, 54; Norbu 1961, pp. 54, 56, 59, 83, 129, 130, 135, 136, 142; Kimura 1990, pp. 30, 56-7, 61; Learner, *Rusty Hinges; a Story of Closed Doors Beginning to Open in Northeast Tibet* (London, 1933), 77, 112 (the author had already been a CIM missionary for 22 years in China by the time this book had been published); Bell 1946, pp. 69, 75; Bell 1924, pp. 124-5; Gould and H.E. Richardson, *Tibetan Word Book* (London, 1943), ix; Bernard 1939, p. 67; *China Press* (Shanghai), 23 Feb. 1940, p. 1 (which is the Fitch account, which also featured three of his photographs of the future Tibetan Boy-King and his colorful

palanquin-caravan departing the Kumbum Lamasery for Lhasa); Gould 1957, pp. 214-5; Goodman 1986, p. 13; Levenson 2002, pp. 12-14; Craig 1997, pp. 11-21, 62-5; and Avedon, *An Interview with the Dalai Lama* (New York, 1980), 9. For the pertinent travel movements of the Great Thirteenth during his 1904-9 exile, see Tada 1965, pp. 47, 55-6.

12. It should be added that the combined Losar-Monlam Festival would then be followed immediately by another festival lasting another month and known as the Lesser Prayer or Prayer of the Assembly, which was concerned with the welfare of Tibet more than that of the world at large. The Prayer Festival's primary purpose, Michael Goodman has explained, "was to shorten the time remaining in the spiritual reign [*kalpa*, or epoch] of Gautama Buddha, whose power has passed its zenith, and to hasten the coming of the Maitreya Buddha, known to Tibetans as Gyalwa Champa [Jampa] (All-Conquering Love)." Goodman 1986, p. 53. See also Norbu & Turnbull 1968, pp. 114, 204; and Rato 1977, p. 79.

13. This is a composite description of the event extracted from two sources, both written up at two different times by Gould: (a) the primary source is his memoirs, Gould 1957, pp. 217-9; and (b) a second source, cited earlier, Gould 1946, p. 257. The source for the bracketed insert about Gould's 1912 association with the Great Thirteenth is *Times* (London), 19 Feb. 1940, p. 5.

14. The spectacular procession just described was filmed in black and white by Kanwal Krishna, the professional painter from India mentioned in the previous chapter who accompanied the British delegation to Lhasa for the Installation. See "Fifty-Year-Old Film on the Dalai Lama," *Times of India*, 9 Nov. 1990, reprinted in *TR* (Dec. 1990):18.

14a. Shakya 1999, p. 6; also cf. with *ibid.*, 461-2 note 11.

15. "Fifty-Year-Old Film on the Dalai Lama," *Times of India*, 9 Nov. 1990, reprinted in *TR* (Dec. 1990):18.

16. For Tharchin to say this is not hyperbole at all, since, as has been seen, Lowell Thomas Jr had estimated that *at least* 5000 were present for the Siringasol ceremony on 22 Feb. Furthermore, Heinrich Harrer has given similar testimony to the phenomenon of many thousands of Tibetans attending such grand receptions by this same Dalai Lama during the years when he, Harrer, was a resident at Lhasa in the late 1940s. He writes: "I had often had a glimpse of the Dalai Lama during the processions, but I saw him face to face for the first time during one of the great receptions in the Potala. I sat on a small rug in the throne room *and counted more than 7000 people filing past their ruler*. Everybody was offering presents, poor people just a copper coin while rich merchants carried rolls of gold brocade. Each of them got a blessing from His Holiness and left with a good-luck scarf." Harrer, "My Seven Years in Tibet," *GJ* (June 1954):154 (emphasis added).

17. This recollection of the Dalai Lama's had occurred 20 years later, when the two of them met again at Mussoorie, India, in 1960. See Ch. 27 for a lengthy discussion on the significance of such an unusual recollection.

18. See the Gospel of Matthew 2:11.

19. From Revelation 17:14, and quoted as well, as one of the two Christian Scriptures that head up the Text of the present chapter.

20. An acquaintance of Tharchin's, Lois Lang-Sims, has told how at the height of the influx of refugees into India following the unsuccessful Tibetan Uprising at Lhasa in 1959, she witnessed this kind of *darshan* being experienced by those Tibetans who merely looked upon a photograph of this same Dalai Lama—the Fourteenth. In April of that year Miss Lang-Sims found a Dalai Lama brooch at the Kalimpong bazaar which she described as "an odd little trinket consisting of a round tinted photograph in a gaudy setting of gilt rays set with glass gems, unmistakably inspired by Woolworths," and which, she added, "was to be my passport to innumerable friendships at a later date." That later time did come two years afterwards when she was back in Darjeeling in the summer of 1961. While the missionaries were distributing milk there to the refugees, Lang-Sims wrote, "I distributed a kind of darshana [*sic*] with my Dalai Lama brooch. Broadly smiling, filthy, lousy, gentle people

swarmed about me, holding out their hands, pressing the sacred object to their foreheads, passing it from one to another, gazing at it in wondering love. Even the milk was forgotten as they crowded together to catch one flickering ray from the light of the Presence.” Lang-Sims 1963, pp. 67, 192.

21. See Tung 1980, p. 25.

22. Yet, not only Tibetans, but many non-Tibetans, especially in India, wished to experience the *darshan* of His Holiness whenever he came to that land. On his first visit there in late 1956, he had only been in New Delhi two days when even non-Buddhists began queuing up for the darshan of the Dalai Lama. His biographer writes that “more and more non-Tibetans lined the street leading to [Hyderabad House where he was residing]: a great many Hindus, bearded Sikhs, turbaned Moslems, all there for the darshana [*sic*]...” Goodman 1986, p. 244.

23. Tseten 1971, p. 41.

24. This final comment by His Holiness is quoted in Goodman 1986, p. 69. Except where documented already, the source for all quoted material found in the narrative text up to this point since Note 11 above are the following: Bell 1946, p. 69; Gould 1957, pp. 209, 215, 217, 221, 222-3, 224, 226-9; Goodman 1986, pp. 62, 65-6; Harrer 1956, p. 252; Gould 1946, p. 258; Lhasa Special Correspondent (Gould?), “Boy Dalai Lama Enters Lhasa; Pageantry of His Installation; Mile Long Procession,” *Times* (London), 23 Feb. 1940, p. 8; same Correspondent, “The Dalai Lama Enthroned: Pageantry within the Palace,” *ibid.*, 24 Feb. 1940, p. 5; same Correspondent, “Britain’s Gifts to Dalai Lama: Bar of Gold and Bags of Silver,” *ibid.*, 27 Feb. 1940, p. 8; Gould to Government of India, 23 Mar. 1940, quoted in Walt van Praag 1987, p. 236n., see also p. 70; Thomas, Jr. 1959, pp. 47-8, 49; and Thomas Jr. 1961, p. 29.

25. *Times of India* (Bombay), 17 July 1940, p. 8.

26. All descriptive details, facts of publication and quoted matter presented in this and the preceding two paragraphs were derived from the present author’s personal perusal at the Library of Congress, Washington, D.C., of these three works discussed. This included a review of the body of their regular texts, a careful scrutiny of their Title and Copyright pages full of descriptive and factual information not otherwise available. a reading of their Prefaces and/or Introductions, and a perusal of the Foreword to the *Tibetan Word Book* by Sir Aurel Stein that was signed 1 Jan. 1943 and which indicated that “some weeks earlier” (that is, in late 1942) he had received from Sir Basil an advance copy of the printing of the *Word Book* for his own review and for the writing of his foreword.

27. Gould 1957, p. 199.

28. Tharchin 1963, pp. 1-2; and cf. with letter, Tharchin to T. Wangdi, Kalimpong, 8 July 1954, ThPaK.

28a. Sherriff to Tharchin, Lhasa, 24 July 1943, ThPaK.

28b. Two memoranda, the said Publicity Office to Tharchin, Delhi, 11 Apr. and 4 July 1944, ThPaK, with each memo listing in two columns the Block Index numbers and their respective captions.

29. Besides the Sherriff letter (see note 28a.), as well as Richardson 1945, p. 82 and Tharchin’s so-called memoirs, two additional sources for the information and quoted material found in this and the previous four paragraphs are: (a) an only extant p. 2 of a copy of a typed letter, Tharchin to Dir, School of Foreign Languages, Ministry of Defence at New Delhi, Kalimpong, 15 Feb. 1954, ThPaK; and (b) Tharchin 1951.

30. The continuous Reting and Taktra Regencies had begun, of course, upon the death of Dalai Lama XIII in late 1933. According to Tibetan custom, if not law, upon the death of a Dalai Lama the Government is placed in the hands of a King-Regent, who is chosen from among several high incarnate Lamas of Lhasa and its vicinity. And once he comes into power he will hold his position until death or until a new Dalai Lama is found and becomes of age. In the present case, the Head Lama of the important Reting Monastery (located four days’ journey north of Lhasa), had been chosen and appointed by the Tibetan Parliament (the *Tsongdu*) as the head of the interim Regency. He was only 21 or 22 years old at the time.

Now because people recalled that the Dalai Lama had paid a special visit to Reting just a year before he died, they came to believe that while there he had given to the Rimpoche "detailed political and administrative guidance and advice." And that that was the reason the Tsongdu had chosen Reting Rimpoche to be Regent. But Tibetan historian K. Dhondup disputes this in his published history of the Great Thirteenth. On the contrary, writes Dhondup, "the Dalai Lama himself did not issue any statement nor even vaguely hint that Radreng [Reting] Tulku should be appointed to the Regency nor did Radreng Rimpoche claim any special right to the regency." Dhondup 1986, p. 96.

Indeed, it was not because of this misguided belief but because of his youth and inexperience that he had been chosen; even as was the comment offered to Hisao Kimura by an Inner Mongolian monk, Danzanhairo by name, who had been at Lhasa several years during and after Reting Rimpoche's selection and assumption to power. Tharchin's latter-day Japanese friend Kimura reported that Lhasan friends of Danzan had told him that the Rimpoche had been chosen chiefly on account of his age: he would be too young and therefore inexperienced "to have posed any threat to the established strongmen." So these friends had heard rumored around the many drinking shops in the Tibetan capital. Danzan added that this incarnate lama's Regency "was a scandal, but everyone was frightened of him because of his magical powers." Kimura 1990, p. 113. It would not be too long, therefore, before "this young and frivolous Regent," who was "mercenary and all too ready to listen to alluring offers, became increasingly unpopular." Tucci 1973 p. 52. He had expressed a desire in 1936 to resign as Regent, but according to one British government publication in India in 1938, he "was persuaded to remain, on the understanding that his orders would be unquestioningly obeyed." Moreover, "beneath a frail and mild exterior he conceals considerable determination." P.O.S. 1938, pp. 2-3. Reting Rimpoche ruled Tibet until February 1941, at which time he abdicated in the face of the assumption of power the year before by Dalai Lama XIV. Actually, though, this occult-practicing Regent, just 31 years old at the time, had told Government officials that he had dreams which foretold his death unless he withdrew from the Regency and retired to a monastery for meditation. See Knaus 1999, p. 20. The Reting Regency was replaced by the election in Parliament of the incarnate Lama of Taktra, an old man of 75 whose views were more orthodox. An attempted coup by Reting Rimpoche to reassume power as Regent was foiled in 1947 by Taktra, and after his arrest and incarceration in the Potala the ex-Regent died under what some have termed mysterious circumstances. In fact, rumors were rife, writes Kimura, "as to how the relatively young and healthy ex-Regent had taken his leave of this world. Some even said he had used his [occult] powers to spirit himself into the next." Kimura 1990, p. 172. For more on the Reting Regent and his ultimate demise, see Hugh Richardson, "The...[Reting] Conspiracy of 1947." in Aris & Kyi (eds.) 1980, pp. xvi-xx.

31. From this moment onwards, in fact, the lives of these two Rimpoches would be inextricably bound up with each other and with the Dalai Lama until both their deaths just two years apart at Dharamsala in Northwest India in the early 1980s. Whether or not Tharchin ever became acquainted with Ling Rimpoche is unknown, but it is known, by the Kalimpongian's own testimony, that Trijang Rimpoche visited Gergan Tharchin in the latter's home and even inquired about the Bible and the Christian faith. See near the end of Ch. 28 for the details, as well as for a brief sketch of the life and career of Trijang.

In 1950 Ling Rimpoche was appointed Senior Tutor to His Holiness, while Trijang Rimpoche was made the Junior Tutor. They remained in these respective posts till their deaths. Both these Rimpoches had had similar careers, and were born but one year apart, the Senior Tutor (born 1902) being, in this respect, one year younger than the Junior Tutor. A brilliant scholar, Ling had been born at the village of Yup near Lhasa, and entered Drepung Monastery when ten years old. Through diligent study he had been able, in similar fashion to that of Trijang Rimpoche, to pass the grueling examinations for the *lharampa geshe* ("Doctor of Metaphysics") at the unheard-of age of only 21 and within an equally unheard-of time span of a mere eleven years when normally this required about 20 years of intense study! Possessed of this qualification, he was entitled to be admitted to Gyudto—a celebrated institute in Lhasa for Tantric studies, of which he ultimately became prefect and, in 1936, its chief abbot. Three years later would see him take on additional duties of Assistant Tutor to the new Dalai Lama.

Towards the end of his career Ling Rimpoche achieved the high distinction of being elected for a seven-year term as the Ganden Ti Rimpoche. He was the 97th in the line which began with the Great Reformer of Tibetan Buddhism himself, Tsong Khapa, in the late 14th century. While in this position as the Patriarch of Tsong Khapa's Throne (also known as Ganden Tripa—"The Throne-holder of Ganden"), the occupant is considered the Head of the ruling Gelugpa tradition of Tibetan Buddhism. (See end-note 35 of Ch. 5 of the present narrative for additional details on the post of Ti Rimpoche.) Ling was still occupant of the Ganden Throne and

Senior Tutor to His Holiness when he passed away on 25 Dec. 1983 at Dharamsala, the exile headquarters of the 14th Dalai Lama.

Shortly before his death Ling had told an American biographer of the current Dalai Lama: “When I looked upon His Holiness for the first time, I was convinced he was the true incarnation of Chenrezi. Since then his development in both aspects of his role has been tremendous. As a spiritual leader he is one of the outstanding authorities on Tibetan Buddhism, and politically he has matured into a leader of great capability.” Goodman 1986, pp. 339-40.

The sources used for all the information found in the regular Text and in this present note about the two Regents and the Dalai Lama’s Tutors are: *ibid.*, 106-7; Dalai Lama XIV 1990, pp. 18, 61; Phuntsok Tsering, “Trijang Rimpoche Passes Away,” *TR* (Nov. 1981):7; P. Tsering, “Kyabje Ling Rimpoche—In Memoriam,” *ibid.* (Jan. 1984):8, 10; “New Head of Gelug Tradition Appointed,” *ibid.* (May 1984):5; *ibid.* (Nov. 1982):5; and John F. Avedon, “Notes,” at end of his book, *Interview with the Dalai Lama* (New York, 1980), 77.

32. See Avedon 1984, p. 23.

33. Harrer 1956, pp. 234, 236. The source for the subjects named which Harrer had assisted the Tibetan Boy-King in studying is Anon. 1992, p. 7.

34. All quoted material, other than from Harrer, appearing in this and the preceding five paragraphs can be found in one or the other of the following seven sources: Dalai Lama XIV 1962, p. 57; Dalai Lama XIV 1990, p. 32; Goodman 1986, p. 110; Craig 1997, p. 124; Riencourt 1950, p. 151; Dixit & Tseten 1991, p. 12; or Norbu 2005, Part III, unnumbered page.

35. Quoted in Thomas, Jr. 1961, p. 50; and for the Goodman quote, see Goodman 1986, p. 110. One of the more interesting facets to his naïveté during the years of World War Two was the fact that his sympathies lay with Nazi Germany! “Not for any other reason but because the Germans had only two allies,” he explained. “Whereas the other side had so many: England, France, the Soviet Union, America.... So I felt good when some news item indicated that the Germans had occupied a city or won a battle. That’s my nature. I am always for the underdog. When I saw the pictures of the Nuremberg trials I was quite sad: the Allied military police in their uniforms and some of the German war prisoners with whom I was familiar [from my reading]. It was not until later that I knew the full story. Someone sent me a complete set of volumes about the war—there were six or seven of them, I think—a pictorial set bound in Delhi. After reading them my attitude changed. Something was very wrong with Hitler.” *Ibid.*, 112.

36. Tharchin reported the contents of the 14th Dalai Lama’s letter to him about this matter in a letter the Babu wrote to Hugh Richardson, Kalimpong, 7 Mar. 1962. In his letter to the latter, Tharchin had explained how he had resumed publication of the *Tibet Mirror* and as a result had received many letters, one of which came from the Dalai Lama. The letter to Richardson is a part of the Richardson Papers at the Bodleian Library, Oxford University, MS. Or. Richardson 41, Folio 219. Transcribed and kindly sent by email to the author by Tibetan historian Tsering Shakya, Vancouver BC, 7 Mar. 2006.

37. Dixit & Tseten 1991, p. 12. The “out-of-date” comment is according to Craig 1997, p. 124.

38. Other than what has already been documented, the source for all quotations and information in this and the preceding paragraph on the value to the young Dalai Lama of Tharchin’s newspaper, as well as some additional data, is Goodman 1986, pp. 109-12.

39. Quoted in Craig 1997, p. 126.

40. For both the Harrer and Rusk observations, see Knaus 1999, pp. 79 and 100, respectively.

41. All information and quoted material re: *The Tibetan Letter Writer* are per: (a) GTUM TwMs, Ch. 20, pp. 4, 6 note 2; (b) letter, The Mission Press to Tharchin, Allahabad India, 22 July 1942, ThPaK; (c) letter, Tharchin to The Mission Press at Allahabad, Kalimpong, 17 Apr. 1953, ThPaK; (d) letter, Tharchin to the Mission Press at Allahabad, Kalimpong, 15 May 1954, ThPaK; and (e) letter, Manager, The Mission Press, Allahabad, 18 Feb. 1949, ThPaK. It should be noted that in his end-of-life source cited above, Tharchin had erred in stating that the printing “had not been completed even by the year 1956.” For according to the (c)

letter of 1953 cited above, Tharchin indicated that he was now in a position to “send a cheque” for the still outstanding “I.O.U.” and urgently requested that all the printing work (which was now completed) be sent him “by passenger train.” And in the (d) letter of 1954, the Babu informed the Allahabad press that all the printed forms had been received “in good condition” and that a payment check was being sent.

42. These three facets of the notable year of 1942 in the life of Gergan Tharchin were commented upon at some length by the Babu in his “memoirs” as presented here in the Text; see GTUM TwMs, Ch. 20, p. 5.

43. See three letters, ThPaK: (a) Tibet Liaison Officer to Tharchin, Kalimpong, 9 Sept. 1953, reminding the Babu that the 12th installment had fallen due nine days earlier; (b) Tharchin to T.L.O., Kalimpong, 1 Apr. 1954, enclosing the 13th installment payment, including interest for one month’s arrears in payment; and (c) T.L.O. to Tharchin, Kalimpong, 30 Aug. 1954, reminding the Babu that two days hence the 14th and final installment was due.

Chapter 23

GTUM TwMs, Ch. 22, pp. 1-5; quotes: 2, 3, 4, 4-5, 5.

1. The sources for all the information and quotations relative to these three disasters and their impact on Poo and Kyelang, on Bihar State and Madras, on the West Bengal areas of Calcutta and Darjeeling, and on Tibet, Kalimpong and Upper Assam-Southeast Tibet, as well as Andrews' experience in Delhi, are as follows: Andrews 1935, pp. 26-7, 45; *PA*, June 1905 and Sept. 1905, *passim*; *ibid.*, Dec. 1906, p. 486; *Times* (London), 16 Jan. 1934, p. 12; the 17th, p. 12; the 18th, p. 13; the 19th, p. 12; and the 23rd, p. 11; Dalai Lama XIV 1990, pp. 50-51 with Harrer 1956, pp. 241-2; the description of the 1950 earthquake as being history's fifth greatest is found in Anon. 1990, p. 7; Patterson 1959, pp. 46-8; and *The Statesman* (Calcutta), 16 Aug. 1950, p. 1.

2. In her seminar paper Stoddard gave considerable space to the artistic and painterly qualities of Gedun Chopel the visual artist, and to their development in him. It was not until he arrived at Lhasa, she notes, that word of him as an artist became known. Monks at Drepung, where Gecho himself lived, "went rather hungry if they had no outside source of income ..." For Gecho, painting provided it. He himself said, related Stoddard, "that he made all kinds of drawings just to fill his belly, but that he did not draw Buddhas" (though according to other sources, he did execute paintings of at least Lord Buddha himself). She reports that in a friend's cell at Drepung the Tibetan artist "painted a portrait of a young and brilliant monk...and a Chinese emperor that looked so real it seemed to be talking." Friends of his reported later to Stoddard on his realistic style and his unusual use of color. They recalled "pictures of trees, of a woman in Tibetan costume holding a stick of incense, drawings of Milarepa, Atisha, portraits of nobles, and so on." Thus, from 1927 until his imprisonment at Lhasa 20 years later, painting and drawing would provide the Amdowa a considerable amount of earnings for his livelihood. Indeed, this gave him, writes Stoddard, "a certain independence and with that the freedom to travel," as travel he did for 12 years between 1934 and 1946.

As is related in the Text of the present chapter, Gedun Chopel had as his master at Drepung, Geshe Sherab Gyamtsho, the most influential teacher of his time, and an accomplished artist in his own right. But he soon was outshone by his star disciple, about whom the Geshe, says Stoddard, is reported to have admitted "that while they were both learned in the Five Sciences, it was Gedun Chopel who was particularly clever at painting." Gradually becoming widely known and appreciated by his contemporaries, his patrons soon numbered not only lay folk and monks but also aristocrats, and even, in his final years, the Regent of Tibet.

Wherever he traveled in Tibet and elsewhere, the budding artist always had a sketch book handy to record pictorially objects of religious art that impressed him deeply. Whether in Lhasa, at Reting, in Lhoka, in Nepal or in India, he never tired of making sketches, drawings or paintings of them. But he was not a conventional artist by any means. In fact, Pheni Moukherji, the photographer who in 1938 accompanied Pandit Rahul Sankrityayana and the Amdo monk on one of the Pandit's more important research expeditions, this one into southern Tibet, once told the following story that well illustrates the Tibetan artist's scorn of convention:

We used to talk about art a lot. I was educated in the Western tradition in which art is one activity that can be picked up at a moment's notice and put down again, but Gedun Chopel said the most important thing is concentration. The mind must be totally absorbed in the subject. One day for a joke he said that he would show me what he meant. He went to the market and bought a bottle of arak [liquor]; he started to drink. He drank and drank and kept asking whether his face had gone red yet. By the last drop he was quite inebriated. He stripped off stark naked and sat down and started to draw; he drew a perfect figure of a man starting off at one fingertip and going all round in one continuous line until he ended back up at the fingertip again.

Gedun Chopel, observed Stoddard, opened himself up to a variety of non-Tibetan artistic influences, not least of which were the Mathura Buddhas and Ajanta cave paintings of India as well as the Himalaya watercolors of Nicholas Roerich (see later in this Chapter's end-notes for a discussion on his work), and even Russian icons. The drawings in one of the sketch books still extant today of Gedun Chopel's work, Stoddard notes, "show a spare and flowing use of line that seems inspired both by traditional Tibetan painting and a keen observation of the human figure." On one of the pages of Stoddard's published seminar paper two fine examples of this are exhibited (p. 147).

Upon his return to Lhasa in Jan. 1946 for what proved to be the final years of his life, the Amdowa put to good use the artistic knowledge, technique and subject matter he had absorbed while abroad. Patronized chiefly

by the nobility, he was able to garner a modicum of subsistence from his painterly talent—and even when he was in prison! For the wealthy he executed portraits and decorated their houses. A specialty of his was to paint tigers on the walls of these villa homes, and on either side of the entrance to a pavilion located in a private park belonging to one Lhasan noble family, Gecho painted lions in the act of catching deer. But inside the structure, Stoddard learned, he created a long wall painting that consisted of “the history of Tibet from the time of the kings up to the twentieth century with lorries and modern buildings” (the reason for this particular subject matter in this painting will become clear to the reader later in the Text). All seemed to appreciate his artistic talent, and even the head of the committee that condemned the artist to prison was attracted to his work, for one day Surkhang Shape asked the Tibetan artist to draw anything he wished. “He made a circle and a few quick lines,” reported Stoddard, “and there was a donkey!”

Under house arrest in Lhasa for the rest of his life after release from prison, Gedun Chopel nonetheless did receive commissions from various patrons to paint. One in particular was from Taktra the Regent, who allowed him to spend two months at his new private estate in sTod-lung executing Lantsa decorations in the various buildings throughout, though under the watchful eye of the Regent’s treasurer, who looked after him! On impulse, the artist would sometimes visit the Jo-khang where he would carefully examine various ancient images, wall paintings, or the design of the Cathedral’s pillars and cross beams on its balconies. One object which he especially liked to view (the reason for which will again become clear to the reader later in the Text) was the famous image of Songtsan Gampo that was housed in a small roof chapel atop the Jo-khang.

All in all, concluded Stoddard, the few paintings and sketches which she came across in the course of her research on his life, though not necessarily representative, do nonetheless “demonstrate both a mastery of Tibetan traditional painting and an exploration into new and varied non-Tibetan styles.” Karmay [Stoddard] 1980, pp. 145-9.

2a. *Ibid.*, 145 for all quoted remarks in this paragraph except one. The exception: the “masterpiece” quote is from Dhondup 1978, p. 10; and cf. with Hopkins 1992, p. 14.

2b. Lopez Jr 2006, p. 6.

3. See Snellgrove and Richardson 1995, p. 245; Stoddard 1988, pp. 468, 469-70; Tharchin, *Tibet Mirror* (Dec./Jan. 1950/51):17, as cited by Stoddard in *ibid.*, 466; letter cited, Tharchin to Bell, Bell Papers; Kvaerne 1987, p. 71; Stoddard 1985, pp. 86-8; and Radhu 1997, p. 205.

4. This earlier visit to Tibet was the one in which on his return to India this same Pandit Sankrityayana had brought back with him the “Bad Mongolian Lama”—discussed at some length in Ch. 21—who had been troublesome for Tharchin.

5. Translated from the Tibetan and quoted in Mengele 1999, p. 53; cf. also Dhondup 1978, pp. 11-12.

6. Tsering 2005, Part I, p. 6.

7. *Ibid.*, Part II, pp. 5-6.

8. The length of stay in Kathmandu and the dates thereof are per A-ngak Tsering Tashi 2005, p. 52; cf. Stoddard 1985, p. 171.

9. *Ibid.* for both sources cited in the preceding end-note.

10. Stoddard 1985, p. 171.

11. *Ibid.*, 172.

12. *Ibid.*, 173.

13. See A-ngak Tsering Tashi 2005, p. 54 for the Pandit’s introduction of the Amdowa to the Babu; but his date of Sept. 1936 should read 1935 when compared with Stoddard 1985, pp. 173, 175.

14. A-ngak Tsering Tashi 2005, p. 54; though again, when compared with Stoddard 1985, p. 175, his date

of Sept. 1936 for the beginning of Gedun Chopel's 18-month stay with the Babu is incorrect; it should read April 1937. The pertinent Tibetan passage for this quote reads: *khu nu bha bu mthar phyin gyi gnas su zla bco brgyad tsam bzhugs*.

15. Stoddard 1985, pp. 189-90.

16. *Ibid.*, 175, 178.

17. Tsering 2005, Part II, p. 2.

18. Interview with G. Shempa, Jan. 1992.

19. Kimura 1990, p. 189.

19a. For information on the Pandit's third journey into Tibet (*unaccompanied by Gecho this time*), which occurred in the late spring and into the summer of 1936, see Stoddard 1985, p. 174. Like the 1938 journey, the Pandit would travel into southern Tibet, where he would visit such important monastic towns as Sakya, Ngor, Shigatse and Gyantse.

20. See *ibid.*, 180.

21. Tsering 1987, pp. 8, 9.

21a. See Mengele 1999, pp. 102, 116 for the *correct* date of 28 June 1938, not Stoddard's date of 29 June 1937 cited by her in Stoddard 1985, p. 178.

21b. Lopez Jr 2006, p. 17; emphasis added.

22. See Stoddard 1988, pp. 468-9.

23. Stoddard 1985, p. 179.

24. See Stoddard 1988, p. 470; French 1994, pp. 357-8; Karmay 1994, p. 7; and for the *Mirror* quote, see Stoddard 1985, p. 178.

25. The first page of the article as it appeared in the *Tibet Mirror* has been reproduced in *TJ* (Spring 1983):57. An English translation of this page has also been provided; *ibid.*, 56.

26. See Tsering 2005, Part II, pp. 3-4; and Norboo 1977, p. 13.

27. For the translation into English of the titles of these Tibetan articles and letter, and a list of same, see (a) Mengele 1999, pp. 86-102 and 115-6, respectively; and (b) Stoddard 1985, pp. 329-30.

28. See Hopkins 1992, p. 19; Norboo 1977, p. 12; and Dhondup 1978, p. 12.

29. See Stoddard 1985, p. 303 note 162 re: their collaboration on the first of these translation endeavors mentioned; and see *ibid.*, 103, 177 for the second endeavor.

30. *Ibid.*, 177.

30a. Karmay [Stoddard] 1980, p. 145.

30b. *Ibid.*

31. This Stoddard quote as presented here is a composite rendering of two separate discussions by her concerning Gedun Chopel and the Cave Documents; see Stoddard 1985, pp. 124 and 206.

31a. See Mengele 1999, p. 116, whose date of 25 Nov. 1938 is probably more accurate than the date cited in Stoddard 1985, p. 205, showing it as 11 Nov. 1938.

32. See *ibid.*, 205.

33. See Stoddard's detailed account of this discovery in *ibid.*, 206.

34. One of the most prominent Western inhabitants to have lived in Kalimpong, from early 1948 to 1957, was the accomplished Russian Tibetologist and Orientalist, Dr. George Nicholas Roerich (1902-60). In celebration of him in 1982 (when, had he lived, he would have been 80 years old), his brother Sviatoslav wrote in part the following homage in his honor:

He was passionate since the beginning about history, philology, archaeology. The Orient, particularly Central Asia, became his deepest dream. From his childhood he was interested in Egypt, Babylon and the Middle East. At fifteen years of age, India attracted him, and at seventeen he started to study Persian and Sanskrit at the School of Oriental and African Studies in London, under the direction of Sir Denison Ross. He already knew Latin, Greek and several European languages. He absorbed very fast the new study matters. In London he used to spend all his time at the British Museum, in libraries, to attend courses and visit museums. Quoted in Stoddard 1985, p. 162.

By a considerable correspondence over many years and then in person at Kalimpong he would become a close friend of Tharchin's. (Much more will be said below about George Roerich.)

But an even more remarkable person than *George* Roerich was his eminent father, Nicholas Konstantine Roerich (1874-1947), who has previously been mentioned several times in the End-Notes and Text of the present biography: specifically in the Notes for Ch. 2 that quoted him regarding the degradation into Shamanism of Tibetan Buddhism, in the Notes for Ch. 16 which dealt with the Shambala legend's role in the bizarre Wallace-Roerich affair, and in those Notes for Ch. 18 which dealt with the infamous Notovitch controversy. Also, the elder Roerich was cited in the discussion in Ch. 10's Text dealing with the Maharishi of Kailash and other so-called Mahatmas. (It needs to be pointed out, incidentally, that neither father nor son Roerich ever became a citizen of the U.S., although both lived many years there off-and-on before finally settling in India.)

As indicated elsewhere in the present biography already, the father Roerich had been a painter, writer, archaeologist, explorer and mystic philosopher who had been born at St. Petersburg, Russia; educated at that city's Academy of Fine Arts; was appointed the director of that city's School for the Encouragement of Fine Arts, serving from 1906 till the beginnings of the Russian Revolution in 1916, when Russia's disintegration drove him to Finland; and finally, he had emigrated to the U.S. in 1920, under the auspices of the Art Institute of Chicago, in relation to an exhibition tour of his paintings and associated lecturing. In Chicago Roerich would be the catalyst behind the creation in 1921 of Cor Ardens, a society of art workers of all nationalities designed "to bring together in spirit sympathetic isolated individuals." In that same year he would go on to New York and found the Master Institute of United Arts, an educational institution embracing all the arts. The following year found him establishing the Corona Mundi, an international art center to foster and distribute art objects and arrange loan exhibitions throughout the U.S. Out of these last two named institutions, which were mutually affiliated—and with the assistance of a generous benefactor, Louis L. Horch—there was established in New York in 1923 in this Russian's honor and dedicated to his art, the Roerich Museum, which opened in Manhattan first on 105th Street, but then moved into its new and permanent skyscraper home in 1929 at 310 Riverside Drive/103rd Street. The Museum contained a school of all the arts and was devoted to the exhibition of creative art from all parts of the world. In the words of Heather Stoddard, "the synthesis of scientific progress and Eastern spiritual values became the Museum's keystone," presenting as it did "the latest technical innovations" but at the same time evoking in "its architecture...the grand Hindu temples and the *stupa* of Mahabodhi at Bodh Gaya." *Ibid.*, 163. At one time, there hung here on display over 1,000 of Roerich's 3,500 paintings, while the others had found their way into art galleries and museums elsewhere in the U.S. and among 25 other countries, including at the Paris Louvre, Luxembourg's Museum, London's Victoria and Albert Museum, Chicago's Art Institute, and the museums of Detroit, Kansas City and Omaha, as well as among private art collections. Moreover, the New York Public Library would eventually house a collection of the artist's paintings that had been printed by the Roerich Museum Press during the 1930s.

In 1923 Nicholas Roerich left New York as leader of a five-year expedition to Central Asia that finally terminated at Darjeeling in 1928, followed by a year's travel through India, before he returned to New York in the spring of 1929. Some of the fruits of these journeyings for him were some 500 paintings of Asian landscapes and ethnical portraiture he had executed—100 of which he donated immediately to the Roerich

Museum; the amassing of countless data on Asiatic culture and philosophy; and the securing of the valuable 333-volume Tibetan Buddhist Canon: the *Kangyur* and *Tengyur*. His son George had the privilege of traveling across wide areas of Central Asia with his distinguished father, who, besides his many other accomplishments, had become, as already intimated, a painter of more than ordinary ability, Nicholas having much in common with the French Impressionist painter, Paul Gauguin. Among other painterly abilities, Roerich had captured the magnificence of the Tibetan landscape in a remarkable series of pictures.

Declared the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* about the elder Roerich's canvases: "they evidence an intense feeling for the epic dimensions and mystery of nature, particularly pre-historic nature....His outstanding achievements" in this artistic medium "arose out of the opportunity to create evocations of the past." *EB (Micropaedia)*, 15th ed., 10:135. And in the 1930 volume of *The National Cyclopaedia of American Biography*, after describing his Sancta and Messiah series of paintings he had executed, as well as various American landscapes of the West and coastal scenes in Maine, the following observations were made about the Russian's unique artistic style:

Roerich's contemporaries judge his art as beyond analysis according to the art canons which dominated the materialistic formal conceptions of the last century. His paintings have inspired the admiration of such diverse persons as Tagore, Andreyeff, Zuloaga, Claude Bragdon, Mestrovic and Stokowski, all of whom see in them some fourth dimensional quality of greatness. Austere and virile, as the world's most accomplished critics acclaim him, Roerich sees the earth above men in its most ancient and powerful aspects and imparts a tone of rare decisiveness in his simple, broad and strong coloring, the effects of which, as told by an American critic, "is one of stunning, blending, luminous impact, like that of an intensified, moving and metallic rainbow." They remark the universality of his art, a versatility of spirit and a philosophy that conveys far more than mere artistic individuality, even a whole school of thought. (New York, 1930), Current Vol. C: 145-7.

A few of Nicholas Roerich's landscape paintings, along with others of his, were reproduced as color photographs for inclusion in a number of his books: *Himalaya* (1926) which contains 100 reproductions of his paintings as well as articles on his art by noted writers, *Altai-Himalaya: a Travel Diary* (New York, 1929) and *Heart of Asia* (New York, Roerich Museum Press, 1930); but others have been reproduced in color for inclusion in two works by the Prophets, husband and wife: 15 of them in Mark L. and Elizabeth Clare Prophet, *The Lost Teachings of Jesus*, 2 vols (Livingston MT USA: Summit University Press, 1986) and 16 of his paintings in Elizabeth C. Prophet, *The Lost Years of Jesus* (Malibu, CA: Summit University Press, 1984), with also a color portrait of Roerich himself included, executed by the other of his two sons, Sviatoslav.

Indeed, this younger son of Nicholas Roerich and his wife Helena Ivanovna (daughter of the Russian architect, M. Shaposhnikov, whom Nicholas had married in St. Petersburg in 1901), was gifted in his own right as an accomplished portrait painter. Having exhibited his work in not only New York but other prominent world cities, Sviatoslav would go on to serve for a number of years as director of New York's International Art Center. He would also conduct extensive research in Oriental law and art. In Aug. of 1945 at Bombay he married the Indian film actress Devika Rani, who had been educated in England, who became India's first female to act in films, and who had appeared and produced films in association with her former husband who died in 1940. Helena Roerich (1879-1955) would herself accompany Nicholas and son George on the entire Central Asian Expedition and would author *Foundations of Buddhism* (New York, 1930). Though till her death she remained a nominal Christian, her genuine religious interests lay elsewhere—both in Buddhism and the occult; the latter interest being reflected in particular in the fact that both she and Nicholas were "ardent Theosophists." Indeed, Mrs. Roerich had translated into Russian *The Secret Doctrine*, one of the key writings of Helena Blavatsky, founder of the Theosophical Society and personal friend of the Roerichs; additionally, Helena Roerich had also authored *Leaves of Morya's Garden*, a work of Theosophy. Lopez Jr 2006, p. 31. Eight years after her husband's death she too died, in Kalimpong, where her remains were laid to rest adjacent to the Tibetan monastery that stands atop Durpin Dara hill. Shortly before her death, volume one of the *Letters of Helena Roerich 1929-1938* was published in 1954, the second volume appearing in 1960.

Now while the father Roerich had been occupied with painting his numerous canvases during the years-long Expedition, son George, in company with a group of scientists, had busied himself gathering information on the dialects, folklore, history and religion of Tibet. George was even permitted to spend a while at a Bon monastery, from whence he was able to take back a complete 300-volume set of the sacred Bon texts. These rare books would be deposited in the Roerich Museum at New York. But he also photographed and made studies of various nomadic tribes he and his colleagues came across in their travels and of ancient megalithic monuments. These latter, George discovered, were remarkably similar to Brittany's famed Carnac stones in France. As Heather Stoddard has pointed out, "Along with Giuseppe Tucci, George Roerich is one of those rare scientists who had the courage and the possibility of combining erudition with direct and prolonged

experience in Tibet.” Stoddard 1985, p. 164. For besides those accomplishments of his while on the high Tibetan plateau which have already been mentioned, the younger Roerich, writes Stoddard, also “achieved his first dictionary” of several which were to be compiled by him, this initial one having to do with Tibet’s Tsaidam region, he having regrouped the dialects of the Mongol populations dwelling there. Moreover, adds Stoddard, George would also bring back “a scientific description of the life of the high plateau nomads” which would confirm “the existence of the ‘animal’-lifestyle” that was “particular to Tibetan nomads” and “related to that of the ancient Scythians.” *Ibid.*

The younger Roerich, who would become “his father’s assistant and his inseparable and indispensable collaborator in all his projects” (quoted in *ibid.*), was to describe the entire Central Asian Expedition in detail in his volume, *Trails to Inmost Asia*, published in 1931. One of the primary objectives motivating the senior Roerich to undertake this monumental journey through Central and Inner Asia was his desire to search for evidence of the hidden messianic kingdom of Shambala which, like Madame Blavatsky, was believed by the elder Roerichs to be located somewhere in Central Asia and perhaps, more precisely, within the Gobi Desert. Shambala, they were convinced, was “the abode of the spiritual masters of all religions.” Lopez Jr 2006, p. 31. Having made preparations for the Expedition in both India and Sikkim during an entire year, the Roerich family was well prepared for what lay ahead. Beginning from Darjeeling, the journey took the travelers across Sikkim, then went through northern India and northwest towards Kashmir-Ladakh and onward to Chinese Turkestan (Sinkiang), Siberia and Mongolia, and finally into Tibet across the northern plateau and then south to Darjeeling again, after being forced to spend five bitterly cold and snowy winter months just short of Nagchu northeast of the Tibetan capital when detained there in 1927-8 by the Tibetan authorities. The party was not allowed to attempt to enter Lhasa on its way southward into India, but had to circumvent the capital by going somewhat westward of it and then south thereafter.

Because of Nicholas Roerich’s recognized ability early in his career to capture exotic scenes on canvas in such a stunning, evocative manner, he was asked by the famed Russian art critic and Impresario (Producer) of the Ballet Russe, Sergei Diaghilev (1872-1929), to be responsible for, and to execute, the entire scenic design and costumes for the controversial Ballet, *Le Sacre du Printemps* (The Rite of Spring) which opened in Paris on 29 May 1913. Although the décor of Roerich’s was richly applauded, the Ballet itself was roundly criticized and scandalously reviewed by the critics, causing it to close after but a short run of a few days—the audience at its premiere having been “so unnerved at the work’s totally foreign ambience” (due to its use of brutal rhythms; polytonality; incomplete melodies; and “coarse, dissonant heretofore unheard special effects”) that a riot broke out, forcing the composer (see below) to flee from the theater through a dressing room window! Rite had as one of its two main choreographers, Diaghilev’s young protégé, Vaslav (Waslaw) Nijinsky (born 1890 at Kiev-died 1950 in London), who was also at the time the premier dancer of the Ballet Russe and was called “le dieu de la danse.” Moreover, the great Russian modern composer, Igor Stravinsky (1882-1971), born near St. Petersburg himself, wrote the Ballet’s musical score, which since then has become world-famous as one of the early avant-garde compositions in the repertoire of modern classical music. In fact, only a few months after Rite’s disastrous premiere, the ballet’s musical score would be played in a concert version; and at the conclusion of its performance, Stravinsky received “a hero’s ovation and was carried aloft through the streets of Paris”! Both Stravinsky and Roerich collaborated in giving for the Ballet its libretto that was based on an ancient spring rite. Beginning in 1910, Stravinsky had collaborated with Diaghilev in writing some of the scores for the major ballets of the Company, including Rite.

Onward from those heady days in Paris, however, Roerich would be engaged to design the stage sets for other performing art productions: e.g., as a brilliant colorist, he created scenery for Prince Igor and settings for Peer Gynt, as well as the stage sets for the operas of Nicholas Rimsky-Korsakoff (1844-1908) and for Act I of the famed opera *Tristan und Isolde* by Richard Wagner (1813-83). And when Leopold Stokowski (1882-1977) was asked to conduct jointly the Philadelphia Symphony Orchestra, mimes, ballet dancers and singers in a revival performance of *Le Sacre* (Rite) at New York’s Metropolitan Opera House on 22 April 1930, with Leonide Massine serving as choreographer and Martha Graham performing the concluding stupendous and climactic *danse sacrale*, Nicholas Roerich was once again called upon to render his own unique assistance. Said Stokowski of him and the Ballet itself a month before the performance:

Roerich is now back from Tibet...and is greatly helping us in aiming to express the profound significance of this work. We feel that the ideas and feelings it expresses are universal. Many tribes of Indians in this country have similar ritualistic ceremonies every spring. The same is true of many Asiatic countries. The ideas and emotions lying back of this work are so remote and deep that it is difficult to express these ideas and emotions clearly and simply so that they explain themselves to the onlooker. *Le Sacre* expresses the pulsating movement of all nature, including

man. It is one of the most colossal conceptions of art. I feel we are most fortunate to have Professor Roerich's guidance and creative suggestions. But he is also designing the costumes and stage setting.

And in advance of the performance, Roerich even gave a free public lecture in New York on "The Eternal Garment," at which he discussed *Le Sacre* and exhibited the costumes he had designed for the Ballet production.

Now because of his exposure to Central Asian cultures during his lengthy travels with his father Nicholas, George Roerich became interested especially in Tibetan language, literature, history and culture. And among the non-Western languages he eventually became fluent in speaking were Tibetan, Mongolian and even Sanskrit, the language in which the books of Ancient India were written. (See Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1955, pp. 78-9.) Yet these were but a few of the many languages he was able to speak. In fact, in all, he spoke some 27 Asian and European languages, including several Tibetan dialects alone. Apropos of this, George's father, in his own published diary of their Central Asian travels together, had noted when the Expedition had already gone deep into Tibetan territory from the north that "George's knowledge of the Tibetan language is considered by the Tibetans second only to Sir Charles Bell." *Altai-Himalaya*, 380. But in talking with other Tibetans, the elder Roerich—recording what he was now to be told in his companion volume to these same Central Asian travels—received an even more adulatory comment on his son's linguistic accomplishment. "For the first time," he explained, "an expedition had no need of an interpreter, as even the Tibetans themselves affirm that George knows Tibetan better than Sir Charles Bell, who is considered an authority on the language"! *Heart Of Asia* (New York, 1930), 77. Having studied Asian languages at London University's School of Oriental and African Studies, at Harvard University in America, and at the National Institute of Oriental Languages and Civilizations at the Collège de France in Paris (studying there under the guidance of Paul Pelliot and Jacques Bacot), George Roerich became an extraordinarily accomplished linguist and developed into one of Russia's greatest Orientalists. Indeed, declares Stoddard, he was "a pioneer in several areas of Tibetology and Orientalism," having written a number of books and articles "on art, archaeology, religion, linguistics, literature, society, rituals and voyages in Asia." Stoddard 1985, p. 164. And among his linguistic achievements, he would compile one manual each of the Lhasa and Amdo dialects, in the second of which Roerich expressed his gratitude towards his scholarly Amdo Tibetan colleague, Gedun Chopel. *Ibid.* But he was also the first ever to compile a Tibetan-Russian-English-Sanskrit dictionary, which he had begun in the 1920s and which was posthumously published long after his death. It would consist of eleven large volumes when finally published. See Roerich, *Tibetan-Russian-English Dictionary, with Sanskrit Parallels*, Vol. 1 (Moscow: Nauka Publishers, Central Dept. of Oriental Literature, 1983), 14. Before the much later labor of expanding the Dictionary to include the Russian equivalents, Roerich's original unpublished manuscript, completed so rapidly by 1933, had alone comprised nearly 65,000 words and expressions and had filled over 5,150 handwritten pages!! "As a whole," states the preface, "the vocabulary brought together in the manuscript reflects various stages of the evolution of the Tibetan written language chronologically ranging from the 7th century to recent times, when the written language has developed considerable affinity to living colloquial language." *Ibid.*

Baron Nebesky-Wojkowitz from Austria, who undertook some anthropological research for several years in Kalimpong himself and who, like George Roerich, was a friend of Tharchin's, tells of the happy times he spent with the Russian during the early 1950s at the Himalayan hill station: "He lives with his mother in a delightfully situated house [which Tharchin had arranged for (see below), and called "Crookety"]. I was often a guest at this house, where I discussed with my ever helpful fellow anthropologist—over countless cups of tea, and often far into the night—the many still unsolved problems of Tibet." Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1955, p. 79.

It should be mentioned that by the 1930s both famous Roerichs, father and son, along with the latter's mother and brother Sviatoslav, were residing together at Naggar, in the Kulu Valley of the Punjab, not too distant from Gergan Tharchin's home village of Poo. It was here in early 1929 (after the father and son had returned to India from their Central Asian Expedition) that Nicholas Roerich had established the Urusvati Institute for Himalayan Studies to which he eventually brought together scientists and scholars from various lands to collect specimens and conduct research and study in a number of scientific and cultural fields of inquiry. (As will be learned later in the Text, one of these scholars was Gedun Chopel.) It was here that son George, as Director, had begun to compile his extensive research and to publish monographs on Tibetan language and culture, including nearly all the work on his translation of *The Blue Annals* (see below). With the outbreak of World War Two the Roerichs felt compelled to close the Urusvati Institute in 1940, although the family continued to live in the Kulu Valley for some little while. (It may be mentioned, incidentally, that when Nazi Germany attacked Communist Russia in June of 1941, George Roerich had immediately cabled the Soviet Union's ambassador at London, offering himself as a volunteer to serve with the Red Army in defense of his homeland; see Stoddard 1985, p. 165.) With the death of Nicholas Roerich there in Dec. of 1947, however, and

also because of dangerous disturbances to public safety which were resulting from the communal struggles flowing out of the partition of India into predominantly Hindu India proper and predominantly Moslem Pakistan, the Roerich family relocated their residence to Kalimpong. But during nearly the entire period of his residence at Naggar with his family, George Roerich had carried on a frequent correspondence dealing with various Tibetan research matters with Kalimpong's Tibetan publisher. As a consequence, the younger Roerich had begun to consider resettling himself over to the Babu's hill town even before his father's death, and requested Tharchin to seek out a piece of property where the Roerichs could live and continue to carry on their research and writing. This resulted in the Babu approaching George Sherriff (q.v. elsewhere in Text and Notes) about his residence known as "Crookety" that had been built by some Britishers many years before but who had later sold it to Sherriff. The latter ultimately agreed to rent it to George Roerich and his mother. Later they would continue to rent it from Bhutan's Raja S.T. Dorje who meanwhile had become the new owner of the house, having purchased it from Sherriff. And thus Crookety became the Roerichs' home during their entire stay in Tharchin's hill station, with even George's brother Sviatoslav visiting the new Roerich home occasionally. (All Crookety details per Gyan Jyoti, see below.)

Both at Kulu in 1938 and in Kalimpong from 1950 to 1957, Prince Peter of Greece and Denmark happily made the acquaintance and gained the friendship of George Roerich, about whom the Prince has written the following: "A great Tibetan scholar of a quality rarely to be found today, he was unfailing in his willingness to help and gave me great assistance, during the seven years that I was in residence in Kalimpong, in my efforts to learn Tibetan correctly and to gather information about the customs and ways of the people of Tibet. I was indeed fortunate in having made the acquaintance and gained the friendship of so outstanding an authority." The Prince went on to note that "Dr. Roerich was instrumental in obtaining good Tibetan teachers for me" (one of whom was Gergan Tharchin). He added that Roerich also "greatly assisted me in the task of meeting prominent personalities from Tibet and in obtaining the ethnographical artifacts and books which I had been assigned to purchase for the Third Danish Expedition to Central Asia." Prince Peter 1963, pp. 588-9 with 582.

One who got to know George Roerich in Kalimpong "very well" was Gyan Jyoti, the son of a prominent Kalimpong business and commercial family who now resides in the Thamel area of Kathmandu Nepal. Being a staunch Buddhist he became an officer (Treasurer) of the hill station's Young Men's Buddhist Association, to which Roerich would frequently be invited to speak and which the Russian strongly supported. Said Jyoti of the younger Roerich intellectual: "He was a great scholar and a *genius*. Over a six- or seven-year period I got to know him closely. As far as I am concerned, Roerich was Buddhist-inclined, if not an outright Buddhist itself." Interview with Jyoti, Feb. 1993. During the interview Jyoti showed the present writer a photograph of Roerich addressing the YMBA at a meeting over which Jyoti, shown sitting nearby, had presided.

Now the younger Roerich in time felt led to translate and publish in English one of the outstanding works of Tibetan Buddhist literature, *The Blue Annals*, called in Tibetan *Debther Ngonpo* and whose full title is: *The Blue Annals. the Stages of the Appearance of the Doctrine and Preachers in the Land of Tibet*. This work had been written between 1476 and 1478 by the great Tibetan scholar and translator Gos Lotsava (gZon-nu-dpal), or Gos the Translator (1392-1481); and thus it constitutes an important 15th-century text on the sacred history of Tibet. "It is the usual practice of the author," writes Jack Finegan of Gos, "to indicate the sources of his information; thus he tells us that he drew upon the biographies of many Tibetan religious teachers and upon various chronicles, notably the Red Annals of Kunga Dorge and the History of Buddhism of Buston. The Blue Annals are especially valuable for the author's careful (although not always correct) notations of dates in Tibetan history." Finegan 1986, pp. 16-17. Roerich was able to accomplish the translation of, and have published in 1949, Part One of this work under the title, *The Blue Annals of gZon-nu-dpal*. It was published at Calcutta by the prestigious Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, and constituted Vol. VII of that Society's Monograph Series. The final volume, Part Two, was also published by the Society, in 1953, while the Tibetologist still continued to live and work in Kalimpong. And as a mark of their friendship and mutual interest in Tibetology, this famed Russian scholar in Tibetan studies presented a personally inscribed copy of *The Blue Annals* (Part One) to Gergan Tharchin. On the title page of the volume, and written and signed in the author's handwriting, is the following note of appreciation:

To Mr. G. Tharchin, With Best Wishes
George Roerich
Kalimpong
July 1950

But Roerich would also present the Indo-Tibetan four years later the much longer Part Two of the *Annals*, on whose title page was inscribed—above the Russian translator's author line—by the meticulous Babu a note to himself, as follows: Received with many thanks. G. Tharchin 25/5/54.

There was yet another scholarly undertaking which Roerich labored on for several years while still residing at Kalimpong. This, however, was a project in collaboration with Gergan Tharchin and a Chinese resident in the hill town, F.M. Shen, who taught for many years in the local Chungwha (Chinese) School and was a close friend of the Babu's. Even before Roerich and his mother had moved to Kalimpong after 1947, Shen and Tharchin had already begun collaborating in 1944 on what would prove to be a 10-year endeavor creating a Chinese-Tibetan dictionary. And at some point during this period they had invited Professor Roerich to join them in the work, which he indeed did. Interview with Shen, Mar. 1991.

Finally, it should be added that George Roerich collaborated with the young Lhasan nobleman Lobsang Phuntsog Lhalungpa based at nearby Darjeeling (and mentioned elsewhere in these End-Notes as the Tibetan government's Officer-in-Charge of all Tibetan students in India beginning in 1947). First published in 1957 and entitled, *Textbook of Colloquial Tibetan (Dialect of Central Tibet)*, its Preface—signed in 1952 by both authors—reads in part as follows:

Most of the grammars of the Colloquial Tibetan...appeared at the beginning of the present century, and thus describe the language as it was some fifty years ago. Since then momentous events have taken place in the life of the Land of Snows, and the most conservative of nations began to feel the increasing impact of the outside world. New ideas began to penetrate the mountain barriers forming the borders of the country, and the language had to adjust itself to new requirements. Loan-words became more numerous and new words and expressions were coined. The object of this textbook is to provide a handbook for those who wish to acquire a knowledge of modern colloquial.

A second edition, revised and enlarged by Lhalungpa, was published in New Delhi by Manjusri Publishing House in 1972.

Following his ten years' residence at Kalimpong, George Roerich would depart the hill station in 1957, never to return. What triggered his return to Russia was the following event. Earlier that same year of 1957, Nikita Krushchev had visited India; and during a meeting which had been pre-arranged for Calcutta between Soviet Russia's top leader and Roerich, the former invited the latter to return to his country where he would be offered a professorial position at Moscow's Oriental Institute. Stoddard 1985, p. 165. Accordingly, George Roerich indeed went to Moscow, where he pursued his scientific research further at the Russian capital's Institute of Oriental Studies of the USSR Academy of Sciences. There he became a Professor and Chairman of the Culture and Philosophy Sector of its Department of India, Pakistan, Ceylon and Nepal—this per the Preface to his posthumously published *Tibetan-Russian-English-Sanskrit Dictionary* cited earlier. He would die in Moscow of a heart attack on 21 May 1960 at the age of 57.

Sources for much of the information and quoted material in this lengthy end-note, other than those already cited, are: *New York Times*, 9 May 1929, p. 1; 23 Mar. 1930, IX:9; 24 Aug. 1945, p. 7; 23 May 1960, p. 29; 16 Nov. 1974, p. 27; Richard D. Burns and Charyl L. Smith, "Nicholas Roerich ...," *Peace and Change* (Spring 1973):41; Anne L. Day, "Roerich, Nicholas K.," in Warren F. Kuehl, ed., *Biographical Dictionary of Internationalists* (Westport CT USA, 1983), 622; Martha Chahroudi, "The Photographers," in Anon. 1983, p. 152; Norman Middleton Jr., "Program Note" (on Igor Stravinsky), and printed in the program for the Juilliard String Quartet performance, Coolidge Auditorium, Library of Congress, Washington DC, Oct. 7-8, 1999; Stoddard 1985, pp. 162-5; and the Roerich-Tharchin correspondence file, *passim*, ThPaK.

34a. Stoddard 1985, p. 209.

34b. *Ibid.*, 207.

35. See *ibid.*, 384; but the reader should be made aware that apparently Gecho had absented himself from Naggur from time to time during this period to visit such places as Calcutta and Ceylon. For instance, in an article in one of the journal issues of *The Mahabodhi* (Calcutta), it is indicated that the Amdowa returned from Ceylon around mid-1941; see its issue of August 1941, p. 291: "Lama Geshe Chompell, with whom our readers are already acquainted, has returned from his sojourn in Ceylon." And as another example of his absence from Naggur, according to Stoddard 1985, p. 343, Gecho had been in Ceylon for part of 1940.

36. For the Richardson quotes, see his review article on Samten Norboo's translation of *The White Annals*, "Gedun Chopel's 'Unfinished' ...," *TR* (Oct. 1978):19. For the Kvaerne and Stoddard quotes, see Kvaerne 1987, p. 73 and Stoddard 1985, pp. 179, 247.

37. See Zangmo 1978, pp. 23-4; the reader is again reminded that Dejin Zangmo is an alias for Heather Stoddard.

38. The quoted words of both Stoddard (writing under the pseudonym of Dejin Zangmo) and G. Chopel are, respectively, per Zangmo 1978, 23, 24 and Dhondup 1978, p. 15.
39. See Stoddard/Zangmo in Zangmo 1978, p. 24.
40. See Stoddard 1985, pp. 215 with 275.
41. Goldstein 1989, p. 452.
42. T. Tsering's own words quoted here are from Tsering 2005, Part II, p. 6; Gedun Chopel's four-line stanza is itself quoted in English-translated form in *ibid.*; also, see Hopkins 1992, p. 11; and for Lopez Jr's quote, see his "... a Preliminary Study," in Kvaerne 1994, I:491.
43. Goldstein 1989, p. 453.
44. Stoddard 1985, p. 157.
- 44a. See Norbu 1987, p. 13; see also Shakya 1999, p. 123.
45. For the source of the quotations and paraphrases of various observations by Stoddard (writing as Stoddard) which appear in this and preceding four paragraphs, as well as the Sankrityayana diary entry, see Stoddard 1988, pp. 467-9.
46. See Stoddard/Zangmo in Zangmo 1978, p. 23 and Stoddard 1994, p. 129. The American historian on Tibet, Warren Smith, has explained how Buddhism had greatly hampered the achievement of modern nationalism in the Land of Monks and Monasteries. Writing in Smith Jr 1996, pp. 659 and 693, the historian has discussed this important issue in the following manner: "Modern Tibetan nationalism is founded upon a distinct national identity and history, but, like many modern nationalisms, achieved its political manifestation only because of foreign imperialist influences. Tibetan national consciousness was stimulated by China's threat to transform its previously vague political domination over Tibet into full sovereignty and by British support for Tibetan autonomy. Tibet's attempt to achieve the goals of modern nationalism were hampered by the legacy of ecclesiastical rule and the conservative influence of the Buddhist church. Ecclesiastical influence was ideologically anti-nationalistic due to the universalist nature of Buddhist doctrine and politically anti-nationalist because of the church's inherent dependence upon foreign political patronage [read, in particular, the *Cho-Yon* or Priest-Patron connection between non-violent Tibet and militarily strong China]. As Samten Karmay has written: With the advent of Buddhism and particularly from the eleventh century onwards, the national consciousness of the Tibetan people suffered greatly....Nationalism requires will, self-assertion, self-identification and self-determination and these notions have no place and receive no respect in Buddhist education as we know it....If patriotism is the core of nationalism and if it were ever felt it is only expressed in terms of protecting Buddhist doctrine and its institutions and not the country as a nation or state.
- ...This issue remains contentious within Tibetan politics [today]. Proponents of violent resistance [against the Chinese occupiers] point out that only violence has gained international attention and support for the Tibetan cause in the past, and they fault Buddhist non-violence and monastic anti-nationalism and dependence upon Chinese patronage for the loss of Tibetan independence. Nevertheless, those in favor of the use of violent means have so far respected the Dalai Lama's wishes to avoid violence."
- The Karmay quote is from his Paper, "The Question of National Identity in Tibet," presented at The Forty Years on Tibet Conference (London: School of Oriental and African Studies, March 1990), 2.
- 46a. Kimura 1990, p. 193.
47. Quoted by Stoddard/Zangmo in Zangmo 1978, p. 23.
48. The years and place identification of this final period, as well as what occupied Gedun Chopel during this period, is all per Donald Lopez Jr, "... a Preliminary Study," in Kvaerne 1994, I:491-2.
49. Goldstein 1989, p. 453.

50. Kimura 1990, p. 189.

50a. This information is according to Rapga, the Party's founder himself. See Stoddard 1985, p. 102, where she quotes Rapga, from her interview of him at Kalimpong in Feb. 1975, as stating: "...in 1945,...I contacted him [Gecho], inviting him to help us organize the Party at Lhasa....The party was dismantled [by the British Government of India] and Gedun-Chompel, although he had not been a member of it, was imprisoned"; and p. 227, where Stoddard writes: "Rapga states that his friend [Gedun Chophel] was working for them [i.e., for Party members], made the map, yet was neither a signatory of the [Party's] Manifesto [adopted in 1939 and signed by Rapga, Changlo Chen and Kunphela], nor a member of the Party." This, of course, is contrary to historian Melvyn Goldstein's declaration that Gecho had become a member of the Party prior to his return to Lhasa in 1946. Goldstein 1989, p. 453. This also runs counter to K. Dhondup's assertion that Gecho was a member of the Party, which assertion, however, predates Goldstein's and Stoddard's published research. See Dhondup 1978, p. 14. Stoddard further explains that "at Lhasa, at the time of the [Tibetan government's] interrogations [of the arrested Amdo reformer], Gedun Chompel signed a statement in which he denied his adherence to the Party and, according to certain witnesses, was released [from prison earlier than the full sentence of three years] when the Government finally realized that his statement was trustworthy." Stoddard 1985, p. 227. The present writer is inclined to the opinion that Gecho was *not* a Party member, based on the Rapga statements and the above-reported evidence presented by Stoddard having to do with what had occurred later at Lhasa.

51. Goldstein 1989, p. 461 and note 103. One of Goldstein's interviewees on the matter was Tashi Pehrey, one of the two Lhasa magistrates ordered by the *Kashag* to arrest Gecho at the Tibetan capital in late 1946, and who learned of these payments from the Amdowa himself in a conversation the two had had together. Another interviewee, a former lay official at Lhasa, Rimshi Sambo, was equally informative, stating that Gecho had told him he was receiving money from Rapga in India. *Ibid.*

52. Hopkins 1992, p. 26; and cf. Dhondup 1978, p. 14, who identifies the *Kashag* member as Kalon Kapshoba Chogyal Nyima.

52a. Quoted in Stoddard 1985, p. 208.

53. See *ibid.*, 191-3.

54. *Ibid.*, 213-4. From other sources—e.g., Radhu 1997 and Wangyal 2004—it has been established that the year 1944 and not 1945 was when Gecho had gone to Kalimpong from Kulu. Even Stoddard 1985, p. 384 itself indicates that his period of stay at Naggar in Kulu Valley had been 1940-44.

55. Per interview with Rapga, 1975, in *ibid.*, 103, 216.

56. *Ibid.*, 215-6.

57. See Stoddard/Zangmo in Zangmo 1978, p. 22.

58. Stoddard 1985, p. 216.

59. *Ibid.*, 216.

60. Quoted in *ibid.*, 222.

61. Kimura 1990, p. 193.

62. Translated and quoted from Sherab Gyamtsho's Tibetan-language biography of Gedun Chophel, published 1972, in Mengele 1999, p. 66; cf. also Stoddard 1985, p. 217.

62a. Kimura 1990, p. 193.

63. Quoted in Goldstein 1989, pp. 461-2, and dated 11 July 1946. Much more, incidentally, is discussed two chapters hence in the present narrative regarding Lambert and his Intelligence Office at Shillong that was responsible for gathering intelligence on all matters related to Tibet.

64. Stoddard 1985, p. 231.

65. See Stoddard/Zangmo in Zangmo 1978, p. 23 and Stoddard 1985, pp. 266-7 with 264.

66. See Stoddard/Zangmo in Zangmo 1978, p. 22.

67. Quoted in Stoddard 1985, p. 287.

68. Stoddard/Zangmo in Zangmo 1978, p. 23.

68a. Kimura 1990, p. 193.

68b. *Ibid.*, 194.

69. Dhondup 1978, pp. 15-16.

70. Mengele 1999, pp. 69-70; cf. Dhondup 1978, p. 17.

70a. Kimura 1990, p. 189.

70b. *Ibid.*, 194.

71. The translated verse composition presented here is a composite rendering by the present author derived from three separate translations that appear in: Mengele 1999, p. 69, who has translated the original source that had reported this verse written by Gecho: the latter's disciple at Lhasa, Sherab Gyamtsho (aka: Lachung Apo); Dhondup 1978, p. 16; and Hopkins 1992, p. 29; see also Stoddard 1985, p. 238 for Taktra's sentencing of Gecho.

71a. *Tibet Mirror*, 1 May 1949, pp. 5-6, translation from the Tibetan provided the author by Dr. Isrun Engelhardt in an email to the author, 31 July 2007.

72. See Goldstein 1989, pp. 452-3.

72a. See Stoddard 1985, p. 351.

73. *Ibid.*, 222-3, 383.

74. Dhondup 1978, pp. 17, 14.

75. Norboo 1977, p. 16.

76. Dhondup 1978, pp. 16-17.

77. *Ibid.*, 17.

78. Richardson, "Last Days of Gedun Chopel," *TR* (Aug. 1977):25-6; Richardson, "No British Hand in Gedun Choepel's Arrest," *TR* (Dec. 1978):24.

78a. The passage from Richardson's unpublished memoirs has been extracted from the Bodleian Library (Oxford UK), its file location: MSS. Or. Richardson 2, fols. 146-147. The transcript of this passage was kindly sent to the present author by email on 20 Mar. 2007 by a scholar interested in this matter.

79. Dhondup 1978, p. 17.

80. See Stoddard 1985, p. 232; Stoddard/Zangmo in Zangmo 1978, p. 22.

81. Kimura's report presented here is a composite rendering of two descriptions of his visit with Gedun Chophel and are found in Kimura 1990, p. 194 and in Stoddard 1985, pp. 249-50.

82. Kimura 1990, p.151; and the vase quote is per Mengele 1999, p. 70.

82a. There was a very good reason to account for this Tibetan scholar's apparent lack of motivation to take up his writing again: "the notes and drafts of his history of Tibet [that among other things, be it recalled, would discuss in fuller definitive fashion Sino-Tibetan and Indo-Tibetan frontier demarcations and would prove the independent status of the Tibetan nation], which he had specifically asked not be disturbed, were searched and sifted for incriminating evidence. He had an eccentric working style, writing notes on scraps of paper and empty cigarette packets and scattering them seemingly at random around his room. Yet they were organized in a way that only he could understand. Once they were disturbed or rearranged, no one was ever able to make sense of them and years of research were rendered useless." Kimura 1990, pp. 193-4. Hence, this was a further, and quite disheartening, indication of the tragic dimensions surrounding Gedun Chophel's latter years.

83. Mengele 1999, p. 72.

84. Kimura 1990, p. 194.

85. See Hopkins 1992, pp. 29-30 with Dhondup 1978, p. 11.

86. The quoted words and information surrounding the death details of Gedun Chophel, as presented here, are a composite recitation as gleaned from three sources: Mengele 1999, pp. 73-4; Hopkins 1992, pp. 30-31; and Stoddard 1985, p. 264.

86a. Kvaerne 1987, pp. 72, 73.

86b. Per Karmay [Stoddard] 1980, p. 149 note 1.

87. Dhondup 1978, p. 10.

88. See Kimura 1990, pp. 193-4; Kimura's "genius" and "politician" statements can be found in Stoddard 1985, p. 292.

89. Quoted in Kimura 1990, p. 189.

89a. This obituary, almost certainly composed by Gergan Tharchin, appeared in the center column of the *Tibet Mirror's* front page, 1 Dec. 1951 issue. The English translation is the work of scholar Donald Lopez Jr, and is entitled, "Admonition to Remember the Uncertainty of Death." The opening line in English translation reads: "We have been saddened ever since hearing the most distressing news of the passing from this lifetime...of the supreme being...., Dge 'dun chos 'phel." See Lopez Jr 2006, p. 2.

90. Dhondup 1978, p. 21.

91. Heather Stoddard in Stoddard 1985, p. 289.

92. Quoted in *ibid.*, 292.

93. Kimura 1990, p. 194.

94. Karmay 1994, p. 7.

95. For confirmation of this date of 1944, see Takla 1969, pp. 7-9, 17. The article includes an extensive biographical sketch of both Phuntsog Wangyal and Ngawang Kalsang.
96. Quoted from the interview given by Tharchin at his home in Kalimpong to Dawa Norbu, at the time editor-in-chief of *Tibetan Review*. See Norbu 1975, p. 19.
97. See Wangyal 2004, p. 30; Forney 1996, p. 50; Mirsky 2004, p. 45.
98. All information and quoted material in this paragraph are per Wangyal 2004, pp. 30-32, 76.
99. All information and quoted material in this paragraph are per the following pages (and in their respective order) in *ibid.*, 32, 326, 32, 42-3, 32, 48.
100. All information and quoted material in this paragraph are per the following pages (and in their respective order) in: Forney 1996, p. 51 and Wangyal 2004, pp. 33-8 (with date of 1940 per page 33), 48, and page 50 (for date of early 1942); Forney 1996, p. 51; and Wangyal 2004, pp. 46, 50, 69, 70, 48.
101. *Ibid.*, 68.
102. The information and quotes found in this and all foregoing paragraphs dealing with Tendong, meetings at his home, and Surkhang and meetings at his home, are all per *ibid.*, 70-78.
103. Forney 1996, p. 51.
104. Kimura 1990, pp. 191-5.
105. All information and quoted material in this and the preceding two paragraphs can be found in Wangyal 2004, pp. 79-86.
106. It should be recalled that the Civil War was mutually set aside by both elements for the duration of the war against the common enemy, Japan. The civil conflict then resumed in earnest immediately after the Japanese surrender to the Allies in 1945.
107. All information and quoted material in this paragraph are per Norbu 1975, p. 19.
108. So said the Fourteenth Dalai Lama and referenced in Wangyal 2004, p. 192.
109. See, e.g., *ibid.*, 125, 311-12.
110. *Ibid.*, 71.
111. *Ibid.*, 86.
112. Norbu 1975, p. 19; cf. also with Takla 1969, p. 9, wherein Takla writes: "According to... Tharchen [*sic*], Phuntsog Wangyal and Ngawang Kalsang submitted a memorandum to the then British Indian government outlining the need for widespread political, social and economic reforms in Tibet and appealing for help. However, the appeal drew no response apart from some interviews with a local British official..." The source for these two Khampas' ability in the English language is Wangyal 2004, p. 76: "We could speak even a little English—I had studied some in China and Ngawang had gone to the American Mission school in Batang" for several years.
113. Both letters are among the ThPaK.
114. Kimura 1990, pp. 189-90. The "Communist bandits" quote in brackets is from Wangyal 2004, p. 326; and the same source is for the official name of Phuntsog's East Tibet revolutionary group.

115. Norbu 1975, p. 19.

116. Takla 1969, p. 9.

117. The quotation plus the information regarding the Sandutsang family is per Wangyal 2004, pp. 86, 80, and cf. 80 with 168. With respect further to Sandutsang, Carole McGranahan has pointed out that the two most successful trading firms among the Khampas were the ones established by the Sandutsang family from Kanze and the Pangdatsang family from Markham. And, further, that in association with the Reting Labrang trading company, they were referred to as *re spom sag sum*—that is, “Reting-Pangda-Sandhu, the Three.” Moreover, according to U.S. Intelligence, notes McGranahan, by 1952 these three had “formed a syndicate operating at Kalimpong...to promote the wool trade.” Even today, more than four decades since the Indo-Tibetan trade route had been closed, these three now-defunct commercial enterprises are still remembered by Kalimpongians as “the sun, star, and jewels of Tibet.” McGranahan, “...Murder, History and Social Politics in 1920s Lhasa,” in Lawrence Epstein, ed., *Khams pa Histories* (Leiden, 2002), 104-5, 104n.

118. Wangyal 2004, p. 86.

118a. McGranahan 2001, p. 245.

119. Wangyal 2004, p. 236.

120. The various quotations are found in *ibid.*, 238, 251, 253.

121. See *ibid.*, 251-2, 253.

122. *Ibid.*, 232-3.

123. Norbu 1975, p. 19

123a. With the passage of time and the horrendous events which would subsequently overtake Tibet, Surkhang would come to regret having ignored the memorandum/letter. For the Babu reported long afterwards the following incident: “In 1959 I asked Surkhang Shape who was the Foreign Minister at that time [and who by then had escaped to Kalimpong] if he had received the letter. He said they received it but was now sorry that they had paid no heed to it.” Quoted in *ibid.*, 19. Furthermore, five years later Surkhang would also express his regret to none other than Phuntsog Wangyal himself when both were at the Chinese capital. It so happened that both Shape aristocrat and Khampa revolutionary were staying at the Beijing Hotel during the Fourteenth Dalai Lama’s visit to Communist China that year. And on one occasion the Tibetan aristocrat paid a visit to the hotel room of the erstwhile reformer, to whom he confided the following admission: “Phunwang-la, now things are over [“meaning the old society”—Phuntsog Wangyal]. When you first came to meet me [at Lhasa], I was still sleeping. You told me several very important things that I was unable to do. That was my mistake, and I regret it. However, at that time it was difficult to do anything. Now all that is over.” Quoted in Wangyal 2004, p. 198.

124. See *ibid.*, 88-9.

125. Pages of documentation for all information in this paragraph gleaned from Wangyal 2004 are as follows: arrival date for return to Lhasa at end of 1947 of Phuntsog with his two brothers, p. 114; all data about the Dechen Incident and escape from that village, pp. 94-114; later whereabouts of Ngawang, p. 110; expulsion from Tibet, pp. 119-22; and finally, the documentation for the “degree of popularity” and “anti-Chinese sentiment” statements is from Forney 1996, p. 51.

126. Wangyal 2004, pp. 10-12, 49.

127. *Ibid.*, 116-7.

128. All information in this paragraph has been gleaned from *ibid.*, 118-9.

128a. The noble family was almost certainly the House of Phala, one of the most prestigious of all Tibetan aristocratic families; and the messenger who conveyed the kindly warning was definitely Geshe Wangyal, a prominent Kalmuck Mongolian Lama-scholar and close mutual friend from earlier Kalimpong days of both Kimura and Babu Tharchin. Wrote Kimura of this incident: "...Geshe Wangyal...even passed on to me a message from the noble family with whom he was staying warning me to stop my association with Phuntsog Wangyal. I thanked the Geshe for the advice, but had no intention of abandoning a friendship that was becoming so important to me." Kimura 1990, p. 195. It is fairly certain that at this time the Geshe was staying with the Phalas since the mailing address to which the Kalimpong publisher sent his newspaper to subscriber Geshe Wangyal La was "Phala House, Lhasa." This is known from the entry for the Geshe which appears on the list of those who had paid for their annual subscription to the *Tibet Mirror* in advance. In the list, entitled "Date of Expiring of Subscribers," there is the notation next to his name and the Phala address, "Expires 1 Dec 1948," a date less than six months prior to the time of the warning. See this document, that was submitted by Tharchin to the T.L.O. (Tibet Liaison Officer), Major F.R. McClintock, and dated 8 Apr. 1948, ThPaK.

129. All information and quoted material in this paragraph are per Kimura 1990, p. 195 and Berry 1995, p. 310.

130. S.T. Kazi to Tharchin, [Lhasa], 29 Mar. and 19 June 1949, ThPaK.

131. See Wangyal 2004, pp. 115-6; and for all bracketed data, see P.O.S. 1938, pp. 63, 10, 29-30, respectively.

132. Kimura 1990, p. 201.

133. *Ibid.*, 204-5.

134. All information and quotations in this paragraph are per Wangyal 2004, p. 119; Kimura 1990, p. 205; and again, Wangyal 2004, p. 119.

135. Kimura 1990, p. 206.

136. Wangyal 2004, pp. 119-20.

137. Norbu 1975, p. 19.

138. For the Radhu and J. Norbu quotes, see Radhu 1997, p. 246 and Norbu 2005, Part IV, unnumbered page.

139. See Wangyal 2004, pp. 121-2, 129ff., with the quotation being from p. 125; and Forney 1996, p. 51.

140. See *ibid.*; and, in regard to the 17-Point Agreement, see Wangyal 2004, p. 312.

141. *Ibid.*, p. 155.

141a. Stoddard 1985, p. 92.

142. All information and quotations regarding Ngawang are per Takla 1969, pp. 9, 17.

143. Wangyal 2004, pp. 241, 276, 328.

144. Takla 1969, p. 9 and Forney 1996, p. 51.

145. See Wangyal 2004, pp. 238-9.

146. For the data and quoted material on Wangyal in this paragraph, see Takla 1969, p. 9 and Forney 1996, pp. 50-51; and the data on Wangyal's daughter and her revelations are from Warren Smith, "An Alternative to Autocratic Politics," *TR* (Dec. 1992):12.

147. All information and quotations in this paragraph are per Wangyal 2004, pp. 226-7, 326-7.

148. Shakya 1999, p. 380.

149. See Wangyal 2004, p. 241 and Forney 1996, p. 51.

150. All information in this paragraph is per Wangyal 2004, pp. 241, 276, 328.

151. All information and quoted material in this paragraph are per Wangyal 2004, pp. 282-3.

151a. Mirsky 2004, p. 47.

152. Except for the Mirsky quote, all information and quoted material in this paragraph are per Wangyal 2004, pp. 327, 312-13, 238-9.

153. All quoted material in this paragraph is per *ibid.*, 313, 327.

154. *Ibid.*, 328.

155. Mirsky 2004, p. 47.

156. Norbu 2005, Part IV, unnumbered pages. One year later Norbu amplified his criticism of Phuntsog Wangyal in even more scathing terms, calling him “the arch collaborator and traitor.” This and other unfavorable remarks were occasioned by the publication at Dharamsala in the latter part of 2006 of the “official Tibetan translation from English” of Wangyal’s political autobiography that had been edited and published by Goldstein in 2004. “With much fanfare,” notes Norbu, this Tibetan translation was released to the Tibetan exile community at a function presided over by the Exile Prime Minister Samdong Rimpoche, who praised Phuntsog Wangyal “as a great Tibetan and a philosopher.” Subsequently, Norbu participated in a discussion of the book on Radio Free Asia. He accused Wangyal of having been “deeply involved in the Chinese invasion of Tibet in 1950,” of having acted “as the chief guide to the invading Chinese Army,” of having been “the main organizer and supplier of food grain and pack animals (on which he and his partner...reportedly made a lot of money),” and of having unsuccessfully attempted to persuade Tibetan officials and military personnel at Chamdo and Markham “to betray their country.” See J. Norbu, “The Forgotten Anniversary...,” published Dec. 2006, and appearing at www.TibetWrites.org.

157. Wangyal 2004, p. 312.

158. Forney 1996, p. 51.

159. “Han Chauvinism,” cited in the previous paragraph, is discussed in Wangyal 2004, pp. 225, 281; all quoted material in this succeeding paragraph is taken from *ibid.*, 230.

160. The information on numbers of copies, where sent, and how sent is all per letter, Tharchin to Political Officer (at Gangtok), Kalimpong, 14 June 1949.

160a. See, e.g., letter, No. 32(2) - George Sherriff to Rev. W.M. Scott at Guild Mission House Kalimpong, Gangtok, 12 Nov. 1942, ThPaK.

160b. Copy of draft letter, Tharchin to “My Dear Sir” (Richardson), Kalimpong, 11 Sept. 1946.

160c. *Ibid.*

160d. Tharchin’s end-of-life “memoirs” were mistaken in having indicated the month as being March, since the Mission Council meeting whose decisions eventually led to Tharchin’s resignation has been documented as having occurred “in the beginning of April.” So said Mill in his letter to Hopkinson of 4 Mar. 1946 and quoted earlier in the Text. Under this circumstance, it is obvious that the altercation at Mackenzie had to have occurred

post-1 April. Having verbally resigned during early April, a 1 May date would be most logical for Mill to have expected the vacating of the Cottage. And thus, a 1 June submission of the Babu's formal written resignation giving a month's notice would allow Tharchin a maximum of nearly three months from the time Mill had announced the cessation of printing the newspaper for the Babu to find suitable quarters for his own private printing press.

161. Per P.R. Pradhan, "Foreword," in SUM Institution 1986, on unnumbered page. Pradhan, when he wrote this Foreword (1986), was currently Principal of SUMI Institution in Kalimpong and formerly a student there under the Principalship of Mill himself. Mill was still alive and living in Scotland in 1986. *Ibid.* In fact, Rev. Mill kindly sent a message of congratulations to the Institution on the occasion of its Centenary observance that year. As the *Centenary Souvenir* described it, "Mr. Mill's message to the School is in the abrupt style we [so well] remember—short and to the point: 'I wish it well!'" Quoted in "Messages," in *ibid.*

162. GTUM TwMs, Ch. 22, p. 2. Tharchin was not the only one to have a confrontation with Rev. Mill. The latter, while still Principal of the Kalimpong SUM Institution (1927-41), had abruptly resigned from that post in Sept. of 1941 in consequence of "a confrontation" with its students. This was, of course, during wartime. According to one historian of that educational institution, the students "had asked for permission to stage a drama for raising money for local charities. It was permitted first and later refused. He [Mill] joined his army unit within a fortnight and went to serve in Iraq and Iran." B.C. Simick, "Centenary of SUM Institution....," in *ibid.*, 14. By at least Apr. 1945 Mill had returned to the Scots Mission and, among other responsibilities, would re-assume the position of the Tibetan Missionary In-Charge.

163. The construction of said Cottage had initially been proposed in Oct. 1935 as a Memorial to the late Rev. Mackenzie, who had died in Jan. of the previous year. The proposal had been put forward on the 3rd of Oct. by the Kalimpong District Committee of the Eastern Himalayan Mission Council (EHMC) in its presentation before the EHMC that met at Kalimpong on the 3rd and 4th of Oct. 1935. Approved by the Council at that meeting, the proposal, with its construction plans and cost estimate, were then authorized the next day at this same two-day EHMC meeting to be forwarded to the Home Committee of the Church of Scotland Foreign Mission (in Scotland) for final approval. The pertinent excerpts from the Minutes of the EHMC Meeting of 3-4 Oct. 1935 follow:

Kalimpong District Committee.—Mackenzie Memorial. The Council approved generally of the proposal to build house for the Tibetan Catechist [who at *this* moment, incidentally, was Gergan Tharchin]. (p. 3)

60. Tibetan Catechist's House. Plans for the proposed house for the Tibetan Catechist and an estimate of Rs. 20 were submitted. The plans were approved generally and authority given for them to be sent to the Home Committee after certain alterations have been made. (p. 12)

Minutes of the Meetings of the Eastern Himalayan Mission Council of the Church of Scotland Foreign Mission (bound volume for the years 1921-1935, with individual Minutes printed first at Darjeeling: Gorkha Press and later at Kalimpong: Mani Press).

164. The even narrower ground along the ridge *between* these two structures would gradually see the erection of dormitory and office accommodation for the eventual inauguration and further expansion of the Himalayan Children's Home that in 1987 celebrated the Silver Anniversary of its existence as a humanitarian work among the needy Tibetan children and other ethnic youngsters. The beginnings and work of this Christian philanthropic organization are described elsewhere in the present volume.

165. Tharchin to Snellgrove, Mackenzie Cottage, Kalimpong, 5/1/46 (5 Jan. 1946); photocopy of letter sent the author by Professor Snellgrove.

166. Tharchin to Political Officer (at Gangtok), Kalimpong, 14 June 1949, ThPaK. See also letter, Tharchin to Rev. Fr. M. Wery, S.J., St. Alphonsus School, Kurseong (near Darjeeling), Kalimpong, 28 June 1948, ThPaK, in which the Babu writes: "In 1946 June, I resigned [from] the Mission's work with full independence."

166a. Tharchin to P.O.S., "Per the Tibet Liaison Officer, Kalimpong," Kalimpong, 18 June 1947, ThPaK.

166b. Bray 1999a, quoting Richardson.

166c. Tharchin 1951, p. 1.

166d. Tharchin to T.L.O., Kalimpong, 12 Apr. 1951, ThPaK.

167. In Tharchin's opinion Hopkinson was "a truly religious person." The Tibetan had known him since 1927 when the latter was British Trade Agent at Gyantse. See GTUM TwMs, Ch. 22, p. 3. Indeed, the Church was very much in his background. Born in 1894, he was the son of Canon Charles G. Hopkinson, formerly Rector of Whitburn, in England. Educated at Exeter College, Oxford, Arthur Hopkinson first served as an officer in the European War 1914-18 in the rank of Captain, after which he entered the Indian Civil Service in 1919. Five years later Hopkinson joined the Indian Political Service and was posted, in succession, to the United Provinces, Kathiawar, the Northwest Frontier Province, and Tibet where Tharchin had first met him. See "Rev. Arthur John Hopkinson," *Who Was Who 1951-1960* (London, 1961), 540. Some years later he became Officer on Special Duty, assisting the then Political Officer at Gangtok, Sir Basil Gould, before he finally assumed the duties of Political Officer himself. See David Macdonald, *Tibet* (Oxford Pamphlet on Indian Affairs No. 30) (London, July 1945), 12.

After his return to England in 1949 and retirement the following year, Hopkinson became a Deacon later in 1950, was ordained a priest in 1951, and assumed the post of Vicar at Aislaby Vicarage, Whitby, in Yorkshire. Within two years, however, death overtook him there, where he died on 30 Aug. 1953. *Who Was Who 1951-1960*, 540. Nevertheless, his wife Eleanor continued to send her good wishes to the Tharchins from time to time. See GTUM TwMs, Ch. 22, p. 3.

167a. Letter, Tharchin to T. Wangdi, Kalimpong, 8 July 1954, ThPaK.

167b. Tharchin 1951, p. 2.

168. Besides the Bullock-Forsgren document of 29 Oct. 1947, see also Tharchin's letter to the P.O.S. ("through the T.L.O., Kalimpong"), Kalimpong, 19 July 1947, in which he cites the meeting with Bullock and Forsgren at Darjeeling on 16 July and describes Forsgren as one of Bullock's friends who is a press and printing expert.

169. On the day of Indian Independence—that is to say, on 15 Aug. 1947—Tharchin was in Calcutta. From there he wired to Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru congratulating him on the birth of a new nation, of which, of course, the Tibetan from Poo was himself now a citizen. See GTUM TwMs, Ch. 22, p. 5n.

169a. All this per Tharchin's signed copy of his typewritten "Report of Visit to Calcutta, August 1947." ThPaK.

170. Treadle: "a swiveling or lever device pressed by the foot to drive a machine actuated by foot power and usually operating a crank by means of a connecting rod." *Webster's Third New International Dictionary of the English Language Unabridged* (1971), p. 2434.

170a. See copy of letter, T.L.O. (Bullock) to Manager, Print & Paper (Sales) in Calcutta, Kalimpong, 3 Jan. 1948, ThPaK, with its Point 1. stating: "We have now obtained from the Railway at Siliguri the packing case containing the printing press purchased from you."

170b. See two of Tharchin's letters, in which he makes reference to both the loan and cess fund: Tharchin to T. Wangdi, Kalimpong, 8 July 1954, and Tharchin 1951, p. 2, both among the ThPaK; but see also in the ThPaK a copy of a two-page Memo, No. PP/48, T.L.O. (Bullock) to P.O.S. (Hopkinson), Kalimpong, 11 Feb. 1948, "Subject: Tibetan Newspaper—New Press," in which on p. 1 the T.L.O. states that part of this loan total, covering the cost of certain "accessories" which Tharchin had purchased when in Calcutta, and which were "indispensable to the running of the new press," he (the T.L.O.) had already "paid out [from] the Cess Fund."

171. All information and quoted material in this paragraph are per *ibid.* (Memo PP/48), 1-2.

171a. Tharchin 1951, pp. 1-2.

172. Its precise title, with full bibliographic data, is *Tibetan-English Dictionary with Sanskrit Synonyms*, Revised and Edited under the order of the Government of Bengal by Graham Sandberg and A. William Heyde (Calcutta: Bengal Secretariat Book Depot, 1902), a massive tome compiled originally by its author with the aid of Tibetan Lamas. The two mentioned editors of this monumental work, it may be recalled, had been stationed in India: the first, an Anglican Chaplain based in Darjeeling; the second, a Moravian missionary in Indo-Tibet and at Ghoom. Chandra Das, it will also be recalled, had been a Bengali schoolmaster at Darjeeling but later became an Indian explorer when he was sent by the British Government of India on clandestine missions to Tibet for the purpose of surveying the land and collecting data about its citizens. After making two such journeys there in 1879 and 1881-2, his reports of these two travels were published by the Indian government, but “for political reasons were until 1890 kept strictly confidential.” Then, in 1899 they were edited by the Royal Geographical Society, London, and published in 1902. Chandra Das’s reports “contained valuable information on the superstitions, ethnology and religion of Tibet.” *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 11th ed. (New York, 1911), 26:924, see also p. 919.

172a. Besides the interview with S.T. Kazi, already noted in the Text, two other sources have provided most of the information and all quoted material to be found in this discussion on how Tharchin had secured the Tibetan matrices. These are: (1) a typed, single-spaced, two-page document found among the ThPaK, entitled, “Brief Statement of the Tibetan Matrices,” undated, but from internal evidence it had been prepared in April 1945 or shortly thereafter, and though no addressee was indicated, from internal evidence (e.g., “If your honour advise me...”), it becomes clear it was meant for the information and guidance of the Political Officer at that time, B.J. Gould; and (2) GTUM TwMs, Ch. 22, pp. 4-5.

173. The full bibliographic citation of this work is as follows: Shoji Inaba, *Chibettogo Koten Bumpo-gaku* – Mombusho Kagaku Kenkyu Joseibi – Kenkyu Seika Kankohi no hojo ni Yoru Shuppan (Classical Grammar of the Tibetan Language – Published with a Contribution from the Ministry of Education – Fund for Scientific Research and Fund for the Publication of the Results of Research). Kyoto: Hozokan, Showa 29 = 1954. Preface by Prof. Susumu Yamaguchi. The latter, a well-known scholar in the field of Buddhist studies, said in his Preface to the work, that, speaking of Inaba, “there is no doubt that this acute observer and investigator of every variety of forms of Tibetan versions of Buddhist texts was the most suitable expert for the compilation of a Classical Grammar of the Tibetan Language.” Quoted (and translated) by Giuseppe Morichini in his “Review of Shoji Inaba’s Classical Grammar of the Tibetan Language,” *East and West* (July 1955):173. In his review Morichini defined for his readers what is meant by “classical Tibetan”: it is “that ‘erudite’ or, to use Jacques Bacot’s expression, ‘artificial’ Tibetan language, arisen [*sic*] in the VII century a.d. with the works of Thonmi Sambhota, who, having visited [Kashmir] to study Sanskrit by order of King Songtsan Gampo, laid down the rules for a Tibetan grammar, basing it on those of Sanskrit. This grammar has gone on evolving through the work of successive native grammarians down to the XVIII century.” The Italian ended his review by stating that this Classical Grammar is “evidence of the great competence of Dr. Shoji Inaba and of his thorough studies on the form of the Buddhist texts translated into Tibetan...” *Ibid.*, 173, 175. The few details on Inaba’s life mentioned in the regular text of the present chapter were gleaned from Morichini’s review article, pp. 172-3.

174. Letter, torn in half, sent to Tharchin, from either H. Nagasaki or H. Sakurabe (both of whom, with Inaba, had visited Kalimpong together), Patna, 20 June 1958, ThPaK.

175. Both letters quoted from here are part of the Th-to-K Ltrs File.

176. The “nuisance” quote is from the letter, Inaba to Tharchin, Osaka, 27 Nov. 1959, ThPaK; the letter, Tharchin to Kimura, Kalimpong, 22 Aug. 1962, is part of the Th-to-K Ltrs File; and, like most of the other letters quoted, the 12 Sept. 1962 letter of Tharchin to Inaba, Kalimpong, is part of the ThPaK.

177. Quoted in Tada 1965, p. 96.

178. *Ibid.*, i.
179. Berry 1995, p. 158.
180. Tharchin 1963, p. 2.
- 180a. Tharchin to Hopkinson, Kalimpong, 10 Mar. 1948, ThPaK.
181. So said Sir Adrian Carton de Wiart, Vice President of the Royal Central Asian Society and Chairman of the meeting of the RCAS in London, 25 Apr. 1950, at which a lecture was given by Hopkinson and at which Sir Adrian, in his introduction of the speaker, sketched out briefly for the audience Hopkinson's political career in Asia. See A.J. Hopkinson, "The Position of Tibet," *JRCAS* (July-Oct. 1950):228; see also Gould 1957, p. 242.
182. Other than where already sourced, much of the information and quoted material on the life and career of Hopkinson were drawn from McKay 1997, pp. 79-80, 169, 170, 178-9, 218, 223, 226, 230, 231.
- 182a. Hopkinson to Pash, Gangtok, 21 Apr. 1947, ThPaK.
183. Hopkinson 1948, Point 16.
184. The two letters to Dayal, office copies of which are among the ThPaK, are: Tharchin to POS at Camp Lhasa (Dayal and his wife were at the Tibetan capital at the time), Kalimpong, 4 Oct. 1949; and Tharchin to POS (at Gangtok), Kalimpong, 28 Feb. 1951. And the draft letter to the Rimpoche in its final form was sent four days later on the Tibetan 1st month 14th day, which according to Western reckoning was 20 Feb. 1951. So Tharchin indicated in his own handwriting on the back of the Tibetan-language draft; ThPaK. Translated for the author by Phurbu Tsering.
- 184a. Quoted from an only extant p. 2 of a copy of a typed letter, Tharchin to Dir, School of Foreign Languages, Ministry of Defence at New Delhi, Kalimpong, 15 Feb. 1954, ThPaK.
185. Thubten Samphel, "Virtual Tibet: the Media" (in its subsection: Historical Origins of Pre-Exile Media), in D. Bernstorff and H. von Welck (eds.), *Exile As Challenge: the Tibetan Diaspora* (New Delhi: Orient Longman, 2004). The author is currently spokesman for the Exile Tibetan Government, Dharamsala, NW India.
- 185a. Both letters, 12 and 15 July 1948, can be found in the ThPaK.
186. Radhu 1997, p. 258.
187. *Tashi Deleg* in Tibetan means "Happy Greetings and Salutations."
188. Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1955?, pp. 73-5.
189. See Norbu 2005, Parts I and III, unnumbered pages, for all information and quoted material which have been derived from Jamyang Norbu's essay.
190. Tharchin to Richardson, Kalimpong, 12 July 1954, part of the Richardson Papers, Bodleian Library, Oxford University, MS. Or. Richardson 41, Folio 202. Transcribed and sent the author via email by Tibetan historian Tsering Shakya, Vancouver BC, 9 Mar. 2006.
- 190a. Tharchin to "Dear Sir," Kalimpong, 6 Sept. 1961, ThPaK.
191. Tharchin to Peter F. Gunther (Ass't Dir, Literature Mission Dept, Moody Bible Institute, Chicago USA), Kalimpong, 3 Dec. 1957, ThPaK.

192. Tharchin 1963, pp. 3-4.
193. Both this and the longer excerpt immediately above this shorter one are quoted from "An Appeal," *Tibet Mirror* (Dec. 1962):10. Translated from the Tibetan.
194. Quoted in Norbu 1975, p. 18.
195. Ingram 1990, p. 296. Ingram at the time was the SBA's and subsequently OPTIMUS's Secretary and was chief author of the Report and its revised editions.
196. Tharchin to Kimura, Kalimpong, 10 Mar. 1964, Th-to-K Ltrs File.
197. T. Samphel, "Virtual Tibet: the Media" (in its subsection: Historical Origins of Pre-Exile Media), in Bernstorff and von Welck (eds.), *Exile As Challenge*.
198. Quoted in McGranahan 2001, p. 246.
199. *Times*, 18 Dec. 1951, p. 4.
200. See Moraes 1960, p. 73; Riencourt 1987, p. 310; Wangyal 2004, p. 179; Horkhang 2005, p. 23, wherein this son of Geshe Chodak's patron, Horkhang Sonam Pelbar, confirms that starting in 1951 the Geshe was employed at the *Tibet Daily's* office in Lhasa; and Shakya, "Politicization and the Tibetan Language," in Barnett & Akiner (eds.) 1994, pp. 158, 162, 165; see also Thomas Jr 1959, p. 266 and Ling (comp.) 1964, p. 252.
201. Goodman 1986, p. 187 (emphasis added).
202. The quoted and referenced sources—all from among the ThPaK except the Urban source and the S.G. Tharchin interview—for this discussion on the Tharchin Tibetan-Tibetan Lexicon are the following: Bacot to Tharchin, Paris, 17 July 1950; Khunu Tharchin to Dalai Lama XIV, Kalimpong, July 1965, translated for the author by Phurbu Tsering of Kalimpong's Tibetan Welfare Office, from a handwritten draft letter in Tibetan; Richardson to Tharchin, Seattle WA USA, 15 Sept. 1966; Urban 1967, pp. 11-12; Wylie to Tharchin, Rome, 8 Nov. 1956; Wylie to Tharchin, Seattle, 21 Feb. 1964; Tharchin to Wylie, Kalimpong, 26 Mar. 1965; H. Wilhelm to Tharchin, Seattle, 1 June 1964; Wylie to Tharchin, Seattle, 5 Apr. 1965; Wylie to Tharchin, Seattle, 12 May 1967; Tharchin to W.W. Ross, Kalimpong 17 June 1965; Tharchin to American Consulate General at Calcutta, Kalimpong, 16 June 1965; Tharchin to Mrs. Still, Kalimpong, 17 June 1965; Tharchin to Ross, Kalimpong, 29 Aug. 1966; Tharchin to Richardson, Kalimpong, 29 Aug. 1966; Tharchin to Wylie, Kalimpong, 10 June 1967; Wylie to Tharchin, Seattle, 23 Feb. 1968; Tharchin to Wylie, Kalimpong, 22 Mar. 1968; University of Washington to Tharchin, Seattle, 25 Apr. 1968, it being a Remittance Advice informing Tharchin of the sending of the 4th subsidy check dated 8 Apr. 1968; Tharchin to Wylie, Kalimpong, 14 May 1968; Tharchin to Wm. L. Cassidy, Kalimpong, 20 Nov. 1969; for the news of the heart attack, see letter, Tharchin to Sonam T. Kazi at Dharamsala, Kalimpong, 19 Mar. 1966; and interview with S.G. Tharchin, early Feb. 1992.
- Other letter sources consulted relating to the Tibetan Dictionary project—all a part of the ThPaK—are: Tharchin to Wylie, Kalimpong, 9 June 1965; Mary Agnes-Heath (Budget Secretary, University of Washington's Dept. of Far Eastern and Slavic Languages and Literature) to Tharchin, Seattle, 7 May 1965; Tharchin to Wylie, Kalimpong, 8 Feb. 1964; Tharchin to Mrs. Still, Kalimpong, 9 Dec. 1964; Tharchin to Mrs. Still, Kalimpong, begun 14 July & finished/sent 18 July 1964; and Mrs. Albert Shelton to Editor (Tharchin), USA, 13 Nov. 1945.
- 202a. Norbu 2005, Part III, unnumbered page.
203. For information on this aspect of Tharchin's publishing activities, see Tashi Tsering, "The Life of Rev. G. Tharchin, Missionary and Pioneer," *Lungta* (Winter 1998):9, 10.
204. His name is Tashi Rabgias who, according to Bray, had at that time edited the *Voice of the Himalaya*,

a newsletter published in both Ladakhi Tibetan and English by the Ladakhi Cultural Forum. His own publications have included a notable history of Ladakh and the editing of the first in a series of Ladakhi folktales, the latter published at Leh by the Jammu and Kashmir Cultural Academy.

The sources used for the discussion of the 1952 revival of the *Ladakh Herald* were: Vittoz, "Annual Report of the West Himalaya Mission for 1951-2," *PA* (1953):56; and Bray, "A.H. Francke's *La Dvags Kyi Akhbar*: the First Tibetan Newspaper," *TJ* (Autumn 1988):61-2 (as noted in Ch. 17, Bray acknowledged his mistake in the spelling here of the word *ag bar*).

205. *Time* (4 Dec. 1950):31.

206. Tsering Wangyal, "Notes on Contributors," *TR* (July 1977):1.

207. Kimura 1990, pp. 186-7.

208. Radhu 1997, pp. 185-6, 230.

209. Interview with S.T. Kazi, Oct. 1991.

GTUM TwMs, Ch. 21, pp. 1-3; quotes: 2, 2-3, 3.

1. For those who are interested in the philosophy of history, Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel's well-known treatise by that general title is a classic on the subject.

2. Hyde-Chambers 1985, p. 176. Indeed, the year 1950 and the decades-long period since then have been solemnly classed by another writer on Tibet, respected academic scholar in Paris, Heather Stoddard, as "the most critical period" in her entire history. "Only once before, during the expansion of the Mongol empire in the 13th century," Professor Stoddard noted in all gravity, "has the distinct cultural entity that is Tibet been faced with a situation so grave, involving its possible extinction." Yet the threat during this period, she added, has been *three-fold*: "weighty ideological opposition from the occupying power"—by which she has reference to Red China's absolute and total indoctrination and implementation of the Marxist-Leninist-Maoist socio-economic doctrines and practices; "massive population influx" of the Han peoples from China, resulting in the gradual displacement of the Tibetans within their homeland; "and the pressures of the modern 20th-century world." That is why, Stoddard concluded, "this period has also seen the conscious desire for self-determination come to the fore, and why this desire is expressed with particular energy by those who are inside Tibet, where tensions reach their highest point." See Stoddard 1994, p. 123.

3. Whatever monasteries which were not destroyed in the initial wave of Soviet destruction would in the 1930s be either laid waste or closed down. Yet according to Hisao Kimura it was not only because of the Communists' anti-religious dogma which prompted the later oppression; it was also impelled by a preemptive military measure against Imperial Japan. Japanese, explains Kimura, were taught that it was part of their duty to help liberate Mongolia from its Communist oppressors, and an emphasis was laid on the Soviets' anti-religious campaigns of the late 1930s as that which had been responsible for the closing of the monasteries and the creation of a flood of refugees. "What we were not taught," added Kimura, who in the 1940s had been a Japanese intelligence agent in Mongolia, "was that many of the monasteries of Outer Mongolia had been found brimming with Japanese arms, and that this was one of the main causes of the resulting religious persecution." Kimura 1990, pp. 6-7.

3a. Andreyev 2003, p. 253.

3b. *Ibid.*, 254.

4. Nearly all the information and all the quoted material dealing with Outer Mongolia and Russo-Tibetan relations during the 1920s can be found in the following sources, but especially in the publications of Alexandre Andreyev indicated: Riencourt 1950, pp. 178, 185; the 1921 Bell letter is quoted in McKay 1997, p. 104; Andreyev, "Agwan Dorjiev's Secret Work in Russia and Tibet," *TR* (Sept. 1993):12-14; Andreyev 1994, 1:1-6; Andreyev 1997, 1:7-14; Andreyev 1996, pp. 4, 5, 7-10, 13-15, 17, 18, 21-5, 32; cf. all the foregoing Andreyev articles and monographs with the parallel sections of his later book-length treatment on Russo-Tibetan secret diplomacy between 1918 and the 1930s, in Andreyev 2003: especially pp. 117-61 dealing with the first mission, pp. 162-238 dealing with the Borisov mission, and pp. 239-91 dealing with the Chapchae mission; for certain additional details surrounding the 1924 Borisov mission to Lhasa not revealed in the Andreyev writings, see Geshe Wangyal's account of it given to Joshua Cutler in Cutler, "Preface," in Wangyal, trans., *The Door of Liberation: Essential Teachings of the Buddhist Tradition* (1973; rev. ed., Boston, 1995), xvi-xxiv; Snelling 1993, pp. 18-20, 218-9, 220-21; Richardson 1945, pp. 32, 35-6; Richardson 1962, p. 131; and Bell 1946, pp. 366-7.

5. This last clause about the printing and distribution of the Dalai Lama's Last Testament is according to Wangchen Gelek Surkhang, "The Thirteenth Dalai Lama," *TJ* (Winter 1982):17. A contrary view has more recently been reported by Paul Ingram, Secretary of the impartial and non-political human rights organization in London known previously as the Scientific Buddhist Association but later called OPTIMUS. Chief author of a report originally prepared by the Association in 1984 for the United Nations Human Rights Commission

and updated at least twice since then, Ingram states that he had been told "by a Tibetan" that the Dalai Lama had indeed "left instructions" that his political testament "must be widely distributed throughout Tibet after his death." However, continued this Tibetan to Ingram, "this was not done owing to the laziness and treachery of some aristocrats in the Dalai Lama's Cabinet," they "having probably been bought by Chinese silver dollars"; and that "it seems likely that less prominent Tibetans, particularly in the east of the country, had proved similarly perfidious." Ingram 1990, p. 383.

Nevertheless, there was at least one Tibetan in eastern Tibet who had apparently become well acquainted with the Great Thirteenth's dire testament (perhaps by means of Babu Tharchin's newspaper, which would reprint the famed document again and again as a way of bolstering Tibetan resistance against the Communist Chinese, particularly among the Khampas). He was the husband of the next-door neighbor to the young Dawa Norbu and his family at Sakya. Having been away for three years in Kham as a professional mercenary, Acho Dawa returned to his south central home town in 1952 with incredible news. Surrounded by an anxious, attentive crowd, reported Norbu long afterwards, the returned mercenary uttered statements which sounded very much like passages from the Grand Lama's dying written legacy and whose import, if true, meant the beginnings of the latter's fulfillment. "The sun of bliss will set from the land of snows," began Acho Dawa. "Our dreaded enemies are already knocking at the frontiers of Kham. They are the foes of our faith, and have destroyed the monks and monasteries in China and Mongolia." But then he waxed vehement against the unidentified but obvious perpetrator of these crimes against the faith: the Red Chinese; and did so in language the Great Thirteenth, however, had never employed: "They are bloodthirsty monsters; they eat human beings and any animal they can lay their hands on. They are devils incarnate." Norbu 1987, p. 103. This last, hyperbole? At that early stage in Mao's expanding Communist realm, perhaps. Fifteen years later, however, Acho Dawa's words could be considered most prophetic. For it has come to light that such unspeakable crimes against humanity *were* perpetrated wholesale by the Red Chinese—at least in one southern Chinese province, and most likely elsewhere in the Hans' "Great Motherland." Through the painstaking, dangerous research and writing of escaped Chinese dissident Zheng Yi (escapee in 1992; born 1949), as published first in Chinese in Taiwan in 1993 and three years later in the USA and UK by Westview Press under the title of *Scarlet Memorial: Tales of Cannibalism in Modern China*, the hideous truth has been exposed for all the world to see. "The scene of the cannibal-communist events" as given in Zheng Yi's account, writes Carl-Gustaf Lilius in his commentary-review of the book, "is the Guangxi Province in southern China. The point in time is 1968, and the external framework is the Cultural Revolution—i.e., cultural destruction. As yet, it is impossible to know how many cannibal-communist events the Chinese lived through in other parts of the country during the same period." See "Cannibalism under Mao's China," *TR* (Mar. 1997):21.

Now if in truth the Great Thirteenth's document did not enjoy a wider distribution among the Tibetan population as a whole, it nonetheless did leave a very deep impression upon the conservative ruling circles at Lhasa and upon a younger rising generation of political radicals in the country. That is the considered judgment of Heather Stoddard. "Someone should write a book on the role of prophecy in Tibetan society," she observes, "both at an individual and at a collective level." In the present instance, adds Stoddard, the effect of the Great Thirteenth's prophetic testament "was very strong. It was, no doubt, responsible to a large extent for the very marked return to conservatism, translated as profound and lethargic inactivity between 1934 and 1947, that is the seal of the interim government. But it also inspired a small group of young politically conscious Tibetans, mostly from the peripheral areas, to plan towards a new 'real' Tibet of the future" that could hold her own against China and India. See Stoddard 1988, p. 468. For additional insights on Tibetan Buddhist prophecy, see Norbu 1987, pp. 105-6.

6. This is a composite of the translations which have been made by both Sir Charles Bell and Lobsang Lhalungpa, and is brought together from their translations which, respectively, appeared in Bell 1946, p. 380 and Michael 1982, pp. 165-6, 173. It is interesting to note that a more specific prophecy about the coming tragedy of Tibet—though of a date closer to its fulfillment—had been voiced by Lobsang Lhalungpa's granduncle, Gonsartse Rimpoche, in 1946. Recording this incident long after the event, Lhalungpa, who was just 20 years old that year, wrote: "When I stayed with him [the granduncle] on my meditational retreat, he mentioned the prophecy of our beloved 13th Dalai Lama. Then, with tears in his eyes, he added, 'These terrible events will take place within the next decade and nothing will stop them. But the flame of the Dharma [Buddha's teachings] will not die!'" Lhalungpa 1983, p. 35.

The Great Thirteenth's Last Testament was a most amazing example of political prophecy in Tibet, but it was not unique. This is because there have been several other stunning predictions which have figured in Tibetan history. It is most fascinating to learn, for instance, that Britain's 1904 military penetration into the

Great Closed Land under Colonel Younghusband had been prophesied in some detail much earlier by Tibetan oracles. And interestingly, the prediction had been discovered—well in advance of the event—by none other than the Younghusband Expedition's Chief Medical Officer, Major (later Lieutenant Colonel) Laurence A. Waddell. A scholar of Buddhism who had already in previous years become quite familiar with Tibetan literature, Waddell first quoted, and then commented on, the prophecy and its significance in a history of the Expedition he had written within a year after its conclusion:

"In the year of the Wood-Dragon [1904], the first part of the year protects the young king; [then] there is a great coming forward of robbers, quarreling and fighting, full of many enemies; troublous grief by weapons and such-like will arise, the king, father and son [Dalai and Panchen Lamas], will be fighting. At the end of the year a conciliatory speaker [the Ti Rimpoche?, or Younghusband?] will vanquish the war."

...How the astrologers of Tibet were able to predict this distressful storm which was in store for their country, so long before it happened, and to specify that it should occur exactly in this very year, is amazing. Certain it is that the prophetic words...here reproduced from their original [Waddell had provided in his book a facsimile of the prophecy in Tibetan], were copied out by myself about a year before our expedition was ever heard of, from a Tibetan manuscript almanac for this ill-starred year of the Wood-Dragon of the fantastic calendar of the lamas. In view of this adverse prophecy staring them in the face, the poor Tibetans, so deeply influenced at all times by superstition, are much to be admired for the patriotism and fanatical loyalty to their priest-god, in desperately rushing headlong upon a conflict which, even in their ignorance of our overwhelming strength, they knew was already doomed by their own oracles to be a hopeless contest, in which Tibetan exclusivism was fighting its death-struggle.

See *Lhasa and Its Mysteries, with a Record of the Expedition of 1903-1904* (1905; reprint of 3d ed. 1906, Freeport: Books for Libraries Press, 1972), 1, 2.

Waddell, however, has not been the only one to discover a Tibetan prediction regarding this same event and other facets surrounding it. For Glenn Mullin could report another prophetic utterance about the British intrusion which had been recorded in a famous Tibetan book of prophecies. The volume was entitled *A Lamp of Prophecies Clearing Away Darkness (Lung-mun-sel-sgron-me)* and stated the following with regard to the Great Thirteenth:

There will come a [Dalai Lama] incarnation
By the name of Thub-ten, who will be
Born in the land of Lang [i.e., Lang-dun]...
During his rule foreign armies will come to Tibet
And he, the ruler, will travel to China.

See Mullin 1988, p. 66.

7. Norbu 2005, Part III, unnumbered page.
8. Both quotations taken from Michael 1982, pp. 174 and 166, respectively.
9. This discussion of Sun Yat-sen and the quotes from him and from authors Dru Gladney and June Dreyer are per Feigon 1996, pp. 115-6.
10. Quoted in *ibid.*, 139-40.
11. *Ibid.*, 142.
12. The sources for the three Communist Chinese propaganda measures just now described—the postcard reproduction, the *Wencheng* play, and the alleged Chinese origin into Tibet of Buddhism—are, respectively: (a) Michael, "Survival of Tibet," *TJ* (Summer 1991):76-7; (b) Warren Smith (in his summary assessment of the conference held in Washington DC, 5-6 Oct. 1992), "An Alternative to Autocratic Politics," *TR* (Dec. 1992):12-13; and (c) Ingram 1990, p. 9.
13. Norbu 1987, p. 138.
14. *Ibid.*, 64.
15. Richardson 1945, p. 83.

16. Hopkinson 1948a, Point 21.

17. This presentation of the Babu's can be found in two handwritten English-language documents, ThPaK. They were obviously prepared for eventual publication either in the *Tibet Mirror* (but in Tibetan) or in some other news journal in India. From internal evidence, both date from the year 1950.

18. Ingram 1990, pp. 3-5, 8. For another and equally thorough demolishing of the Chinese claim that Tibet has always been a part of China and of the further claim that the Chinese and Tibetans are brothers ("one people, one race"), see Feigon 1996, *passim*. See also the opening Paper in Professor Nirmal C. Sinha's volume (whose main title is the same as that of the Paper): *How Chinese Was China's Tibet Region?: Essays & Notes on Tibet and the Neighbouring Countries* (Calcutta, 1981). The Paper covered the following areas of inquiry to his thesis: Language, Religion, Art & Appearance, Literature, and History. Sinha's concluding summation on the issue: "What is said above clearly suggests that Tibet (till 1950) did not belong to the history of China....This paper [has been] confined to the facts of history till 1950...It [has taken] stock of the past and concludes that traditional Tibet was not a part of traditional China" (pp. 13,14).

19. Richardson 1962a, pp. 188-9.

20. Except where documented already, the other sources consulted in terms of providing additional background information for the discussion which appears in the remaining paragraphs of this present section of the chapter are as follows: Sen 1960, pp. 18-20; Peissel 1972, pp. 10, 14, 17-18; Sudershan Chowla, "Tibet: the Red Chinese Challenge to India," *Current History* (Mar. 1961): 172-3; and ICJ 1966, p. 160.

21. Tuttle 2006, p. 4.

22. See Kimura 1990, p. 155.

23. Hisao Kimura would report the deadline to have been one week (Kimura 1990, p. 205); Michael van Walt van Praag, that it was two weeks (Walt van Praag 1987, p. 89). Whichever report is the true timing, the deadline officially announced was nonetheless a drastic one. "Despite the deadline, traditional Eastern courtesies were observed. The Chinese officials and their families were entertained lavishly, a traditional escort party bade them farewell, and a band provided music to speed them on their way." Goodman 1986, p. 146.

24. Sen Gupta 1988, p. 101, citing George Patterson as his source. All other information in this paragraph is per Shakya 1999, pp. 7-8.

25. Shakya 1999, p. 9; and for the Richardson quote, see *ibid.*, 10.

26. Frank Ludlow's 3 Sept. diary entry, quoted in Fletcher 1975, p. 351.

27. Goldstein 1989, pp. 623-4. See also Shakya 1999, p. 27 for the full text of the letter in English.

28. Sen Gupta 1988, pp. 101-2, citing/quoting Patterson 1964, Ch. 8.

29. Goldstein 1989, p. 623; see also Shakya 1999, pp. 37-8 and Smith Jr 1996, p. 272.

30. Goldstein 1989, p. 623; see also Knaus 1999, p. 48.

31. Sen Gupta 1988, p. 103; cf. with Shakya 1999, pp. 37-8.

32. Sen Gupta 1988, p. 103; Shakya 1999, p. 37; Smith Jr 1996, p. 272.

33. Knaus 1999, p. 66.

34. Sen Gupta 1988, p. 104. It is apparent from some of Soviet Russia's secret archives which recently

were opened to public scrutiny that the Chinese Army Commander had been making preparations a long time for the attack that finally did strike Tibet two months later. For according to notes taken by Russian secretaries (and now translated into English) of a conversation held in Moscow between Chairman Mao and the Soviet dictator Joseph Stalin on 22 Jan. 1950, Mao is recorded as revealing to his Soviet Communist Comrade that even at this early date "Liu Bocheng's troops [are] currently preparing for an attack on Tibet." Mao even requested of Stalin that he permit a Soviet air regiment previously sent to China to remain a bit longer so that it could assist in transporting materiel to General Liu's troops. Stalin's reply was: "It's good that you are preparing to attack. The Tibetans need to be subdued." The Soviet leader added that after discussing the air regiment matter with his military personnel he would give Mao an answer. See A. Tom Grunfeld, "When Did Mao Decide to Invade Tibet?" *TR* (Apr. 1996):20. Though Grunfeld has entered the caveat that until the *Chinese* notes of this conversation can be examined one cannot be sure that Mao really employed the word "attack," it would seem from the entire chronology of events between late 1949 and late 1951 that Peking, although preferring that Tibet be *peacefully* integrated into the Chinese motherland, was nonetheless preparing for a military solution were a peaceful one impossible to effect. Given Tibet's foot-dragging at this juncture in late summer 1950, it is the present writer's opinion that Mao and his military strategists used the initial attacks on Tibet mounted in October 1950 as a more forceful means to push the Lhasan government to move more quickly in the direction of entering into peaceful negotiations at Peking itself; since within days after the initial "attack," Liu Po-chen and the other PLA commanders called a halt to any farther advance into Tibetan territory. This cessation was most likely intended to allow the grave implications of what had just happened on Tibet's borders to sink deeply into the minds of the Dalai Lama and his Ministers. As will be learned a few pages hence in the present narrative, these initial attacks followed by a pause did seem to have the desired effect, for the Lhasan government almost immediately thereafter dispatched a delegation to Peking where "talks" with Mao's negotiators culminated in the infamous Seventeen-Point Agreement of May 1951 that among other things paved the way for a peaceful introduction of PLA forces farther into Tibet and even to Lhasa itself by early autumn 1951.

35. Sen Gupta 1988, p. 102.

36. The commencement of China's invasion of East Tibet in 1950 is usually given as 6 or 7 Oct. However, at midnight on 5 Oct. the PLA's Southwest Army Corps' 54th Regiment launched an attack just inside Kham some 90 miles north-northeast of Chamdo above the town of Dengo that is situated along the western bank of the river Drichu which forms the upper course of the Yangtze River. Lhasa would not be initially informed of the invasion till the morning of 12 Oct. The Tibetan government immediately decided not to mention the invasion during any Radio Lhasa broadcast for the next several days, apparently to prevent panic and disturbances inside Tibet. Only on 15 Oct. would there be the first public word of Kham's invasion: an unconfirmed broadcast about it from Delhi. See Goldstein 1989, pp. 690n, 691; and cf. with Shakya 1999, p. 43.

37. This according to Hugh Richardson, "The State of Tibet," *JRCAS* (Apr.-July 1951):116.

38. See Shakya, "The Genesis of the Sino-Tibetan Agreement of 1951," in Kvaerne 1994, II:43; and cf. with Shakya 1999, pp. 39-40, 43.

39. See *Times* (London), 8 Sept. 1951, p. 7; Riencourt 1950, p. 110; and Smith Jr 1996, p. 311n.

40. Goldstein 1997, p. 41.

41. Harrer 1956, p. 253.

42. Quoted in Mary Craig, *Tears of Blood: a Cry for Tibet* (New York, 1992), 48.

43. All this, according to (i) "Introduction," in Hyde-Chambers 1985, p. 20; and (ii) Peissel 1972, p. 38.

44. Quoted in Sen Gupta 1988, p. 104.

45. See *ibid.*, pp. 104-9 on how all this had played out behind the scenes.

46. Goldstein 1997, p. 44 and Smith Jr 1996, pp. 286-7.
47. Goldstein 1997, p. 45.
48. Riencourt 1950, p. 110. The earlier information and quoted words regarding Shigatse and the "drastic steps" quote are per Riencourt 1987, p. 305.
49. Shakya 1999, p. 48.
50. Riencourt 1950, p. 110.
51. Ingram 1990, p. 384.
52. Quoted in *ibid.*

53. Besides the State Oracle and the Rainmaker, there were in Lhāsa at least six other mediums. This included an old woman who was considered to be a manifestation of a protecting goddess. "She was prepared, for a small fee," observed Harrer, "to fall into a trance and allow the goddess to speak. On some days she went through this performance four times!" There were also mediums who, while in a trance state, could bend long swords into a spiral. Several of Harrer's friends kept such swords lying before their house altars. "I have made various attempts to emulate this feat," he acknowledged, "but could not begin to do it." Harrer 1956, p. 176.

The occultic ability by various Tibetan oracles to perform this sword-bending, sword-twisting feat has been confirmed by the testimony which Hugh Richardson has given. He, too, had witnessed the Nechung Oracle's spirit possession, whose description is equally fascinating and disturbing to read. This particular occupant of the Nechung oracular institution, a close friend of the British diplomat and who died in 1945, was the immediate predecessor to the State Oracle mentioned in the Text and whose trance performance Harrer had witnessed. "It had been disturbing, almost frightening," wrote Richardson long afterwards, "to watch my gentle friend [whose name was Lobsang Namgye] being so horribly transformed, and it was a relief to see his body gradually relax, the dreadful rictus leave his face, and his head rest on the shoulder of an attendant as he was carried out of the hall.... However the possession is induced, there was certainly no pretence about it. I saw other oracles entering that state and have heard and read about others in different parts of Tibet. The manner is everywhere the same though what different mediums do when possessed by the spirit may vary. Some twist swords and iron bars into knots, others hurl spears, and sometimes onlookers get hurt, even killed." This British official's hair-raising description can be found in an anthology of his writings, Richardson 1993, pp. 49-51.

For additional data on not only the Nechung Medium but also other Oracle-Priests and, yes, Demons, too, see two works by one of the world's leading authorities on this subject, Gergan Tharchin's friend of yesteryear at Kalimpong, the late Austrian Baron, René de Nebesky-Wojkowitz: his *Oracles and Demons of Tibet; the Cult and Iconography of the Tibetan Protective Deities* (1956; reprint ed., Graz Austria, 1975), especially Ch. XXII, "The State Oracle," 444-54; and in Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1955?, especially Ch. XVI, "Oracle-Priests and Demons," 204-15.

54. Dorothy Christianson, very close missionary friend to Gergan Tharchin in Kalimpong, had ministered to the physical needs of Lobsang Jigme during the latter's three-month hospitalization at the hill station's Charteris Hospital in 1958. But she also, from her perspective, had the opportunity of ministering to his deep spiritual need. As a member of the hospital staff Miss Christianson had several encounters with the State Oracle of Tibet and could later, in her published account, write the following:

He sat hunched over in his hospital bed due to a deformed back. His servants massaged his swollen hands and feet, then bandaged them with loving care. His condition was perhaps the result of trances when each finger and toe was bound separately with strong cords....When he came out of a trance he would be a violently sick man, weak and vomiting. Is it any wonder that at the age of twenty-eight his body was racked with arthritis and his health was broken. His posture was that of a hunchback and his eyes were like deep-set pools of mystery and darkness. I did not doubt that he shared the secrets of the evil spirit world.

...I later had the opportunity to offer him gospel literature, tracts and a gramophone with gospel records. He and his servants agreed that the gospel records were "very good for the children of Tibet, for the older folk would never change their religion." They took six sets of gospel records

back to their land to be given to their friends. His three months of hospitalization afforded the opportunity of presenting Jesus to him and his servants;... and when I bid them goodbye he suggested that we might meet in his country!

A young Tibetan Christian told him of what Jesus meant in her life. He was very interested in her personal testimony and asked some questions. One day a servant, speaking for the Oracle, said, "Our religions are just the same," but the Tibetan Christian replied, "Let me tell you one big difference. Jesus not only died for our sins that He might now forgive them but He rose again, victor over sin, death and the devil. Christ's resurrection is unique to Christianity." The Oracle was sitting with his back to the speaker but hearing this he suddenly turned and looked directly at her with big, staring, questioning eyes. He seemed unable to say what perplexed him so greatly or what troubled his heart.... Source: Christianson, "Reminiscence," in Carlson 1988, pp. 104-5.

55. Most of the information and all quoted material in this paragraph are per Shakya 1999, pp. 48-9.

56. Harrer 1956, pp. 254-5.

57. It came to light a year later that a group of private Americans had proposed in Oct. of 1950 to evacuate the young "god-king" to India by air if and when the Chinese forces approached Lhasa. After seriously considering the proposal, the Dalai Lama's government dropped the plan, it is understood, when the Indian government advised His Holiness that he should remain in the capital as a way to preclude what it foresaw as a possible chaotic situation were the highest authority in the land to go into exile. *New York Times*, 8 Nov. 1951, p. 3. It should be added that a plan put forward by the Americans—whether Governmental or private in nature—had been taken so seriously by the Tibetans that an area behind the Potala was actually cleared to enable a plane to land. See Shakya 1999, p. 50 with 471 note 104.

58. See Riencourt 1987, p. 305.

59. Radhu 1997, p. 588.

60. Recounted in Goodman 1986, pp. 167-8.

61. Tseten 1971, p. 29.

62. Goodman 1986, p. 167. His Holiness would perform this same symbolic ritual at the very same altar but in even more harassed circumstances less than a decade later when by his going into Indian exile he would leave Lhasa for good. *Ibid.*, 300. For the significance in Tibetan Buddhism (and Hinduism, too) of Mahakala in the pantheon of deities, see end-note 15 for Ch. 5 of the present narrative.

63. For a moving eyewitness account of the flight from Lhasa to Yatung and of the Dalai Lama's six months' stay in the Chumbi Valley area, see Harrer 1956, pp. 259-66.

64. Quoted passages are from two letters sent by Tharchin to Mrs. Albert Shelton, Kalimpong, 19 Feb. and 17 July 1951, ThPaK.

65. Quoted in McKay 1997, p. 214.

66. Per interview with Tashi Dorje, Dec. 1992.

67. McKay 1997, 219-21.

68. Smith Jr 1996, p. 228.

69. Quoted in *ibid.*, 287n.

70. See Dawa Norbu's excellent in-depth study on the terms *suzerainty*, *sovereignty* and *autonomy* as applied to Sino-Tibetan relations in modern times (and including British India's approach to all three), in his

“The Europeanization of Sino-Tibetan Relations, 1775-1907: the Genesis of Chinese ‘Suzerainty’ and Tibetan ‘Autonomy’,” *TJ* (Winter 1990):28-74, esp. 60ff.

71. This according to Richardson 1962, p. 184.

71a. Dalai Lama XIV 1962, pp. 85-6.

71b. McKay 1997, p. 221.

71c. Quoted in Shakya 1999, p. 75.

72. Quoted in Avedon 1984, p. 121.

73. Per Sen Gupta 1988, pp. 100-101, 307, 343 note 13.

74. Ingram 1990, p. 358, and citing the *Tibetan Review* for Nov. 1977.

75. Radhu 1997, p. 270.

76. Ingram 1990, p. 182.

77. Sen Gupta 1988, p. 137 with p. 304 (emphasis Sen Gupta’s).

78. Shakya 1999, p. 23.

79. *Ibid.*, 26. Warren Smith has documented the fact that India only felt itself able “to accede to Tibet’s request for arms” up through Mar. 1950, the time of her last delivery to Tibet. See Smith Jr 1996, p. 271.

80. Quoted in Norbu 1975, p. 20. Typical of the view of other Indians at the time who viewed Nehru’s Tibet policy as both a betrayal of India’s northern neighbor and that which ultimately led to opening “the gates of invasion” of India herself in the early 1960s was the published opinions of a Calcutta barrister-at-law, Jyoti Prakash Mitter. In his book, *Betrayal of Tibet* (Bombay/New York: Allied Publishers, 1964), Mitter wrote unsparingly of what to him were the Prime Minister’s grievous shortcomings:

I [hold] him [Nehru] responsible for the betrayal of Tibet...Tibet is still and will always be a matter of grave concern to us. No policy that allows the Chinese to be paramount in this once acknowledged buffer country, will ever be in the interest of India....

It is...manifest that Mr. Nehru committed grave errors in his handling of the Tibetan question. It is clear that he neglected to investigate the real status of Tibet, failed to appreciate the implications of the numerous treaties, unilaterally resiled from treaty obligations, disregarded the advice of permanent [Indian government] officials, prevented the UNO from going into the question of Tibet’s status, misled the Indian public, removed by his action impregnable frontiers in the north and opened the gates of invasion by allowing the Chinese to establish a base in Tibet. Mr. Nehru has left a tragic legacy to future generations of Indians for which they will have to pay very very dearly (pp. v, 80-81).

81. Quoted in Dunham and Baker 1993, p. 109.

82. Interestingly enough, long before Dawa Norbu would be expressing these sentiments Gergan Tharchin had himself voiced similar criticism of the Tibetan elites. It may be recalled from the preceding chapter how over a six-month period in 1944 he had engaged in serious talks at his Kalimpong residence with two of the first Tibetan Communists, Phuntsog Wangyal and Ngawang Kalsang. Reported Wangyal of these talks between the two of them and Babu Tharchin: “It turned out that he shared a lot of our views, especially about the excesses of the traditional [Tibetan] society. He was as critical as we were of the aristocrats living in luxury with their fine brocades and paying for it all by exploiting and oppressing the common people.”

Moreover, elsewhere in his published autobiography Wangyal had expressed further criticism of Tibet’s traditional society, in particular, the aristocrats. Recording his impressions of Central Tibet (the U-Tsang

region, specifically) while traveling through it in late 1944, Tibet's Communist Party founder offered up the following negative assessment of the Tibetan aristocracy: "I felt more strongly than ever that the traditional system of estates and aristocrats was bad for Tibet. Although there were a few forward-thinking aristocrats... who understood that there were serious problems with the old ways of doing things and were willing to consider change, as a group the aristocrats clearly seemed to put their own comfort and interests above those of the people or the Tibetan nation." See Wangyal 2004, pp. 86, 87.

Echoing these sentiments but with even harsher criticism was one who would observe many of these same aristocrats at close range down in India to where during the turbulent decade of the 1950s they would flee "to save their fortune and their skins." So declared Abdul Wahid Radhu, the Ladakhi Moslem trader who, having lived at Lhasa off and on for a considerable number of years, was a resident during the late 1950s at both Darjeeling and Kalimpong. Though having great respect for the institution of the Tibetan aristocracy and "the principle of hierarchy" within Tibetan society, he held many of the aristocrats themselves in contempt. Wrote Radhu of his encounter with them in District Darjeeling at this period:

Among the Tibetans staying in Kalimpong and Darjeeling, former residents or refugees in an ever growing number,... were the many aristocrats, who had crossed the border to save their fortune and their skins. And since, at the beginning at least, other social classes were not represented among these new arrivals, the Indian authorities continued to consider that the resistance to the Chinese occupying force was not really from the people.

In any case certain of these refugee nobles were frankly objectionable. Talkative and indiscreet, they only thought about their own comfort and behaved with an egoism which seemed to make the Communist propaganda seem correct when it developed the theme of the oppression of the Tibetan people by the aristocratic class. These nobles seemed to have no sense of public welfare or of national solidarity. The spectacle of their petty disputes and their maneuvers ever aimed at their personal interests while the very existence of their nation was threatened, confirmed my earlier impressions of the decadence of the Tibetan feudal system.

As almost always when a regime is overturned by a revolution, the Tibetan regime was more or less corrupt.... This regime, which for so long had assured what can be rightly called the happiness of the Tibetans, compared to what the Chinese Communists were bringing them, was in decline, as I had plenty of occasions to witness. The traditional values and virtues were no longer respected by many who should have been their guarantors. On the eve of the fall [of Tibet] this was a regrettable aspect of the country that even her best friends could not deny. Radhu 1997, pp. 287-8.

Indeed, one of "her best friends" among those few nations who supported Tibet in her time of national peril was America. And among the latter's foreign service officers most intimately involved in negotiating, if possible, the Dalai Lama's safe exit from Tibet in 1951 was Nicholas Thatcher, the U.S. Vice Consul-General at Calcutta. At the height of these negotiations, however, he had to confess, in one of his dispatches to Washington, that "there is much opportunism among the Tibetans [advising the Dalai Lama]" and who "may forget broader duties to save their own skins—very hesitant and strongly tempted to come with their gold and jewels to Kalimpong for safe haven, rather than take the risks and hard work of opposing China." Quoted in Knaus 1999, p. 92.

83. Since the time of Dawa Norbu's account of this sorry episode in recent Tibetan history, another Tibetan scholar has ferreted out further shocking details of it. Writes Tsering Shakya:

When news of the Chinese attack [on Chamdo on 11 Oct. 1950] reached Ngabo [Kham's Governor and Commander of Tibet's military forces there], he immediately informed Lhasa, and requested instructions from the Kashag. In retrospect it seems incredible that the Kashag did not respond at once. In desperation, Tsogo, one of Ngabo's officials, contacted Dumra, a Kashag aide-de-camp, on 15 October but was told the Shaps could not be disturbed because they were at a picnic [where, popular belief among Tibetans has it, these high-ranking officials were engaged in playing mahjong]. Tsogo exclaimed in exasperation,... "S—t the picnic!"

As noted earlier in the present narrative (see Vol. II, Ch. 15, pp. 137-8), Lhasan picnics, especially those of the aristocrats, invariably lasted for days, if not a week. See Shakya 1999, pp. 44 and 470 note 75; and see also Goldstein 1989, p. 692 for the full text of the Tsogo-Dumra conversation.

84. This discussion of Dawa Norbu's analysis of the causes for Tibet's national disaster, including all quoted material used, has been derived from Norbu 1987, 72-4, 80, 212.

85. Quoted in Dalai Lama XIV 1962, p. 88.

86. Though Ngabo was a member of the Tibetan *Kashag* and the official head of the delegation, it is the opinion of Phuntsog Wangyal that it was Tibet's Army Commander-in-Chief, General Dzasa Kunsangtse (aka: Kheme, the name of the family estate), "who made the decisions" at Peking. The reasons for believing Kunsangtse was the real leader, notes Phuntsog, who himself served as *the* interpreter between both parties to the negotiations, are the following: he was Surkhang Shape's uncle; he was aware of the world outside, having already been to China in 1946 as a member of a Tibetan delegation that attended a Chinese Nationalist conference; he was the only lay member of the search committee that discovered the future Fourteenth Dalai Lama in Chinghai Province; and he most recently had been with His Holiness and the Kashag at Yatung. Ergo, the General "was up-to-date with the current situation in India and the West, as well as with the thinking of Tibet's top leaders, who were with the Dalai Lama." But beyond all this, believes Wangyal, the latter and his Chinese Communist colleagues at the talks "felt certain that Surkhang, the best informed of the Tibetan elite, must have talked with his uncle about what to do during the negotiations." See Wangyal 2004, pp. 145-6.

87. Shakya 1999, pp. 71, 67.

88. Hicks 1984, p. 78 and Smith Jr 1996, pp. 303, 298n. This very argument the Dalai Lama himself would long afterwards employ in his correspondence with the Chinese government in 1993 in an attempt that year to get negotiations with Peking off dead center and devoid of any pre-conditions. In Point 1 of a note which accompanied his letters to Paramount Leader Deng Xiao Ping and China's President Jiang Zemin, His Holiness raised this argument in support of his contention that Tibet was an independent nation in 1950. "It is an established fact," he wrote, "that Tibet and China existed as separate countries in the past.... The fact that the Chinese government found it necessary to conclude a '17-Point Agreement' with the Tibetan government in 1951 clearly shows the Chinese government's acknowledgment of Tibet's unique position." See "Dalai Lama's Correspondence with China Revealed," *TR* (Oct. 1993):10.

89. All quotations of His Holiness to be found in this paragraph can be found in Dalai Lama XIV 1962, p. 88; and the Goodman quote is taken from Goodman 1986, p. 173.

90. Goldstein 1989, pp. 770, 770n, 772; for the source re: Ngabo's Kham seal, see Shakya 1999, p. 70; for additional perspectives on the issues of the seals and coercion, see Smith Jr 1996, pp. 297, 311, 469-70; see also Goldstein 1989, pp. 760-72 for a thorough and most revealing treatment of the Peking negotiations surrounding the Agreement of 23 May 1951; and see also Wangyal 2004, pp. 143-53 for the perspective of one of its key participants: Phuntsog Wangyal; but also see Shakya 1999, pp. 61-71 for a Tibetan historian's treatment.

91. Richardson 1962, p. 189.

92. Goldstein 1997, p. 48.

93. Quoted in Feigon 1996, pp. 147-8, from "On the Policies for Our Work in Tibet—Directive of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China," 6 Apr. 1952, in *Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung* (Beijing, 1977), V:73-6.

94. Dalai Lama XIV 1962, pp. 5-6.

95. At the time that Ngabo had been appointed the new Governor of Kham (summer 1950), he had held the rank of *Tsipon* (one of several of Tibet's Government Finance Ministers). But when appointed Governor he was promoted to *Shape*. Although as Kham's Governor he would now hold the same rank as the Kashag members, Ngabo could not attend its meetings in Lhasa. Nevertheless, the Governor of Kham had the authority to make decisions immediately without having to refer matters to his Lhasa superiors. Because he had served previously in Kham as an official in charge of Army pay, Ngabo was aware of the difficult post he was about to fill. And by the time he had arrived on the scene in Kham he had become convinced that Tibet could not stand up to China's Liberation Army.

Probably one of the stories stemming from how some Tibetans had perceived Ngabo's conduct at Chamdo has to do with a famous Tibetan saying which has it that "when the throne of Tibet is guarded by a person of

lower birth, then Tibet will be invaded by China." So Tibetans soon concluded that this saying must have reference to Ngabo. For was he not the illegitimate son of a nun belonging to the Horkhang clan, one of Tibet's leading aristocratic families? (He had taken on the surname of Ngabo after marrying a young widow of Ngabo Shape.) And did not China invade Tibet under his watch as Governor of Kham? Tibetans therefore laid much of the blame at Ngabo Ngawang Jigme's feet for the debacle against the Chinese. He would also not long hence begin to be viewed by many Tibetans as a Quisling traitor of the first rank. See Shakya 1999, pp. 14-15.

96. The information and quoted material found in this and the preceding two paragraphs have been derived from both Goldstein 1989, pp. 811-12 and Shakya 1999, pp. 89-90.

97. Sen Gupta 1988, p. 109.

98. Dalai Lama XIV 1962, p. 89.

99. Ironically, Ngabo was not permitted by the Chinese—as were the other Tibetans in the delegation—to return to Tibet via India, despite his desire to see his daughters who were enrolled in a Catholic Convent school in Kalimpong at the time. He was instead required to return from Peking via the longer and arduous overland route. See a Correspondent at Kalimpong (presumably George Patterson, who was writing retrospectively), "Chinese Rule in Tibet," *Times* (London), 8 Sept. 1951, p. 7 (hereafter cited as Correspondent, *Times*, 8 Sept. 1951). Melvyn Goldstein has revealed that Ngabo had been told by the Chinese he would have to return by land since, in Goldstein's words, "he was too important to risk his defection to a foreign country." The rest were told they could return either by land or air. Goldstein 1989, pp. 771, 772. More specifically, Tsering Shakya has written that according to Phuntsog Tashi Takla (aka: Yapshi Sey), brother-in-law of the Dalai Lama and chief interpreter for the Tibetan delegation at Peking, "the Chinese were suspicious that Ngabo might remain in India rather than return by the land route." Shakya 1999, pp. 71, 475 note 81.

100. Thomas Jr 1959, p. 104. The Chinese, he went on to comment, had come to "refer to India as 'Tibet's back door'." The Tibetans, on the other hand, saw it quite differently. "With geographical and historical logic on their side," they, in a somewhat serio-comic vein, "have always considered India as the honored guest at their front door, while China was the thief trying to break in through the back door"! *Ibid.*

101. Shakya 1999, p. 66.

102. Per Ling 1964, p. 24.

103. Wangyal 2004, p. 154.

104. These three were: the Chief Secretary to the Tibetan government; the former Commander-in-Chief of the Tibetan Army, General Kunsangtse (aka: Khemey Sonam Wangdu), who, incidentally, had been a key member of the search party that had discovered the boy candidate in 1937-8 who later became the Fourteenth Dalai Lama; and the brother-in-law of His Holiness, Tashi Phuntsog Yapshi Sey (aka: Phuntsog Tashi Takla), who because of his knowledge of Chinese would serve as interpreter for the delegation.

105. Accompanied by a great crowd of dignitaries, the Panchen Lama set out from Peking and headed first for Kumbum. There he stayed at the famed monastery, which, ironically, was located very near to the birthplace of his "rival" spiritual leader in Tibet, Dalai Lama XIV. Upon receiving a signal from the Chinese government that all was ready for his safe homecoming at Trashilhunpo, he then went on to Shigatse. See Correspondent, *Times*, 8 Sept. 1951, p. 7. These two Grand Lamas of Tibet finally met for the first time in Apr. 1952, at Lhasa, thus repairing a breach that dated back to the time of their immediate predecessors.

The Panchen's arrival at the Tibetan capital from Trashilhunpo, in company with his advisers ("the Chinese-inspired counterpart of the Kashag called the Panchen Khenpo Lija"), had not been greeted with much cordiality by the populace. For the posters put up by the Chinese to announce his arrival were immediately smeared with dung, and highly unflattering verses about him were sung in the streets. In addition, Tibetan officials refused to accept the Panchen Lama as anything more than an ecclesiastical figure, despite repeated attempts by the Chinese to vest him with temporal authority. Upon meeting each other at the formal reception held in the Potala, the Panchen was dutifully subservient to His Holiness. This, of course, the Chinese were not

at all eager to have publicized. But the Tibetans were able to outmaneuver the Chinese because one of the Tibetan officials present (Jigme Taring?) had filmed the entire proceedings on a movie camera. The film thus showed the Panchen "making the customary obeisance, including three complete kowtows, to the Dalai Lama." And within a week this film had found its way to a local Lhasan movie house (the Happy Light Cinema) where Tibetans relished seeing incontrovertible proof that "Mao's Panchen had behaved with proper respect." These two highest Buddhist prelates of Tibet would visit Beijing together for six months during 1954-5 and would tour India together in 1956-7. Far from being rivals of each other, the two seemed to have gotten along well together. *Sources*: (a) for the non-cordial Lhasan welcome of the Panchen Lama, see Goodman 1986, pp. 210-11; and (b) for the Panchen's subservience to the Dalai Lama, see Thomas Jr 1959, p. 157.

It is the feeling of His Holiness that his younger "rival" Lama cannot be personally blamed for the way he had been used throughout the decades of the 1940s, '50s and '60s by the Chinese. Having been brought up, educated and trained by the Chinese almost from the moment of his birth, and constantly subjected to a concentrated alien influence, the Panchen Lama could not possibly have been able to "retain his own free will." Yet, through their numerous associations together during the turbulent decade of the 1950s, His Holiness came to hold the opinion by the year 1962 that in spite of the adverse Chinese influence upon the Panchen, he did not believe his younger "rival" Lama "would ever quite abandon our religion in favor of Communism." Dalai Lama XIV 1962, pp. 113-4. In this assumption the Dalai Lama was correct.

106. Correspondent, *Times*, 8 Sept. 1951, p. 7.

107. Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1955?, p. 109.

108. Sources for the information and quoted material in this and the preceding paragraph are: *South China Morning Post* (Hong Kong), 3 July 1951, p. 10; *Hindusthan Standard* (Calcutta), 3 July 1951, p. 1; *ibid.*, 4 July 1951, p. 5; *The Shanghai News*, 5 July 1951, p. 1; *ibid.*, 10 July 1951, p. 3; *The Statesman* (New Delhi), 5 July 1951, p. 1; Shakya 1999, p. 79; and *Hong Kong Standard*, 6 July 1951, p. 3.

109. Shakya 1999, p. 79.

110. *Times* (London), 13 Sept. 1951, p. 10.

111. *Hindusthan Standard* (Calcutta), 6 July 1951, p. 7.

112. Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1955?, pp. 109-10; and Correspondent, *Times*, 8 Sept. 1951, p. 7.

113. See GTUM TwMs, Ch. 21, p. 2. The house was actually known originally as the Greenwood-Leigh Cottage. It had been built by a Mrs. Greenwood from Great Britain. In the 1930s Tharchin's very good Tibetan friend, General Tsarong had been a tenant now and then when on his visits to India. Later, in 1948, an English couple, the Smiths, had lived in the house. But in the early 1950s (but *after* 1951) it was purchased by the present occupant, Mrs. Ganjee, a kind and gracious lady of the Moslem faith. When on a visit to the Cottage in early Dec. 1987 the present author mentioned to Mrs. Ganjee the story of Greenwood Cottage having been "haunted," she confirmed to him that it had indeed been referred to her as "The Haunted House." Nevertheless, this did not deter her from making the Cottage her home for these many years; for it certainly still does possess, in the words of Baron Nebesky-Wojkowitz, a "fine appearance and excellent position."

114. This information is per interview by the author with Achu N. Tsering, Jan. 1998.

115. Interview with F.M. Shen, Mar. 1991.

116. Correspondent, *Times*, 8 Sept. 1951, p. 7.

117. Smith Jr 1996, pp. 312, 313.

118. *The Statesman* (New Delhi), 6 July 1951, p. 5.

119. Correspondent, *Times*, 8 Sept. 1951, p. 7.

120. The details of Thubten Norbu's flight from Tibet are recounted by him in Norbu 1961, which was dictated, incidentally, to Heinrich Harrer whose own connection with events in Tibet and its history has been a helpful source of information throughout this present narrative. The story of Norbu's subsequent escape from Calcutta to America is thoroughly detailed in George Patterson's own record of the times, Patterson 1959, and in another volume of his, Patterson 1960. That this erstwhile Scottish missionary was of invaluable help to Thubten Norbu in his escape out of Calcutta is attested by what the latter mentioned in his own brief account of that event: Patterson's "knowledge of Tibetan was now of the greatest assistance to me, particularly in getting [my] traveling papers and [my] U.S. entry permit." Norbu 1961, p. 244.

Although Patterson may have been greatly appreciated by Tibetans such as the Pangdatsang brothers, Thubten Norbu and later his brother Gyalo Dhondup, he was *not* so by many Indian officials nor by the Chinese and their Communist sympathizers in India, the latter of whom viewed him with disdain and suspicion all through the decade of the 1950s. As but one evidence of this, in a front-page article on Kalimpong which appeared in an Indian Communist newspaper called *Blitz* in early Apr. 1959, scattered references were made to Gyalo Dhondup, who at the time was living in the hill station. This particular brother of His Holiness was deemed by the article's author to be the secret leader of the Tibetan resistance movement. Moreover, his Chinese wife, the article said, was an ardent supporter of Chiang Kai-shek and that both Dhondup and his Taiwanese wife (who was the daughter of one of Chiang's most trusted advisers), besides being busy enlisting Kuomintang support for the cause, were also close friends of "that fishy character George Patterson." Lang-Sims 1963, p. 52. Lois Lang-Sims has also provided a most revealing profile of Patterson which not only shows what an intriguing character he was, but also helps, if accurate, to explain to some degree why it was that he seemed always to be at the center of so much that was happening with regard to Tibet and Tibetans:

Patterson was inclined to be melodramatic...[and] made no attempt to disguise the fact that he gloried in such [major] involvements and deliberately steered himself into the center of important events...He was essentially an adventurer, I thought, a man with an immense fantasy concerning himself and yet with a sincere love for the Tibetans and desire to help Tibet. Caution of any kind was alien to his temperament: the probability of getting himself into serious trouble seemed to provide him with food for amusement; even the possibility of danger was no more to him than an added stimulus to his immense zest for life. The fact that he was being followed everywhere by disguised members of the security police [of the Indian government in early May 1959, at the hill station of Mussoorie, the initial exile headquarters of the Dalai Lama in Northwest India] he regarded as nothing but a huge joke, an estimate with which I began to agree when he actually pointed one out to me strolling nonchalantly past the hotel in the guise of a saffron-robed Buddhist abbot. *Ibid.*, 35, 36, 88.

121. Patterson 1959, pp. 90-91.

122. Quoted in Shakya 1999, p. 75.

123. All data from both Patterson and Tsering Shakya regarding these activities by the Americans and the Indian awareness thereof are per Shakya 1999, pp. 75, 475-6 note 93.

124. Smith Jr 1996, pp. 304-18.

125. See Goldstein 1989, pp. 773-803, 805-11. See also Smith's review, "A Damning Indictment of the Chinese Rule in Tibet," *TR* (June-July 1984):15.

126. Quoted in Knaus 1999, pp. 81-2.

127. This information re: the Embassy subscribing to the *Mirror* and requesting back issues of the paper is per letter, H. Dayal (P.O.S.) to Tharchin, Gangtok, 1 Apr. 1950, ThPaK.

128. See, for example, Kimura 1990, p. 153.

129. Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1955?, p. 112. The Austrian did finally have the opportunity in early Aug. of visiting the Dalai Lama's mother who by this time was well once more. She was now, however, no longer living next door to the Tibet scholar but dwelling "in an imposing building in the Tibetan quarter" of Kalimpong. Once again Tharchin accompanied Nebesky-Wojkowitz as interpreter, plus a bearer who carried a gift of apple

juice. The foreigner's diary account illuminates his readers further on Tharchin's skill with the Tibetan language; it also provides a brief but interesting sketch of the Great Mother of Tibet:

Her private secretary led us into an almost bare antechamber...and [subsequently] showed us into the audience chamber. We entered a large room whose walls were hung with old roll-paintings. Gaily colored carpets covered the floor and big cushions lay along the walls. In front of them stood little tables with red and gold decorations. I hadn't much time to look at the room, for a slim woman's figure stood up from a raised seat by the window—the mother of the Dalai Lama. Although the room was comparatively dark her eyes were protected by sunglasses. I bowed and presented the Gyeyum Chenmo with the white *khata* I was holding in readiness, while the bearer placed the gift I had brought on a small table. Then my interpreter, bowing deeply, explained to our hostess in the intricate sentences of the honorific speech the purpose of our visit. The Great Distinguished Mother of the King thanked us for the gift, and with a gesture of the hand invited Tharchin and myself to take a seat. First a few ceremonial phrases were exchanged, and I tried to converse with her in Tibetan. But this was not easy, since she spoke the difficult dialect of her home province better than the Lhasa Tibetan usually employed in official circles. But the experienced Tharchin was fully equal to the situation.

We began by talking about the weather and lamenting the evil times. The conversation gradually warmed up, and suddenly my *vis-à-vis* took off her sunglasses. Now I could see the Gyeyum Chenmo's face clearly. Her features were regular and of a certain natural beauty, her dark eyes calm and quizzical. Her movements were measured but imperious. It was hard to believe that this lady who had all the assurance of a born aristocrat was formerly a simple peasant woman.

A servant brought bowls of tea. I noticed that this was not the usual butter tea, but the beverage prepared in the European manner. The mother of the Dalai Lama must have observed my surprised glance, for she remarked that she, too, often drank the "sweet tea of the foreigners."

...I inquired whether the Gyeyum Chenmo had received any news from her son in America. Yes, she replied, a letter had come from him: he was near Washington at the moment and would soon move on farther west [eventually he joined the faculty of Indiana University in the Midwest of the U.S.]. So we talked for a time about [him]; I avoided mentioning the Dalai Lama, who was at the time on his way back to Lhasa in the company of the Chinese, and about whose fate she must certainly have been worried.

I was still sipping my third cup of tea when the secretary came back: a sign that the audience was over. We rose and exchanged the usual farewell formulas with the Gyeyum Chenmo. "Kalechudenja," I said, "Sit down slowly"; and she replied with a smile, "Kalechibgyunang," "Go slowly." A final obeisance, then we left the room. "An unusual woman," I said thoughtfully to Tharchin outside. "Yes, an unusual woman," he replied. "But you mustn't forget she is the mother of three famous reincarnations...." *Ibid.*, 114-16.

130. Ford 1957, p. 115.

131. The information and quotations regarding Thomas and Jessup, and the observation about the Japanese and Manchuria, are all per Feigon 1996, pp. 141-2. The Russian press statement is as reported in the *New York Times*, 2 Dec. 1949, p. 16 and quoted in Knaus 1999, p. 44. Not known at the time by the Chinese but uncovered by them much later was the role Thomas in fact did play as a consequence of his Lhasa visit by serving as a conduit for messages passed between the Dalai Lama and the then U.S. President, Harry Truman. Through the visiting American the Lhasa government had dispatched a message to the President requesting military assistance. After leaving Tibet in Oct. 1949, the famed newscaster met Truman on the first of Nov. Not until 10 May 1950, however, did Thomas send a letter from New York to the Dalai Lama describing the outcome of his meeting with the American President. The letter quoted Truman as saying to Thomas that it was his hope to organize the "moral forces of the world against the immoral" and that the President had already communicated with the Dalai Lama about this. Thomas's letter to His Holiness then went on to say: "I told President Truman that I met you in your foreign office last summer about the threats to Tibet's independence and explained your urgent need for assistance. I asked him if America could supply your army with modern weapons and sufficient advisers to instruct your soldiers in their proper use. President Truman did not commit himself in the affirmative or negative. He is sympathetic to your country's problems." Quoted in Chris Mullin, "The CIA: Tibetan Conspiracy," *Far Eastern Economic Review* (5 Sept. 1975):30. Mullin noted in his article that the Thomas letter was even then (in 1975) on display in a Lhasa museum, presumably put there by the Chinese Communists after their occupation of Tibet.

132. Except where already documented, the sources for the foregoing quotations and general discussion on Thubten Norbu (also known in the literature as Taktser Rimpoche), America, Tharchin, and the Chinese delegation of General Chang and his mission to Yatung are three books by Patterson: Patterson 1990, pp. 105, 131, Patterson 1960, pp. 79-85 and Patterson 1964, p. 156; Shakyia 1999, pp. 39-40; *The Statesman* (New Delhi), 15 July 1951, p. 1; Goodman 1986, p. 174; and Strong 1959, p. 45. It needs to be noted that Strong had been well known for her longtime sympathy for the Chinese Communist cause against the Nationalists and its stance in opposition to the West; and therefore she might have been biased on the side of the triumphant Communists in reporting the Dalai Lama's verbal communications, if any, in Peking about what happened at Yatung. To be fair, however, it also needs to be mentioned that she did enter the following caveat in her reporting of this aspect of the Dalai Lama's visit to Peking: "I do not guarantee [the truth of] this, for I have it at second hand, but since Washington has given arms and money to every regime on the edges of China which is willing to fight the Communists, one is not surprised to be told that they offered it in Yatung." *Ibid.*, 45-6.

133. Patterson 1964, p. 251.

134. Lang-Sims 1963, p. 183.

135. McGranahan 2001, p. 189.

136. But then, too, these same Indian Communists had accepted an invitation by Patterson to have tea with him at his place of abode (the house belonging to Prof. Rotindranath Tagore, son of the celebrated Bengali poet, and his wife Pratima). Most likely they had accepted the journalist's invitation due to the intense Chinese interest in learning what he knew about Thubten Norbu's clandestine departure from Kalimpong and later from Calcutta to America, inasmuch as Patterson had been very friendly with the Dalai Lama's eldest brother. The Chinese had also wished to learn what further role the former Scottish missionary might likely play in the future. It is noteworthy, though, that the Indian Communists had another purpose in accepting the invitation, and hesitated not at all in frankly stating it: to make their host a Communist! Part of the dialogue that followed is worth quoting:

"It will be easier for us to convert you to Communism, than for you to convert us to Christianity," the younger [of the two Communists who came] stated flatly. "Your sympathies are with the poor and oppressed, you have no illusions about the practices of politicians in a democracy, and you have read as much Communist literature as we have."

"And that is where your whole appeal falls through," I pointed out. "For while I have read Marx as well as Christ, and chosen Christ, you have only read Marx, and without reading Christ have rejected Him. That is indicative of the whole Communist approach, to take only that which suits their theory and contemptuously dismiss the rest. In less congenial circumstances than obtained in India you would deal with me as your Chinese colleagues have done with my friend—throw me into prison and try to brainwash me in 'conversion'." Patterson, *Up and Down Asia* (London, 1958), 51.

The friend he alluded to was Geoffrey Bull, the fellow missionary with Patterson when the two of them served among the Tibetans along the Sino-Tibetan frontier. For more on this, see later in these notes for the present chapter.

137. Patterson 1959, pp. 80-1, 92-3.

138. Thomas Jr 1959, p. 105.

139. Quoted in Goodman 1986, p. 176.

140. *The Statesman* (New Delhi), 6 July 1951, p. 5.

141. David I. Macdonald (son of David Macdonald), *Kalimpong: a Guide and Handbook of Information* (Kalimpong: Himalayan Industrial and Trading Corporation, 1949), 57; and Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1955?, p. 69.

142. GTUM TwMs, Ch. 21, p. 2.

143. *Ibid.*
144. Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1955?, p. 69.
145. Taring 1970, p. 209.
146. Patterson 1959, p. 25.
147. Norbu 1961, p. 200.
148. Norbu 1987, p. 104. The descriptive quote of Kham and the Khampas is from Peissel 1972, p. 34.
149. See *ibid.*, p. 27 and van Spengen 1995, p. 46.
150. For knowledge of this story the present author is indebted to a Tibetan friend of the Tharchin family, Mr. Phurbu Tsering, still today—as mentioned elsewhere—a longtime Secretary of Kalimpong’s Tibetan Welfare Association. As to the Pangdatsang incident he related, Phurbu Tsering vouches for its historicity most firmly; and one or two others with whom the present writer has spoken have likewise confirmed the story line in its essential character.
- Another humorous tale which made the rounds and was equally illustrative of the conception Tibetans had of Yangpel’s wealth and possessions was told the present writer by Gyan Jyoti, a former merchant resident of Kalimpong. It was said of Yangpel that he possessed so many servants, it was impossible for him to know or recognize who they were or where they worked amidst his numerous trading, commercial and business enterprises. One day, so the story recounted by Gyan Jyoti went, Yangpel was himself traveling by mule from Lhasa to Kalimpong. Upon reaching a very narrow part of the caravan trail south, he and his beast encountered another mule and its rider approaching from the opposite direction. Now the mule bound northward for Lhasa belonged to Pangdatsang, but so, also, did its driver, who was one of Yangpel’s many servants. “Back off!” shouted the Lhasa-bound mule to Pangdatsang’s beast, “and let me and my rider pass!” Yangpel’s animal meekly obeyed, for as could be predicted, neither the wealthy Tibetan and his mule recognized the Pangdatsang servant and his beast—nor, vice versa!! Interview with Gyan Jyoti, Feb. 1993.
151. Harrer 1956, pp. 206-7. According to Michael Goodman, the members of this Trade Mission “were shocked at how little the world knew about their country.” He went on to quote the Mission’s leader, Tibet’s lay Finance Minister (and Head of Tibet’s Finance Department since the early 1940s when he would serve from 1939 to 1951), Tsipon W.D. Shakabpa, who much later recalled: “Some people thought all Tibetans lived either in tents or in monasteries. When I showed them a picture of the Potala, they stared at me in disbelief. Others asked me about a place they called Shangri-la, where, they said, people lived forever. Then it was my turn to look at *them* in disbelief. It was very discouraging.” Quoted in Goodman 1986, p. 146 (emphasis the Tsipon’s). Shakabpa lived for many years at Kalimpong in a house (called Shakabpa House) he had owned since 1946; he was still living there as recently as 1985, before he died on 23 Feb. 1989 at the home of his son in Corpus Christi TX (USA). Born in Lhasa (1907), he not only ultimately came to reside in India—first at Kalimpong and later in New Delhi (where he served the exiled Dalai Lama as Chief Representative between 1959 and 1966)—but also in New York. Upon his death it was said of him that “among Tibetans in Tibet and in exile Shakabpa enjoyed much prestige as a leading Tibetan nationalist. Although his writings were banned and publicly denounced by the Chinese authorities, copies of his work still managed to find their way into Tibet. There they were considered valuable and circulated secretly from hand to hand.” It is his scholarly volume *Tibet, a Political History* (and published by Yale University Press in 1967) that has proved an invaluable source of information for the writing of parts of the present biography. The other two members of the Trade Delegation were Shakabpa’s younger monk brother Kenchung Changkhyim, and Depon Surkhang, a son of the Foreign Minister. See Shakabpa 1967, p. 294; Harrer 1956, p. 207; and Obituary, in *TR* (Apr. 1989):9. For the political and diplomatic dimensions of the Mission’s junket, see also Tsering Shakya, “1948 Tibetan Trade Mission to the United Kingdom,” *TJ* (Winter 1990):97-114 and Goldstein 1989, pp. 569-610.
152. McGranahan 2001, p. 24.
153. His service as the TTA at Kalimpong during the period indicated is as reported by Prince Peter of Greece and Denmark, in his periodic report of 31 Mar. 1949 as Leader of the Third Danish Expedition to Central Asia, 1949-50, in which the Prince indicated having to have dealings with the TTA at Kalimpong; see his report in *Explorers Journal* (New York) (Summer 1950):6. This is also confirmed by van Spengen 1995, p. 47, which also documents Yangpel’s stint earlier at Yatung.

154. Patterson 1959, p. 88.
155. Dalai Lama XIV 1962, p. 216. See Ch. 27 for more on this.
156. Hyde-Chambers 1985, p. 15 of "Glossary" at end of book.
157. Tucci 1973, p. 53.
158. McGranahan 2001, p. 24.
159. Conboy and Morrison 2002, p. 6.
160. Knaus 1999, p. 70.
161. McGranahan 2001, p. 24.
162. Patterson 1990, p. 32.
163. McGranahan 2001, p. 159.
164. Per an Intelligence memo, 9 May 1950, prepared by Tharchin and entitled, "Men Who Came Down from Lhasa Last Year," ThPaK. See Ch. 24a for the text of this memo.
165. The story in brief is as follows: Topgyay had been born two years after Rappa, in about 1903, and when a young man he had been appointed Rupon (a Major) in the Tibetan Army in 1930 in Lhasa and sent off to Kham. In 1934 he and his brother Rappa rebelled against the Lhasan government and took 3 machine guns, 100 rifles and 100 men to Batang, surrendering to the Chinese Nationalist government. The reason for doing so was because of a rumor (untrue) that the Tibetan government had imprisoned their elder brother Yangpel and had seized his Lhasan house and property. See P.O.S. 1938, p. 53.
166. Knaus 1999, p. 58.
167. All quotes and information in this paragraph are per McGranahan 2001, pp. 160-61, 188, 210, with the "active Chinese agent" quote having been derived by her from *Who's Who in Tibet* (Calcutta: Government of India, 1949).
168. See both Ford 1957, p. 79 and Patterson 1960, p. 59.
169. McGranahan 2001, p. 180.
170. *Ibid.*, 207-8.
171. Translated and quoted from the *Tibet Mirror* by McGranahan 2001, p. 159.
172. *Ibid.*, 161.
173. These are Ford's recollections as expressed both in an interview he gave to Carole McGranahan in London in 1999 (see *ibid.*, 212) and in his book, Ford 1957, p. 79.
174. In fact, according to Harrer 1956, p. 119, it had been Kunphela who had "dislodged Tsarong from his position of authority."
175. See Zangmo (Stoddard's pseudonym) 1978, p. 22.
176. McGranahan 2001, pp. 197-8.

177. See Stoddard 1985, p. 102; cf. Kvaerne 1987, p. 72. See also McGranahan 2001, p. 188, who quotes from Stoddard's interview of Rapga in 1975: "In 1945, in Kalimpong...I was trying to gather the greatest number of intelligent men...to organize the party....It was a question of a secret movement, bringing together three to four hundred people in Kalimpong and Lhasa." And on p. 204, Rapga is quoted as saying in 1946 at Kalimpong to a former high-ranking Tibetan government official, whom he was inviting to join the Party, that the latter had "nearly one hundred members...spread about here and in Lhasa."

178. Goldstein 1989, pp. 450, 459, 461.

179. It is interesting to point out that as can best be determined, it would appear that, unknown to either Tibetan intellectual at the time, both Rapga and Gedun Chopel's Buddhist master Geshe Sherab Gyamtsho were probably simultaneously translating this same work of Sun Yat-sen's. But whereas Rapga undertook to do it in Tibet and India, the Geshe did so in China after his voluntary departure from Tibet in 1936. Out of his desire that Tibet "enter the new age," the Geshe had contributed a Tibetan translation of the *Three Principles* that by the early 1940s became a part of an official Nationalist publication of the work that was printed in both Tibetan and Chinese. Indeed, the Geshe may even have been the person responsible for having had copies of the book brought into Tibet; which if true was when he had attempted to return to his homeland in early 1944. Having reached the Tibetan checkpoint of Nagchuka north of Lhasa, he was not allowed reentry out of fear by the Tibetan government that he might incite unrest in the monasteries where he still could exert substantial influence. All this is known from the Confidential Weekly Reports submitted by the British Mission at Lhasa during the period 1942-45; for example, in April of 1944 it was reported by the British that "a well-known geshe. Sherab Gyatso, arrived at Nagchuka a short while ago. He is known to be very pro-Chinese and interested in spreading Chinese propaganda. There were fifty soldiers with him and he was turned back to Jyekundo by the Tibetan government." And in December, a further British report revealed that there was now in Lhasa a number of copies of the book in question, and added that "the Tibetan version is by Geshe Sherab...The books are published by the office of the Guomindang [i.e., the Nationalists] and may have been brought by Geshe Sherab as far as Nagchuka." Quoted from the India Office Records in Stoddard 1988, p. 469. See also Stoddard 1994, p. 129.

In his political memoirs Phuntsog Wangyal has shed further light on the failed attempt by the geshe in 1944 to return to Lhasa via the Nagchuka checkpoint. Phuntsog relates how this rebuff at the checkpoint had infuriated Sherab Gyamtsho who had consequently come to dislike intensely the Tibetan government and its aristocracy. He was still nursing these feelings of bitterness at the time in early 1951 when Wangyal met him at Sian, China. There Phuntsog learned what had happened at Nagchuka from the perspective of the Tibetan monk-scholar himself, who by this time was no longer working for the Nationalists but the Chinese Communists. Back in 1944 the Kuomintang had sent him on a mission to Lhasa "with an entourage of about fifty Chinese, whom he claimed were his students, and a large consignment of goods and money." The border guards at the North Tibetan checkpoint stopped him, after which the *Kashag* sent word that the Geshe could enter Tibet but not his "students" and goods. Interestingly enough, he came on another mission to Tibet in 1950, this time on behalf of the Chinese Communist Party for the purpose of persuading Lhasa to negotiate. Again, however, the Geshe was turned away at Nagchuka. See Wangyal 2004, p. 144.

180. See Stoddard 1985, p. 103.

181. Patterson 1960, p. 57.

181a. See Heather Stoddard 1994, p. 126.

182. Peissel 1972, p. 56; and Peissel, quoted in Eremai Parnov, "Tibetan Refugees as Seen by a Russian," *TR* (Feb.-Mar. 1977):17.

183. McGranahan 2001, pp. 33, 161.

184. Hopkinson 1948, Point 15.

185. See McGranahan 2001, pp. 181, 182, 182-3.

186. See *ibid.*, 176, 182, 184-5, 199-200, 200-201, 208, 212.
187. *Ibid.*, 200.
188. Quoted in *ibid.*, 183 from the interview Rapga gave Stoddard in 1975.
189. Patterson 1960, p. 59.
190. See McGranahan 2001, pp. 208-9.
191. See the following five sources: Stoddard 1985, p. 102; Ford 1957, p. 79; Patterson 1959, p. 204 and Patterson 1960, pp. 57-8; and Goldstein 1989, pp. 453-61.
192. Shakya 1999, p. 480 note 55.
193. See Radhu 1997, pp. 200-202.
194. See McGranahan 2001, p. 180.
195. *Ibid.*, 184.
196. Quoted in Stoddard 1985, p. 103.
197. Quoted in *ibid.*, 103.
198. Quoted from *ibid.*, 103, she paraphrasing the comments of Shen and Radhu.
199. Patterson 1959, p. 40.
200. Quoted in McGranahan 2001, p. 209n.
201. *Ibid.*, 201.
202. Quoted in *ibid.*, 210.
203. Quoted in Stoddard 1985, p. 103.
204. "In his attempts to win unity and independence for Tibet, Rapga, an astute and farsighted politician, joined the Commission for Mongolian and Tibetan Affairs in China [and became a delegate for Kham to the Chinese National Assembly], but when he finally came to the conclusion that the Nationalist government of Chiang Kai-shek [the latter himself intimating it to Rapga] was also committed to the policy of absorbing the people of Tibet into China, he publicly resigned from his post in February 1948, publishing his protest in the Chinese newspaper *Takung-Pau*, and returned to Kangting [the new name for Tachienlu] in Kham..." Patterson 1959, p. 204 and Patterson 1960, p. 58.
205. This was also when the British missionary team of George Patterson and his companion Geoffrey Bull first arrived on the scene along the Sino-Tibetan frontier. They had left their station site at Kangting (the former Tachienlu) further east in China's Sikang Province without being able to accept an invitation from the well-known Chinese Christian leader Watchman Nee—and communicated to them by Samuel Chang (Bull's co-founder of "a New Testament church" at Chengtu in neighboring Szechuan Province)—to come over and attend for four months (June to Sept.) the first of two annual Training Conferences (1948 and 1949) convened by Nee for "other leading evangelists and teachers" in the Christian gospel at Mt. Kuling just outside the port city of Foochow along the South China Sea. See Angus I. Kinnear, *Against the Tide: the Story of Watchman Nee* (Eastbourne UK: Victory Press, 1973), 140; and Patterson, *God's Fool* (London, 1956), 132, 150-151, 153. Once at the Sino-Tibetan border, these two young pioneers in the missionary faith began to take an active interest in the Pangdatsang brothers' activities. Their stories are narrated in several books they had published:

besides *God's Fool*, see Patterson 1959 and others; and see Bull, *When Iron Gates Yield* (London, 1955)—this latter of which recounts its author's capture, imprisonment for over three years, and ultimate release in Dec. 1953 from his harrowing experience at the hands of the Chinese Communists. It had been Bull's intense desire before his capture, incidentally, to go all the way to Lhasa "to preach the gospel of Christianity in the Holy City itself." Ford 1957, p. 80.

206. Thoroughly discussed in Patterson 1959, p. 122 and *passim*.

207. *Ibid.*, 244.

208. That such an escape plan was not a figment of Patterson's "optimistic imaginings"—as Warren Smith might have termed it—but had even been sanctioned as a last resort arrangement by the U.S. government to get the Dalai Lama onto Indian soil, has been corroborated. Melvyn Goldstein has provided documented proof that events had moved to such a point that had the Dalai Lama agreed, then there were three options proposed to him by which to make his way to India, one of which was the Patterson plan. In Goldstein 1989, p. 798, the historian quotes directly from a telegram sent by the U.S. Consul-General, Calcutta, to Secretary of State Dean Acheson, dated 17 July 1951, in which the Consul-General had informed his Washington superior that a message had been sent that very day to Yatung which urged the Dalai Lama to adopt one of three options of escape as follows (quoting now from the telegram in the exact abbreviated language of the original, including its later editor's *bracketed* notations that are also sometimes augmented by the present author's *parenthetical* insertions of interest):

a. Choose small group of faithful followers and leave quietly with them. This would presumably involve leaving at night in effort to avoid deputations which have come to Yatung from principal monasteries and from Government at Lhasa to persuade Dalai Lama to return to Lhasa.

b. Order [name excised from file (could this be Yangpel Pangdatsang, who as Tibetan Trade Agent was at that moment stationed at Yatung?)] bring him [i.e., the Dalai Lama] surreptitiously to India. [section excised from file]

c. If neither (a) nor (b) feasible, Dalai Lama to send message to [name excised from file (could this be W.D. Shakabpa, the Tibetan representative at Kalimpong?)] requesting [name excised from file (could this be the Consul-General, Calcutta, or the latter's representative at Kalimpong?)] send Harrer and Patterson secretly and in disguise to meet Dalai Lama near Yatung in accordance with prearranged plan and bring Dalai Lama back. Detailed plan for this operation also being conveyed by [name excised from file (could this be Shakabpa, who was about to leave Kalimpong for Yatung?)] but he is to make it clear to Dalai Lama it [i.e., option (c)] is to be adopted only as a last resort.

Even though the Chinese General had already arrived at Yatung by the date of this message and had talked with the Dalai Lama the previous day (the 16th of July), and although, also, the Dalai Lama had already (on 12 July) sent a message by personal courier to Patterson canceling the plan to come that night to India (see next note below), the U.S. was still hoping the Dalai Lama would be persuaded—by more recent (and then subsequent), stronger and enlarged offers of American support (initiated by Secretary Acheson himself)—to take asylum in India (which country had reluctantly so agreed to permit) and repudiate the 17-Point Agreement. See *ibid.*, 795-6, 805f.

209. From this incident one can easily deduce that the young ruler was only *theoretically* an absolute monarch at this point, even though the year before, at the age of 15—and three years in advance of his arriving at the prescribed age for governing on his own—he had been declared of age to assume full powers as King. The latter had been done in the face of the awesome crisis that now faced the nation of Tibet. A quick review of Tibetan history will reveal that only two outstanding individuals in the long line of successive Dalai Lamas have ever succeeded in assuming sole responsibility at some point in their lives for public affairs: the Great Fifth, and the current ruler's predecessor, the Great Thirteenth.

In Tibet, until a Dalai Lama would turn 18, power was generally always in the hands of a regent, he usually being a Lama and one who was elected by the National Assembly. Interposed between the Dalai Lama and his four-member Council of Ministers (who together with the Assembly assisted the Grand Lama in the exercise of his functions) was a Prime Minister who served as a kind of liaison official between them. And even when the Dalai Lama was in time enthroned at 18 and the regent's task was finished, the authority of His Holiness would still remain restricted and watched over in various ways. For example, not all questions to be decided would even come before him, and sometimes those that were would not be brought to him in their true

character. So that though in theory the Dalai Lama may have been invested with plenipotentiary power, certain restraints were nonetheless put upon it, they being exercised chiefly by certain high officials who surrounded him: particularly the monks, such as the Abbots of the three chief monasteries in Lhasa.

Now this is precisely what occurred in the instance at Yatung under discussion, and formed the centerpiece to what Patterson later recited as having happened in Kalimpong on the agreed night for implementing the escape plan. Of that night (12 July) he writes:

I suggested that word be sent to the Dalai Lama to take a few of his most trusted officials with him on his customary evening walk [at the Dungkhar Monastery, Yatung] and make for a certain point marked on his copy of Harrer's map. I would be waiting at that point with several trusted Khampas and horses and we would ride for the Bhutan border, only a few hours away, and through the narrow neck of Bhutan into India, before any pursuit could be organized....

... We planned to slip out of Kalimpong late one night, with several Khampa companions, and cross the border away from the police check-posts. Each would carry a rucksack with the bare essentials—bowl, *tsampa*, dried meat, knife.

About 10:30 p.m. on the night we had agreed to leave [i.e., the 12th] I was sent for to come to the Dalai Lama's mother's house. There I found his mother, his sister, her husband, Yapshi Sey [the Dalai Lama's brother-in-law, aka: Phuntsog Tashi Takla, and who was an important member of the Tibetan delegation sent to Peking and signed the 17-Point Agreement], and Harrer. Yapshi Sey had come back posthaste with a letter from the Dalai Lama requesting us to cancel all arrangements for his coming to India. He would have to return to Lhasa.

It appeared that the three Abbots of the three chief monasteries of Lhasa—Drepung, Sera and Ganden—had arrived in Yatung and requested the Dalai Lama to return to Lhasa. He had been disinclined to do so and they had insisted on a consultation with the State Oracle. The State Oracle was the medium who, when any important decision had to be made, became possessed by the requisite spirit and under spirit-possession gave the decision of the gods.

The Dalai Lama had had to submit to this regular Tibetan custom and under possession the State Oracle had directed that he must return to Lhasa. The Dalai Lama had refused to accept this direction, an unheard of occurrence, and demanded an unprecedented second 'possession.' Again, under possession, the State Oracle said he must return to Lhasa and, when the seventeen-year-old [actually, he was only a sixteen-year-old] Dalai Lama looked like rejecting this also, the three Abbots reminded him that if he did not accept the commands of the gods in heaven how could he expect other Tibetans to accept his commands on earth? So he had no alternative but to return to Lhasa, he said in his letter, and I who knew Tibetan customs would realize why this should be so.... He could not now make the agreed rejection of the 17-Point Treaty as planned but would keep in mind all that had been discussed for use in the future [ultimately, he did repudiate the Agreement at Mussoorie, India, in 1959; see below, Ch. 27]. He had asked his brother-in-law to read the letter to me and then burn it as it was too dangerous to keep. I watched the flames slowly eat it away.

Patterson 1959, pp. 88-90. For the specific date of the planned escape and still other details, see Patterson 1960, p. 84.

All these developments as reported by Patterson, if true, and there is certainly now no reason to doubt the validity of his report, represented a dramatic shift in the thinking, wishes and intentions of the Dalai Lama from what it had been only a month before. On the 8th or 9th of June Tsipon Shakabpa at Kalimpong had informed the American diplomat sent from the U.S. Embassy at Delhi that he had just received an urgent personal message from the Dalai Lama that in part read: "If U.S. willing to help, you [Shakabpa] should make arrangements for my departure from Yatung, for India immediately. If U.S. unwilling to help, you should return to Yatung at once." Quoted in Goldstein 1989, p. 783. For obvious reasons, Shakabpa stayed on for a long while at Kalimpong, attempting to arrange the Dalai Lama's intended flight abroad. At this same meeting with the Embassy diplomat Shakabpa had also informed the American that, quoting Goldstein, "the Tibetan government considered it preferable to postpone any further appeal to the United Nations until after the Dalai Lama's public disavowal of the... Agreement and until after the Dalai Lama had reached India." *Ibid.*, 784. What had obviously happened between June and July 1951 was that certain elements in the Tibetan governmental apparatus who wished to see the Dalai Lama—for whatever reasons, whether highly motivated or lowly—return to Lhasa rather than take flight to India, made sure that the voices and opinions of the most influential figures in Tibet's ecclesiastical circles would be fully heard by His Holiness in an effort to dissuade him from following his already avowed intention to seek asylum abroad. In the end, their efforts—as witnessed above—proved extremely successful in convincing the young ruler not to leave for India, as planned, on 12 July. And as if to make "even more convincing" the directives of the Oracle and the pleadings of the three Abbots to return to Lhasa, the latter, according to a correspondent of the London *Times* (Patterson?), "arranged for monks to

move up to the passes leading south, the Jelep and the Natu, on the excuse of receiving" General Chang, "but really in order to prevent the Dalai Lama from escaping"! Correspondent, *Times*, 8 Sept. 1951, p. 7.

210. Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1955?, p. 111. Anthropologist/historian Carole McGranahan, in her Ph.D. dissertation of 2001 (see McGranahan 2001), has provided an assessment of the Pangdatsang family and its place, or lack thereof, in the presentation of modern Tibetan history. She notes that during the three decades prior to 1950 the three lay brothers of this prominent family had sought in diverse ways to gain equality within a national Tibetan playing field (p. 50). In fact, as Khampa Tibetans, these three, each in his own way, had "challenged the Tibetan status quo while playing (mostly) by its rules." In the end, however, their attempts to transcend "long-hardened divisions of region, class, and occupation in Tibet" had proved too difficult to achieve (p. 24).

Moreover, because of its past off-and-on association with China, writes McGranahan, "this family has been disgraced for being Chinese 'collaborators,' and as such, is a family whose history has been struck from a list of appropriate topics." (p. 50) In fact, an exile Tibetan in Kathmandu once remarked to McGranahan that for people to say that individuals like the Pangdas, Ngabo or Phuntsog Wangyal were Tibetan heroes is nothing short of trash. And another exile, the one at Dharamsala, in referring to the Pangdatsangs, declared that "these people weren't heroes. They didn't do anything for Tibet." (p. 164) Furthermore, this latter exile Tibetan and other Tibetans of like mind would go on to explain how the reform efforts by the Pangda family had proved to be unsuccessful or else were not in sync with the key political leaders of the early exile period, or at worst, that the Pangdatsangs were sympathizers with Communist China (p. 165).

In short, writes McGranahan, currently, exile Tibetans can make no room for those Tibetans who have harbored the notion "that ideas could be learnt from China or [that] progress could be made from working with China." Accordingly, continues McGranahan, Pangdatsang history ends flat up against modern Tibetan history in nearly "stereotypical form: the brash Khampa versus the suave Lhasa aristocrat, straight-talk versus smooth-talk, rude and uncouth versus polite and well-mannered." (p. 172) She also notes that the Pangdatsangs' "bourgeois Khampa challenges to the national order of things" pale when compared "with the negative status assigned" to this family after the fall of Tibet. This is because "exile histories," she went on to say, "are limited in part by governmental attempts to retain authorship over modern Tibetan history." (p. 165)

Nevertheless, concludes McGranahan, in spite of "the current historical dismissal" of this family, its story is important because of the scant number of existing "written histories" for the early to mid-20th century period of Tibetan history, especially those covering the decades immediately following the Great Thirteenth's death. "Pangdatsang attempts to both infiltrate and alter the Tibetan status quo are thus an important part of modern Tibetan history." (p. 173)

For an in-depth study of this remarkable Tibetan family, consult McGranahan 2001, *passim*; and for a good overview of local and regional socio-political and military issues centered primarily in Kham, see Lawrence Epstein, ed., *Khams pa Histories* (Leiden/Boston/Cologne, 2002), one of whose monographs is a contribution of McGranahan's on the rise of the Pangdatsang family, pp. 103-26.

Finally, with respect to the demise of this trio of brothers, according to Gyan Jyoti, Yangpel Pangdatsang would meet an untimely and cruel death at the hands of the Chinese Communists, reporting that in the 1960s he was kidnapped by some of them in Hong Kong and brought to Lhasa, where he was poisoned. Interview with Jyoti, Feb. 1993. But according to Carole McGranahan's rather conclusive research on the matter, Yangpel—though he did end up in Lhasa from Hong Kong—did so not by having been abducted but by his own initiative, and where he would die not from poisoning but from natural causes. Wanting very much to go to the U.S. but unable to do so, and there being nowhere else in the world to where he *really* wished to relocate, Yangpel wrote a letter in the mid-1960s to Chou En-lai at Beijing requesting that he be permitted to return to his homeland of Tibet. Thereafter invited to the Communist Chinese capital, he spent a little time there, but eventually went to Lhasa where Topgyay and other Pangdatsang family members were now living. During the latter stages of the repressive Cultural Revolution (1966-76), Yangpel would be forced to witness his brother Topgyay being tortured by the Chinese after his brother had been arrested and "struggled against" (*thamzing*). Yangpel himself escaped such humiliating treatment on Chou's personal orders. Nevertheless, both these brothers would shortly afterwards die at Lhasa (sometime during 1972-3), Yangpel of a heart attack and Topgyay of a stroke. And a mere three years later the last of these three brothers, Rapga, would also die, at Kalimpong (coincidentally during the same month and year, Feb. 1976, in which Tharchin himself would die), having in time "lost his spirit" after being made aware of his brothers' struggles and deaths at the Tibetan capital. Having risen so high in such a relatively short time span, this family, writes McGranahan, "was finished." McGranahan 2001, pp. 170-1.

211. This is a composite reconstruction of Tharchin's own words in his having recounted this incident twice, combining as it does into one what he personally said as recorded in his end-of-life "memoirs" (see GTUM TwMs, Ch. 21, p. 3) and what he also related in a personal interview with Dawa Norbu as recorded in Norbu 1975, p. 20. See also Goodman 1986, p. 341, which took note of the "One Man War with Mao" article.

212. Interview with Norbu, in Norbu 1975, p. 19.

213. "An Appeal," *Tibet Mirror* (Dec. 1962):10, translated from the Tibetan.

214. Dalai Lama XIV 1962, p. 90. The source for the General's arrival date at Yatung is Ling 1968, p. 768.

215. Taring 1970, pp. 174-5.

216. Harrer visited with the Ambassador, Loy Henderson, on 29 Mar. 1951, in company with James Burke, New Delhi bureau chief for both *Time* and *Life* magazines, who had brought the Austrian to see Henderson. See Knaus 1999, p. 79 and Shakya 1999, p. 72.

217. *Ibid.*, 78, 81.

217a. Quoted in Goldstein 2007, p. 119.

218. Knaus 1999, p. 85.

219. Dalai Lama XIV 1990, p. 66.

220. Quoted in Goodman 1986, p. 175.

221. Shakya 1999, p. 85.

222. Ling 1968, p. 768.

223. Dalai Lama XIV 1990, pp. 66-7.

224. Dalai Lama XIV 1962, pp. 89-90.

225. Ling 1964, p. 24, citing as sources for his statement, *Hsi-tang Ta Shih Chi* (Record of Major Events in Tibet) (Peking, 1959), 7, and the Dalai Lama's book (see previous note). Ling's sourcebook of events covered the period 1949-62.

226. All quotations in this and the preceding paragraph are from Dalai Lama XIV 1990, pp. 64-6.

227. The information about the Dalai Lama's instructions to Tibetan officials at Kalimpong was gleaned by the present author from what was transmitted as part of an official telegram that was sent by the U.S. Consul-General, Calcutta, to the U.S. Secretary of State, dated 12 July 1951, and cited in Goldstein 1989, p. 794n.

228. *Ibid.*, 796, 805. As indicated already in a previous note above, the reader can obtain an account of the plan's collapse, the specific date of the planned escape, and other details—at least from Patterson's perspective—by consulting the latter's two books: Patterson 1959, pp. 88-90 and Patterson 1960, p. 84.

228a. Goldstein 2007, p. 138.

229. Quoted in Smith Jr 1996, p. 315n.

230. Goldstein 1989, p. 801.

231. Dalai Lama XIV 1990, p. 67.

232. See Shakya 1999, p. 85 for most of this discussion here regarding Chang and his Lhasa reception.

233. For the chronicling of the extensive journey made by the various elements involved in the Mission to Lhasa, the reader should consult the *New York Times* for 1951, as follows: 3 June, p. 19; 13th, p. 4; 19th, p. 5; and 28th, p. 2. Also, 2 July, p. 2; 6th, p. 2; 16th, p. 21; and 23rd, p. 2. Finally, 6 Aug., p. 2; and 18th, p. 3. Consult also Patterson 1960, p. 85; and Correspondent, *Times*, 8 Sept. 1951, p. 7; see also Goldstein 1989, p. 811.

234. Shakya 1999, pp. 90-91.

Chapter 24a

1. S.T. Kazi to Tharchin, [Lhasa], 22 Apr. 1949, ThPaK.

2. Today in his early eighties, Sonam Kazi, who now resides in the U.S., can look back upon a life full of distinguished service on behalf of India and the Tibet exile government and achievements in a number of cultural and religious areas of scholarship. Born in 1925 into one of Sikkim's most prominent aristocratic families, the young Kazi spent his earliest years of schooling in both Gangtok and Kalimpong between 1938 and 1946. In the latter year he went off to St. Stephen's College, Delhi, for further higher education and thereafter served in the Tibetan capital as a member of the Indian Mission's staff between 1949 and March of 1956.

During Dalai Lama XIVth's official visit to India in 1956-7 for the Buddha Jyanti celebrations, the Kazi acted as Chief Interpreter to His Holiness. As a consequence, he was present as interpreter during all conversations held between the Dalai Lama and such notable political figures as Pandit Nehru and Chinese Premier Chou En-lai. Because of his position as Chief Interpreter, Sonam Kazi became a member of the Indian Service of the External Affairs Ministry. He would return to Tibet one final time in the autumn of 1957, visiting Lhasa in the company of Indian Political Officer Pant.

Less than two years following the Fourteenth Dalai Lama's 1956-7 visit to India, the Kazi would again be at the side of Tibet's Lama-King when in late March 1959 Sonam Kazi joined a number of other Indian officials to meet the Dalai Lama immediately upon his emergence from Tibet at the Indian border town of Bomdila seeking asylum from the pursuing Red Chinese. From that moment till 1972 the Kazi would hold the post of Official Interpreter, Government of India, to His Holiness. During this long period he further served the Dalai Lama by translating into English *My Land and My People* (1962), the first of several memoirs which His Holiness would write for eventual publication.

Since then Sonam Kazi has come to be recognized as an outstanding Tibetan Buddhist scholar, editor and publisher, translator, art expert, teacher, and lecturer. Despite an extremely busy schedule, however, the Kazi still continues to maintain a close friendship with His Holiness as well as rendering assistance to the latter in a variety of ways. The present writer is greatly indebted to S.T. Kazi for his willingness to sit down with him for a nine-hour interview spread over a two-day period in Oct. 1991. Indeed, the Kazi was one of this writer's most significant sources of information on the life and times of Gergan Tharchin. Some additional bio-data included above was derived from the Government of Tibet in Exile Website's Homepage under The Status of Tibet sub-article, "A Brief Account of Mr. Sonam T. Kazi's Experience in Tibet before the Chinese Invasion," dated London, 13 Sept. 1994.

3. Tshering to Tharchin, Barrackpore, 20 July 1949, ThPaK.

4. Sources for all information and quoted material relative to Snellgrove-Tsering-Tharchin are: letter, Snellgrove to the author, Turin Italy, 25 Sept. 1994; and Snellgrove to Tharchin, New Delhi, 21 Feb. 1945, ThPaK.

5. Letter, Tharchin to Bell, Kalimpong, 25 Dec. 1937, Bell Papers.

6. Letter, Bell to Tharchin, Edgecumbe England, 13 Aug. 1937, *ibid.* (emphasis added).

7. Tharchin to Bell, Kalimpong, 16 Feb. 1937, *ibid.*

8. Letters, Tharchin to Bell, Tsarong House Lhasa, 1 July 1937; and Kalimpong, 25 Dec. 1937; *ibid.*

9. Tharchin 1963, p. 2.

9a. McGranahan 2001, p. 198.

9b. On the day of Indian Independence—that is to say, on 15 Aug. 1947—Tharchin was in Calcutta. From there he wired to Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru congratulating him on the birth of a new nation, of which, of course, the Tibetan from Poo was himself now a citizen. See GTUM TwMs, Ch. 22, p. 5n.

Once again, Tharchin happened to be in Calcutta—this time on 31 Jan. 1948—when Mahatma Gandhi was felled by an assassin's bullet, an event termed by the Tibetan publisher as "one of the most heinous crimes ever recorded in the annals of history." At the exact moment of the news Tharchin was sitting in the lounge of the Broadway Hotel with his "son," Sonam T. Kazi, both of whom had traveled together to the Bengal capital on business. Everyone thinking that the assassination had been the work of Moslem extremists, all at the Hotel were afraid to venture out onto the streets of Calcutta, a city which had been the scene recently of great communal strife between Moslems and Hindus. Interview with the Kazi, Oct. 1991. Only later did Tharchin learn that the murder of the "Father of India" had been perpetrated by a small cabal of Hindu fanatics who believed the Mahatma had gone too far in his tolerant approach towards the Moslem minority in India. "When the news came," the Babu recalled, "all people in the Hotel were greatly shocked. Sorrow and sadness filled their hearts." GTUM TwMs, Ch. 22, p. 5n.

Interestingly, non-Christian writers and speakers of the time likened Gandhi's death to the Crucifixion. Margaret Sinker has reported that hundreds of pictures appeared of Christ on the Cross, with Gandhi or with Gandhi and Nehru added; moreover, public speeches and writings all over India likened him to Christ instead of their own Hindu Rama or Krishna. And at the scattering of his ashes, she noted, not only were the Hindu, Moslem and Sikh scriptures read, but passages from the Christian Bible as well. In fact, in the simple prison cell in which he had for so long been incarcerated at Sevagram, Gandhi's copy of the New Testament was seen at his hand and in addition a picture of Christ was noticed hanging on the wall. It was also noted by Sinker that many of his followers, who like their leader also went willingly to prison during the period of civil disobedience in India, had taken their own New Testaments with them too.

It has been commented upon that two of Gandhi's most powerful weapons—that of *Satyagraha* (Truth-Force) and *Ahimsa* (Harmlessness or Non-Violence)—were New Testament weapons; and a third and perhaps his most powerful one, the Fast, which had frequently been undertaken by him to resolve conflicts and force decision, had, in the words of Sinker, been "an extreme of self-denial which he felt to be in line with the teaching on the Cross." Indeed, as Christian historian Kenneth Scott Latourette has written, in those times of crisis wherein Gandhi would enter upon or conclude one of his fasts, he would have a Christian as well as a Hindu hymn sung, his favorite Christian one being: "When I survey the wondrous Cross on which the Prince of Glory died."

Although Gandhi had acknowledged his debt to John Ruskin's *Unto This Last* and Leo Tolstoy's *The Kingdom of God Is Within You* (this latter volume, wrote Gandhi in 1927, "having left an abiding impression on me, [with its] independent thinking, profound morality, and the truthfulness of this book"), it was the New Testament which had influenced him the most profoundly of all Christian writings. Observed Latourette when writing of the period of Gandhi's most prolific civil disobedience efforts: "the Gospel is more widely influential than ever...in shaping the ideals of the outstanding Indian of the century, Mahatma Gandhi." In Hindi the term *mahatma* means "the great spirit" or "great soul"; and there is no question about the rightness of such a title having been bestowed upon him by his countrymen; although at one time, as Sinker has pointed out, it had been withdrawn for a while because the Mahatma had ordered the killing of a sick calf contrary to Hindu custom.

Now a great deal of credit has been given to Gergan Tharchin, incidentally, for having made the Mahatma a popular figure in Tibet. Tashi Tsering, a research scholar at the Library of Tibetan Works and Archives, Dharamsala, declared in an article that "the popularity" in Tibet "of Gandhi and his life was a result of reports published in a Tibetan newspaper called *Yul phyogs so so'i gsar 'gyur me long* in Kalimpong" (the Tibetan name, of course, of Tharchin's newspaper) as well as of "the continuous comings and goings of Tibetan Moslems, Nepalese traders and pilgrims who on their return to Tibet told many tales about Gandhi." The news reports about the Mahatma in the *Tibet Mirror* thereafter sparked the development of a relationship between the Thirteenth Dalai Lama and Gandhi "when they engaged in a brief correspondence" that began in 1931 just two years prior to the Inmost One's death in late 1933. "Gandhi: an Old Friend of Tibet," *TR* (Jan. 1984):11. This publicizing of the Mahatma by Tharchin must also explain, at least in part, how it was that the Great Thirteenth's successor upon the Lion Throne of Tibet was so well aware of Gandhi as an important personage and of his non-violent activities on behalf of Indian independence; for as a boy growing up within the reclusive walls of the Potala Palace, Dalai Lama XIV became an avid reader of Tharchin's newspaper, as has been learned from the new Grand Lama's own testimony given years later. And consequently, the young Dalai Lama was able to learn from the pages of the *Tibet Mirror* a great deal regarding the life and work of the Mahatma and thus imbibed something of his Ahimsa ideals; so much so, that Gandhi, it is said, quickly became the boyhood hero of His Holiness. See Jay Mathews, "The Dalai Lama's Call for Kindness," *Washington Post*, 6 Oct. 1989, p. C2. Moreover, Mary La has written that all Tibetans "had a great reverence" for Gandhi inasmuch as Tibetans said "that he was a reincarnation of Padma Sambhava." Taring 1970, p. 170.

Perhaps it would not be inappropriate here to indicate a brief, though highly candid, assessment of the Mahatma by a contemporary of Gandhi's who happened also to be Tharchin's very good friend and co-laborer in the Christian gospel, Sadhu Sundar Singh. It has come to light that both these giants of recent Indian history had met. As a matter of fact, the Sadhu had been invited to see Gandhi at his Ashram in West India, where indeed the Sadhu spent two or three days. The Sadhu's visit took place at "Satyagraha Ashram," the now-historic retreat center at Sabarmati established by the Mahatma in 1915 on his celebrated return to India from South Africa that, commencing as merely a "five-room double-story bungalow," was soon to become "a sort of laboratory for evolving community life and the pivotal center for India's freedom struggle during the early 1920s." (By 1988, though, it would be in a shambles.) The meeting here between these two illustrious men occurred in 1922, just prior to Sundar's departure for Palestine on Jan. 29th when he set sail from Bombay on the first leg of his second and final world tour.

While in the Ashram at Sabarmati (located near Ahmedabad), the Sadhu was asked by Gandhi to share with him the circumstances under which he had become a Christian. The Mahatma had long entertained the notion that many Christian adherents had identified themselves with the Church primarily out of social or economic motives and not for deeply spiritual reasons. And it is believed that he had therefore long hungered to meet Christians who in their lives actually lived out the precepts of Jesus' Sermon on the Mount and other New Testament principles he had so greatly come to admire. Although not a Christian by belief or practice himself, Gandhi had sought to an impressive degree to implement in his own life some of the same principles which had characterized the life and teachings of Jesus. It was this, in fact, which in 1925 impelled Tharchin's Moravian missionary friend and counselor once stationed at Poo, Rev. Hermann Kunick, to declare concerning the Mahatma: "That man is a more sincere Christian than thousands in Europe" because though not a confirmed believer in Christ in the traditional sense, he nonetheless "takes literally the Word of God in his day-to-day life as well as in the life of the nation, . . . which is the simple secret of Gandhiji's power and influence in India."

Without perhaps realizing it, the Mahatma was now to be treated to a quiet, yet deeply moving witness by an Indian Christian saint (and by a converted devout Sikh at that!) who by his whole manner of life had indeed reflected the poor, humble and faithful yet virile and courageous Jesus of the New Testament. And when the Sadhu had concluded his testimony, it is reported that Gandhi "was so impressed by the story which Sundar Singh told of his conversion that he asked him to repeat it to the members of his Ashram in their early morning prayers on the following day."

A Danish missionary, Miss Annie Marie Petersen, who had herself spent much time living at Sabarmati and knew the Mahatma well and appreciated him greatly, visited Sundar Singh at his Simla Hills home of Subathu very early in 1922. This was just prior to the Sadhu's own visit to the Ashram, which she had in fact been instrumental in arranging in the first place. Miss Petersen had especially been drawn to Sundar Singh because she found in him "the spiritual genius of India blossoming forth at the touch of Christ." "There was something wonderful," she noted, "in the blessed presence of Sundar Singh. In his company I felt the spirit of peace and other-worldliness in a way which I did not feel in the presence of Gandhiji." Later, in 1928, the Danish missionary had once again visited the Sadhu at Subathu just a year before he was to leave for Tibet on his last and fateful journey there. When long afterwards Sundar's biographer and personal friend, A.J. Appasamy, visited Miss Petersen in Apr. of 1950 at her Indian home in Porto Novo, this is what she reported to Appasamy concerning the Sadhu and his view of Gandhi:

He admired Gandhiji for the wonderful way in which he met popularity as well as criticism; Gandhiji was unaffected by either. Sundar Singh said that he himself was affected too much by popularity. This was the worst "cross" he had to bear. He was also inclined to take to heart criticism and hostility. He wished he could be like Gandhiji in his indifference both to popularity and antagonism. . . .

When [in 1922] I talked to Sundar Singh, I found that he was rather prejudiced against Gandhiji. He had an impression that Gandhiji did not come out openly as a Christian as he was afraid that his influence in the country would diminish. I did not agree with this point of view. I felt sure that Gandhiji remained a Hindu because he was sincerely convinced of its truth. [She was correct. At about this same time (1925-26) Gandhi wrote: "Though I admire much in Christianity, I am unable to identify myself with orthodox Christianity. . . . Hinduism as I know it entirely satisfies my soul, fills my whole being, and I find a solace in the *Bhagavadgita* and *Upanishads* that I miss even in the Sermon on the Mount. . . . There is nothing in the world that would keep me from professing Christianity or any other faith, the moment I felt the truth of and the need for it." Gandhi, *What Jesus Means to Me* (Ahmedabad, 1959), 5, 6.] I was anxious that Sundar Singh should meet Gandhiji and get personally acquainted with him. A visit to Gandhiji's Ashram was arranged and Sundar Singh spent some time there. When Gandhiji's autobiography was published later [in 1925], the Sadhu asked for a copy, which I sent. After reading it he wrote to me that it was a great pity that Gandhiji

confessed that he had not yet found God. Sundar Singh said also in his letter that we must continue to pray for him.

As far as is known, Mahatma Gandhi, prior to his death, never professed faith in Christ. Certainly he had not found God for, in fact, as late as the early 1940s he had declared in a speech at that time that he had never found Him, despite years of seeking—so Sir Francis Younghusband had mentioned to a friend. Moreover, at about this same time Younghusband could assert, after “having spoken with him and listened to him several times,” that “I could feel that” Gandhi had not yet found Him. And this was but a few years before the Mahatma’s assassination. (It would appear, in fact, that the closest Gandhi came to claiming he had found God was what he wrote in 1936: “I have made the frankest admission of my sins. But I do not carry their burdens on my shoulders. If I am journeying Godward, as I feel I am, it is safe with me. For I feel the warmth of the sunshine of His presence. My austerities, fastings and prayers are, I know, of no value if I rely upon them for reforming me. But they have an inestimable value if they represent, as I hope they do, the yearnings of a soul striving to lay his weary head in the lap of his Maker.” *What Jesus Means to Me*, 30.)

Yet, in the final analysis, this lack of conversion to Christ on Gandhi’s part did not surprise the Sadhu, if a remark the latter made in Switzerland in 1922 a few months after visiting the Mahatma at Sabarmati could be construed as reflecting an ongoing point of view of his in the years following the publication of Gandhiji’s autobiography. (The substance of the remark will be related in a moment, but some background would first be helpful here.) Having himself become a follower of Christ and having become well-grounded in the Christian experience before ever visiting Europe and the West, Sundar Singh was fortunately strong enough to withstand the temptation to renounce his Christian profession when faced with the irreligion, immorality and materialism he saw everywhere as he traveled about on a so-called Christian Continent that in centuries past had witnessed a better state of things.

The Sadhu had already traveled in Britain and America on a previous visit to the West two years earlier (in America he was aptly called by a perceptive *New York Times* journalist “the first Christian missionary from India” and who “traveled without money or baggage and sought no money”); and what he had found there was no different from what he now found on the Continent: a seemingly utter indifference to all spiritual values caused in great part by a repellent, relentless materialism. “I found a stone in a pool among the Himalayas,” he once told a European audience. “It was hollow, and when I broke it I found the center completely dry. So it is here in the West. You have lain for centuries in the water of Christianity, but it has never penetrated to your hearts.” It even came to a point when he felt constrained to declare before another audience that “in the day of judgment the non-Christians of the East will get a lighter sentence than you of the West. They have never heard the Gospel. You have had your chance and thrown it away.” Privately he expressed himself even more despondently, leading one well-known Lutheran pastor in Germany to remark later that the Sadhu “felt like a bird in a cage,” so much had he longed to be back home in the East. The entire atmosphere in Europe, thought the Indian saint, was fraught with great heaviness. At least in India, he had declared to Pastor J. Kohl, “one feels everywhere—even through idols and altars, pilgrims and penitents, temples and tankas—that there is a desire for higher things; but here everything points to armed force, great power and material things. It is the power from below which makes me sad.”

Despite the spiritual deterioration he witnessed on every hand, however, Sundar Singh refused to entertain the thought of returning to his former religion; even so, his visit to the West did bring keen disappointment and bitter disillusionment to the Sadhu’s soul, and doubtless precipitated the remark he was heard to utter in 1922 while in Switzerland that “Gandhi and [Rabindranath] Tagore would have become Christians if they had not visited Europe.” As one of the Sadhu’s biographers observed, this former devout Sikh religionist who had accepted Christ when very young had reluctantly come to realize “that the idealistic notions which he had held about Western Christians were not founded on fact, and that his Hindu opponents were right when they spoke of the decadence of Western Christianity and of the superiority of Indian inwardness and spiritual culture” (Heiler). Clearly he could not shake off the pain which this unexpected experience had brought him, for it manifested itself in his addresses repeatedly wherever he spoke in Europe. That Gandhi shared these sentiments of the Sadhu is borne out by what the Mahatma was even then writing (late 1920): “Europe is today only nominally Christian. It is really worshiping Mammon.... The last (Great) War... has shown as nothing else has, the Satanic nature of the civilization that dominates Europe today. Every canon of public morality has been broken by the victors in the name of virtue. No lie has been considered too foul to be uttered. The motive behind every crime is not religious or spiritual, but grossly material.... It is... necessary to expose the hollowness of moral pretensions on the part of those who prefer material wealth to moral gain....” *What Jesus Means to Me*, 32, 33.

Gandhi, when asked by a gathering of Indian Christians and British missionaries in 1922 how Christians could make Christianity a genuine force for good in the national life of India, listed as his three primary essentials the following: "First,... all you missionaries and Indian Christians should begin to live as Jesus Christ did. Second, you should all practice your religion without adulterating it or toning it down.... In the third place,... that you should emphasize the love side of Christianity more, for love is central in your religion." And Tagore, while writing to a young English clergyman who was hoping to serve as a missionary in India, advised his correspondent as follows: "The aim of every Christian should be to become like Christ... You cannot preach Christ until you have begun to be like Christ yourself; and then you will not preach Christianity, but the Love of God which He reveals." Now the very thing these two great personages of modern-day India had deemed to be the ideal for Christian Missions had in fact been the very life-ideal of Sundar Singh himself, an ideal which by God's grace he had put into practice in his own walk in a most remarkable way. Unlike the Sadhu, however, Gandhi and Nobel Laureate Tagore (the latter of whom Tharchin's companion in the gospel also knew personally) were apparently never able to overcome their own disillusionment with the decadent Christian West of their day sufficiently to be encouraged to bow at last in surrender, embrace the God of the Bible as revealed in Jesus Christ, and to know and experience thereafter the newness of life that could be theirs in the power of His Spirit. Even so, the Christian community at large must share some of the blame for having made it difficult—for Gandhi, at least—to make a clear-cut commitment to Christ. As Margaret Sinkler has so aptly put it: "Christians will always deplore in humility the fact that at a time when this great man was seriously considering Christianity, its fellowship was unattractive to him." Nevertheless, she added, "those who recognize Truth will forever be amazed and thankful that the book which he read constantly and endeavored to put into practice at its hardest points was the New Testament."

Except where already documented, the sources for all the quotations and essential facts and information given above are: A.J. Appasamy, *Sundar Singh. a Biography* (1958; 1st Indian ed., Madras: Christian Literature Society, 1966, reprinted 1970), 169, 182 (the Sadhu's remarks to Pastor Kohl), 236-7; Kunick letter, 24 Apr. 1925, appearing first in German in Friedrich Heiler's *Die Wahrheit Sundar Singhs*, 101-2, and quoted in English in Appasamy, *Sundar Singh*, 44-5; Gandhi, *An Autobiography* (Ahmedabad, 1927), 114 (on Tolstoy); Latourette, *A History of Christianity* (New York, 1953), 1441-2; Rebecca J. Parker, *Sadhu Sundar Singh: Called of God* (1918; reprint ed., Madras: Christian Literature Society, 1968), 98; "Sayings of Sundar Singh While in Switzerland," *The Lausanne and Neuchâtel Magazine*, 1922, quoted in Friedrich Heiler, *The Gospel of Sadhu Sundar Singh*, trans. Olive Wyon (London, 1927), 274; Heiler, *ibid.*, 88-9, 265-6; Sinkler, *The Bible in India, Pakistan and Ceylon* (London, 1953), 43-4; Rev. D. Howard (Anglican), "Gandhi," *CMR* (Mar. 1922):11-17; "Gandhi Ashram in a Shambles," *The Statesman* (Calcutta), 9 Feb. 1988, p. 13; *New York Times*, 25 Apr. 1933, p. 5; French 1995, p. 380 (on remarks by Youngusband); and Cyril J. Davey, *The Story of Sadhu Sundar Singh* (Chicago, 1963), 141-2.

That Gandhi had had opportunities to meet and get to know intimately other stalwart Christians who in their lives lived out Jesus' precepts in singular faithfulness is evident from the deep relationships it is known he had developed in the 1920s and '30s with Charles F. Andrews from England (whose close acquaintance with Gandhi is mentioned elsewhere in the present narrative) and with two deeply devout and well-beloved and respected American Methodist Christians, Dr. E. Stanley Jones (missionary for 50 years in India) and Bishop Frederick B. Fisher. Gandhi, in fact, was to say of Bishop Fisher: "He seemed to me to be one of the few Christians who walked in the fear of the Lord, and therefore feared no man." Quoted in (Mrs.) Welthy (Honsinger) Fisher, *To Light a Candle* (New York, 1962), 224. Prior to these decades, of course, Gandhi had come to know and appreciate the Rev. Dr. Andrew Murray (1828-1917) while both were in South Africa during the latter years of the 19th century and early years of the 20th.

For details on the Sadhu's visit with Tagore, as well as the long acquaintance with the Nobel Laureate by Tharchin's friend Dr. John Graham, see again end-note 113 for Ch. 16 of the present narrative. For Tharchin himself having most likely met Tagore in Kalimpong (where the poet often stayed), see again the same chapter and note.

10. See Marshall 1977, p. 275. See also Norbu 1987, p. 290: "...the nascent Chinese Republic in 1911 declared Tibet to be one of the Chinese provinces..."

10a. Tuttle 2006, p. 2.

11. The present author is indebted (a) to Ingram 1990, pp. 378-9, re: Sun Yat-sen and Tibet; (b) to

Melvyn Goldstein for the historical basis he has provided for several assertions made by the present author in this and the preceding paragraph of Text dealing with the situation along the Sino-Tibetan frontier since the 18th century: see his “Change, Conflict and Continuity among a Community of Nomadic Pastoralists,” in Barnett & Akiner (eds.) 1994, pp. 76-87; (c) to Ram Rahul, *Modern Tibet* (New Delhi, 1992), 83-5; (d) to Shakya 1999, pp. 14 with 463 note 44, 32 with 466 note 1, 38, 43; (e) to Norbu 2005, Part III, p. 1, re: the rifles purchase; and (f) to Ford 1957, p. 106.

11a. It may be recalled that Tharchin had early on recognized the weakness of certain Tibetan aristocrats and others in leadership in that they fell prey easily to various ploys used by the Chinese—whether Nationalist or Communist; for he once confided: “I used to warn the aristocrats in Lhasa that they were deceived by the Chinese with sweets. But they never listened.” As told to Dawa Norbu the year before Tharchin’s death and quoted in Norbu 1975, p. 19.

12. This rumored accusation and explanation by the Chinese, as reported by Tharchin, is far too simplistic, and the Babu knew this to be the case. Perhaps the more likely *immediate* catalyst for the Tibetan government’s startling expulsion order of late spring 1949 has been explained by one of Tharchin Babu’s ever-faithful informants, Migma Dorje, a longtime clerk (and a Christian, incidentally) stationed at the British (later Indian) Trade Agency in Yatung in southern Tibet, who had witnessed the arrival there from Lhasa of various batches of these expelled Chinese and other “undesirables” as they then made their way farther south and over the Jelep La into India. Migma Dorje indicated in several letters to Tharchin that fairly reliable rumors from the Tibetan capital had it that “most people say that the cause of their expulsion is that there is a Chinese hotel at Lhasa, where many Tibetans and Chinese were gathering and talking this and that [negatively] about the K.M.T. [Kuomintang, i.e., Nationalist] Government, and that this news had reached the Kashag.” Letters, Dorje to Tharchin, Yatung, 8 and 22 Aug. 1949, ThPaK.

According to Hisao Kimura, it was not a hotel but a restaurant with an upstairs majhong parlor. It will be remembered from Ch. 23 that Kimura—who himself was one of those deported—was in Lhasa at the time and had noted that the Tibetan government’s mistrust of China was so strong that this new gathering-place established by the local Lhasa Chinese and those Tibetans in the pay of the Nationalist Chinese was considered to be nothing more than a rendezvous point for Chinese Communist intelligence agents. In this case, he added, it was a groundless fear, since all these people had gone into the restaurant business purely as a way of surviving economically now that their sources of income had been cut off from the increasingly vanquished Nationalist government. But the Tibetan authorities greatly feared that local Chinese and discontented Tibetans in the capital would now do what was rumored to be happening all over China: that “people were rising against their local rulers as the Communists approached.” Hence, the expulsion order was issued to obviate this supposed danger. Kimura 1990, p. 205.

In the view of Tibetan historian Tsering Shakya, the overarching motivation for the expulsion order, from the Tibetan perspective, was the Chinese claims, repeatedly made, that Tibet is, and always had been, an “integral part of China.” At this time, writes the historian, “Tibet was not equipped to oppose China either militarily or socially. The immediate political reaction to the Chinese claims and to the approaching victory of the Communists [in China] was to remove any remnant of Chinese authority in Tibet.” Consequently, he adds, “anyone suspected of being sympathetic to the Chinese was expelled.” Ergo, Regent Taktra’s *Kashag* (or Cabinet of advisers) had appointed Tsipon Namseling “to draw up a list of all those who were pro-Communist, including anyone who was closely associated with the Chinese Mission”—a Mission whose original purpose for having come from China in 1934 had presumably been to extend condolences over the death of the 13th Dalai Lama, but which, clearly intent on bringing Chinese influence back to the Tibetan capital, had lingered in Lhasa for more than a decade after his death and had become a branch of the Mongolian-Tibetan Affairs Commission of the Nationalist government at Peking. Utilizing Namseling’s secret list, the *Kashag* had planned the expulsion, and “with great secrecy,” notes Shakya, had also called up Army troops from Shigatse and Dingri and deployed them strategically throughout Lhasa. The Government had feared that “some Chinese would remain in Tibet and declare their loyalty to the Communists,” now that it appeared certain the Nationalists would be totally defeated in China’s Civil War. See Shakya 1999, pp. 4, 5, 7.

On the other hand, Shakya further states that, viewing the matter from the Chinese perspective, both the Nationalists and the Communists believed that the Indian Mission at Lhasa, and specifically its Head, Hugh Richardson, had been responsible for the expulsion having occurred. He cites as his source Chinese author Tieh-tseng Li, in the latter’s history, *Tibet: Today and Yesterday* (New York, 1960), 199. Confirmation of this assertion, the historian adds, has come from two other sources: one, a high-ranking Tibetan official at the time.

Lhawutara, who claims that it was Richardson's suggestion to expel the then Chinese Mission at Lhasa; the other, the brother-in-law of the 14th Dalai Lama, Phuntsog Tashi Takla—the principal person conducting liaison activity with the Chinese—who likewise states that the idea originated with this British Indian official. The latter himself, however, does not recall having made such a suggestion, “though he concedes,” writes Shakya, “that he may have inadvertently commented on the danger posed by the [Mission's] presence...in Lhasa.” Shakya 1999, p. 9. Ergo, it would appear that more than likely the truth of the entire matter is that all these various elements *together* contributed to the drastic and sudden action taken by the Tibetan government.

13. Quoted from a one-page typed and undated document entitled simply “ROUGH ESTIMATE:-”; but from internal evidence it has been determined that it had been composed sometime between Red China's invasion date of 7 Oct. 1950 (“the Communist flood which has now already reached into Tibet”) and 18 Apr. 1951 (Tharchin's 61st birthday).

13a. This passage in the Great Thirteenth's political testament is taken from Glenn H. Mullin's translation which appeared in *Lungta* (Aug. 1993):9.

14. This remark was made to the present writer by B.C. Simick Jr. (son of Simick Sr., an old and dear friend of Gergan Tharchin's) who has been a longtime Lecturer in Tibetan at Kalimpong College. Interview Nov. 1992.

15. Tharchin 1963, p. 2.

15a. Interview with Achu Tsering, Jan. 1998.

16. Letter, Tharchin to Bell, Tsarong House Lhasa, 1 July 1937, Bell Papers.

17. *Ibid.*

18. All eleven of these communications are found in the ThPaK, and are identified in the order listed as follows: Unknown correspondent (because letter torn in half) to Tharchin; P. Dhondup to Tharchin; Dawa Sangpo (aka Hisao Kimura) to Tharchin (date determined by both internal and external evidence); Sonam T. Kazi to Tharchin; Migma Dorje to Tharchin; ditto; S.T. Kazi to Tharchin; Migma Dorje to Tharchin; ditto; Typewritten Memo, undated, headed by the word CONFIDENTIAL, and beginning thus: “These you may be able to use in your paper:-”.

19. As Amsterdam University historical geographer Wim van Spengen has remarked: “From the beginning of the twentieth century onwards,” those on Indian pilgrimage from Tibet “came to Kalimpong...as their main point of departure.” Van Spengen 1995, p. 39.

20. The identity of the Lama as the Rimpoche of Jyekundo is disclosed in the longhand-written Journal Kimura had set down presumably after the mission was over. This unnumbered-page document is among the ThPaK, and on its 29th page is found the following entry: “...Following down a river, at evening at last we got to Kikudo [Jyekundo], and directly we went to Kikudo Rimpoche's house (small shrine), who is friend of Mr. Tharchin.”

21. This was confirmed by the present author; for while sifting through the Press materials among the voluminous ThPaK one day, he discovered numerous examples of these leaflets and guide maps printed by the Babu relating to both Buddhist and Hindu sacred sites in India.

21a. See Norbu 1975, pp. 18-20.

22. For this historical background to British India's development of its wide-ranging Intelligence-gathering program re: Tibet, see McKay 1997, pp. 23-5.

23. See Memo No. 343, dated 12 Mar. 1946, from: Hopkinson, c/o Foreign, to: Mission, Lhasa, a copy of which was found among the ThPaK.

24. The author is indebted to five sources of information for the bio-data on the Tibetan Intelligence Chief: *Who's Who 1991*, 1055; letter, Lambert to the author, Dublin Ireland, 16 Dec. 1991; Eric Lambert and Alban Ali, *Assam*, Oxford Pamphlets on Indian Affairs No. 37 (London, Bombay, Calcutta, etc.: Oxford University Press, Indian Branch, July 1956), unnumbered page opposite its title page; Griffiths 1971, pp. 379-81; and Kimura 1990, pp. 139, 184, 188, 190.

25. Griffiths 1971, p. 380.

26. *Who's Who 1991*, 1055. The entire episode is described in some detail in Griffiths 1971, pp. 379-81.

27. *Ibid.*, 381.

28. Lambert to the author, Dublin Ireland, 16 Dec. 1991.

28a. That Gergan Tharchin, throughout the remainder of his professional career, had himself espoused this same independent buffer-state policy for Tibet in the best interests of India is evident from what he would write decades later in a letter to Kimura in late 1961. At that time, of course, deepening concern was being voiced throughout India over the increasing number of border clashes which were occurring along both the Ladakhi and Assamese frontiers between the Chinese Communists, who had long since occupied Tibet, and the military forces of the hapless Nehru government which had foolishly abandoned that policy shortly after assuming power over a now Independent India. These clashes, instigated by the Chinese, would serve, unfortunately, as the prelude to an all-out Sino-Indian border war which erupted the following October (1962). Wrote the Babu to his Japanese friend on 7 Dec. 1961:

We are very sad for all the Tibetan refugees [now in India and elsewhere] as well as for those who are left in Tibet and are undergoing very great hardship there. Even now, we in India have to prepare to meet the aggressor, as the Chinese Communists have encroached upon lots of land of ours.

When Tibet was independent, there was peacefulness in Tibet, as well as in India there was no danger from a foreign power. If Tibet [had been] kept as a buffer state, how good, but [today] what to do? Now there is very little hope for Tibet unless God does some great wonder. God can do such, for there is nothing [too] hard for Him. We are only praying to God; and if it is His will, He may hear our prayers. Th-to-K Ltrs File.

The Nehru government, incidentally, would have been wise to have heeded the advice which A.J. Hopkinson, the last British Political Officer for Tibet, had expressed in a kind of end-of-empire review of Indo-Tibetan relations that he had apparently composed only for himself but which his superiors in the Indian government may nonetheless have heard on occasion from his own lips or have read in other papers he might have actually submitted to them as official documents. It will be recalled from Ch. 23 that it just so happened that Hopkinson had had the unique distinction of having been not only the last *British* Indian Political Officer for Tibet but also, in effect, the first *Independent* Indian Political Officer for the World's Roof. Indeed, he had served in this latter capacity for an entire year following the Transfer of Power over India from Whitehall to Delhi.

Writing from Tibetan territory itself (at Yatung) just a month before handing over his responsibilities to Harish Dayal, Hopkinson had asserted in his review what had long been the policy of British India towards Tibet and had recommended, in so many words, that it *continue* as the policy of Independent India. Wrote the soon-to-be retired official on 1 Aug. 1948: "As before, Tibet serves India as a unique buffer..." But he then went on to warn whoever might read his review paper that the role of passive spectator would not be sufficient for India's future security: "...the preservation of Tibetan integrity and of Tibetan friendship is essential to India. This can be achieved only by a policy of (where necessary) active friendship; the passive role of spectator, however friendly, will not suffice..." As explained in the preceding chapter, Nehru and his associates in Government came to rue the day they had not followed such sage advice—whether proffered by Hopkinson or by others—but had instead opted to assume the disastrous position of a friendly but passive spectator *vis-à-vis* her close cultural neighbor to the north. See Hopkinson 1948, Point 21.

29. This according to S.G. Tharchin's wife Nini in an interview with the present writer held in Kalimpong in February 1992. It is most interesting to add that she went on to say in the interview that Nima Isaacs still continued even up to that day to work for Indian Intelligence at Shillong!

30. As a matter of fact, a good deal is known about Nima Isaacs because of a letter written in 1952 by Rev. T.M. Thomas of the Welsh (Presbyterian) Mission in Shillong to Dr. Albert Craig of the Church of Scotland (Presbyterian) Mission in Kalimpong, who in turn forwarded it on to Rev. G. Tharchin for action since the latter was by that time an ordained Christian minister and Pastor of the Kalimpong Tibetan Church and could therefore supply an informative answer to Rev. Thomas's letter of inquiry that read in part as follows: "I understand that Nima Isaacs of Kalimpong, now resident here in Shillong, is known to you. Mr. Isaacs wants to be received into our Church here in Shillong and he was given me your name for reference. I shall be very grateful if you will kindly send us a letter of recommendation.... Was he a communicant member of your Church in Kalimpong?" Letter, Thomas to Craig, Welsh Mission, Shillong, 19 July 1952, ThPaK.

Now in ink on the face of the inland letter from Thomas Rev. Tharchin had scribbled the following, which had apparently been gleaned by him from his Tibetan Church files: "Joseph Isaacs. Now Nima Isaacs. 17/1/26—45

26
19"

From this brief inked notation one can reasonably assume that the young man had been born on 17 January 1926, had indeed been a member of the Scots Mission's Tibetan Church fellowship in Kalimpong, that he was baptized in 1945 at the age of 19, and further, that at birth he was named Joseph but that from his baptism onward he had come to be known as Nima Isaacs.

31. Once again, this is according to the present author's interview with Mrs. S.G. Tharchin in February 1992.

32. The three quoted letters, respectively, are: Isaacs to Tharchin, Friend's Hotel, Mokhar, Shillong, 3 June 1945; Isaacs to Tharchin, C.I.O., Shillong, 25 July 1945; and Isaacs to Tharchin, Shillong ("Dhrubendra Bhawan," Kench's Trace), 5 Feb. 1948—all in the ThPaK.

33. This update on the development of British India's Intelligence program re: Tibet is per McKay 1997, p. 178.

33a. Per interview with Achu N. Tsering, Jan. 1998, emphasis Achu's.

34. Per letter, Snellgrove to the author, Turin Italy, 25 Sept. 1994.

34a. All information provided in this and the preceding paragraph is per the author's interview with Lha Tsering's son, Achu Namgyal Tsering, Jan. 1998.

35. Letter, Snellgrove to Tharchin, New Delhi, 14 Mar. 1945, quoted by Snellgrove in his letter to the author from Turin, 25 Sept. 1994.

36. Snellgrove's comment to the author, in *ibid.*, after quoting the passage from this 1945 letter to Tharchin.

37. See letter, Tharchin to Snellgrove, Kalimpong, 5/1/46 (5 Jan. 1946), photocopy of letter sent the author from Professor Snellgrove.

38. Per Snellgrove's Turin letter of 25 Sept. 1994 to the author.

39. This is a composite rendering of three separate passages this P.O.S. had written about Achuk Tsering; see Bell 1924, pp. 94, 177, 184.

40. McKay 1997, p. 68.

41. This according to Kimura 1990, p. 184, as well as McKay 1997, p. 261 note 41 (where is stated that "Lha Tsering inherited Lambert's post in August 1947").

42. Per letter, Tharchin, addressed to: "Lha Tsering, Asst Dir., SIB, MHA, W.B.," Kalimpong, 16 Jan. 1951, ThPaK. It has been confirmed further by Lhatseren's son Achu as reported by him to the author in the interview with Achu, Jan. 1998.

42a. Interview with Achu Tsering, Jan. 1998.

43. McKay 1997, p. 178.

44. This information is gleaned from a rare item found among the ThPaK dating from very late Imperial Indian times: an already sender-used envelope which is embossed with the words "On His Majesty's Service" and that on one of its sides is stamped S E C R E T. On this same side is addressed the words: "To Sri Lha Tsering, D.C.I.O.(T), Kalimpong": with the envelope having on its other side the inked notation: "Mr. Tharchin." Clearly, the date of this envelope's original use pre-dates India's independence; the sender of the original message enclosed in the envelope and sent to Tharchin was either Lambert but more likely Lhatseren; which message was then followed up by a reply returned to Lha Tsering by Tharchin, he re-using the envelope by inking on its stamped-S E C R E T side the name and title of Lha Tsering and handing it to a trusted servant for immediate delivery to Lhatseren, whose residence happened to be across the street from the Tibet Mirror Press.

44a. The name and precise location of Lhatseren's house is per interview with Achu Tsering, Jan. 1998.

44b. By perusing the Hotel's brochure for 2000, received personally by the present writer, while on a visit there, from the hands of its present administrator, Mr. Timothy Macdonald (David Macdonald's grandson), the following interesting information may be gleaned. The Hotel has excellent views of the Kanchenjunga summits and the surrounding mountain ranges which drop down to the nearby Teesta and Rangit Rivers. The Hotel itself features Himalayan oak ceilings, teak pillars, and walnut and teak furniture. There are open fireplaces in most of its 16 double bedrooms, while the spacious dining room is decorated with Tibetan memorabilia of every sort. Possessing much charm and character, the Hotel has an atmosphere redolent of its close association with Himalayan history. The great names of the region have all been guests here. For example, it has been home to Everest expeditions from the days of Mallory and Irvine in the 1920s. Sir Edmund Hillary and Tenzing Norgay were frequent visitors, while it has also played host to Sir Charles Bell, Sir Basil Gould, and many of the other British officials who traveled to Tibet during the first half of the 20th century. But the Hotel has also been host to a variety of writers, scholars and other authorities on Tibet such as Madame Alexandra David-Neel, Prince Peter of Greece, Rinchen Dolma (Mary La) Taring, Dr. Joseph Rock, Heinrich Harrer, and the distinguished travel writer, and author of *Point of Departure*, James Cameron, who once termed the Himalayan Hotel "a collector's piece among hotels" and "a commonplace name for a most exceptional place." (The present author, incidentally, was informed by Alex McKay recently that he, at the Macdonalds' request, had written the Hotel brochure himself. Email, McKay to the author, Australia, 17 July 2008.)

George Patterson has provided a description of the Hotel's remarkable ambience during the exciting days of the Tibet crisis which erupted in the early 1950s when he himself resided in Kalimpong and could witness many of the goings-on at the Hotel firsthand. Wrote Patterson retrospectively of that most unusual period in its history:

It had been established by David Macdonald,...[who] stepped aside at an honorable eighty years of age and handed over the administration of the hotel to his daughter, Mrs. Perry, or Annie-la...The hotel was more than a place to pass the night or to spend a holiday; it was an institution, a place of pilgrimage. 'Daddy-la,' as old Mr. Macdonald was known to everybody, Vicky-la and Vera-la, another two daughters, and Annie-la, were always there mixing with the guests, spanning the gap between East and West with their knowledge of local affairs and Tibetan officials and nobility. But it was Annie-la—chain-smoking, be-trousered, shrewd, courteous, friendly, Annie-la—who made the Himalayan Hotel.

It was only natural that every reporter should want to get into the Himalayan Hotel as the meeting place of everybody who was anybody, but when twenty-one of them descended on the town at one time it was more than even Annie-la could handle. So they had to spread themselves throughout the town...

The lounge of the Himalayan Hotel, carpeted and ornamented in Tibetan style, was packed every night with some new visitors to add to the already fascinating collection of erudite scholars, brilliantly gowned and jewel-hung Tibetan aristocrats, sight-hungry tourists, and cranks of all kinds and countries. Patterson, "Kalimpong: 'The Nest of Spies'," *Twentieth Century* (June 1958): 523-4.

45. Taken from part of Heather Stoddard's interview with Rapga in 1975, and is quoted in McGranahan 2001, p. 194. Interestingly, Rapga noted that "with the help of Tibetan and Indian police in Kalimpong, he [Lambert] collected a huge file of useless witnesses, because no one told the truth."

45a. Berry 1995, p. 170.

46. McKay 1997, p. 166. For additional data on the Tolstoy Mission and about both team members themselves, see Knaus 1999, pp. 5ff.

46a. Norbu 2005, Part III, p. 1.

47. Kimura's recounting of just this spy journey runs to over a hundred pages alone. If the memoirs of his spy career that was finally published in English in 1990 is unavailable to the reader, then a quite good and engaging summary of his entire volume by Glenn H. Mullin can serve as an acceptable substitute; his review of *Japanese Agent in Tibet* appeared under the title, "An Imperfect Spy," in *Tibetan Review* (Feb. 1991):18-21. "Even more amazing than the journey Kimura undertakes," writes Mullin, "is his ability to recollect events and adventures in such rich detail." The "great charm" of the book, he continues,

is the person of Kimura himself. He has a warm, gentle and sensitive manner in the telling of his tale; and soon we realize that he is not really a hardened spy by design, but rather an adventurer escaping the War by finding excitement on the high Mongolian grasslands and Tibetan valleys. We discover him to be a kind man, even if somewhat cocky in regard to Japan's role in World War II. When a deserter from the Chinese army tries to rob the group, but turns out not even to have bullets in his gun, Kimura allows him to join their caravan as a porter, thus saving the man from starvation. And the story of him running off in the snow to find a doctor for his supposed "elder sister," who has just had a baby but whose afterbirth has refused to emerge, and of his running for several miles with the doctor on his shoulders, certainly endears him even to the most hardened reader of spy reports.

Actually, Kimura had first recorded his story in Japanese. It had initially appeared as the result of a series of lectures on Chinghai Province he had given earlier for the Mainichi Newspaper and was published in 1958 under the title of *Chibetto Senko Junen* (or Ten Years Incognito in Tibet) and reprinted many times thereafter. Indeed, Tharchin would receive a letter from Kimura the previous year asking for his help in its imminent publication. Wrote the ex-Japanese spy to "Babula" (and still using his alias of Dawa Sangpo!): "I may have to ask for your favor about the end of this year since I'm writing a real book of my journey at the request of 'Mainichi,' one of the biggest newspapers in Japan. I need the pictures of Tibet, Kalimpong, your press, your picture, etc. When the time comes, I'll write you then." And upon receiving the Babu's helpful response, Kimura in May 1958 wrote back to Babula as follows: "Thank you so much for your kind letter with many photos and papers. My book will be published only in Japanese sometime in June; am now doing the final proof-reading.... Though I intend [sometime] to publish it in English, probably I have to prepare the manuscript in English translation since the book is in Japanese."

Seven years later, however, it still remained unpublished. Explained this frustrated Japanese to his Tibetan friend: "My book was not published in English, as the British publisher said that the translation is very poor; much editorial work is necessary; so many changes have occurred in Tibet since I left; difficulty in translating my new manuscripts on my life in Inner Mongolia which I wrote at their request and mailed to London, etc. However, Prof. Paul Hyer of Brigham Young University in Utah USA is working on my book to finally publish under joint authorship (with his academic materials)." Dawa Sangpo to Tharchin, Chiba Japan, 16 Aug. 1957; Kimura to Tharchin, [Japan], 29 May [marked by Tharchin "Recd 3/6/58"—i.e., 3 June 1958]; and Kimura to Tharchin, [Chiba City Japan], 9th Feb. [marked by Tharchin "Received 16/2/65"—i.e., 1965]—all in ThPaK.

Nothing was done further about it, however, until by a fortuitous set of circumstances involving Professor Hyer, Heather Stoddard, Peter Hopkirk, Anthony Aris of Serindia Publications in London, and Anthony Willoughby (who in 1988 introduced Kimura to the American writer Scott Berry in Tokyo), the English account previously set down by the Japanese was entirely rewritten with the expert help of Berry and completed for publication by summer's end 1989. Sadly, Hisao Kimura would die later that same year in Tokyo. Nevertheless, Serindia was able to publish it the following year as *Japanese Agent in Tibet*, which now included those events which thirty years before "had been regarded, either by himself or by his [Mainichi] publisher," writes Aris in his Publisher's Preface, "as too politically sensitive to include." These episodes omitted earlier but now included in the English edition were about (1) Kimura's friendship with the group of left-wing Tibetan nationalists such as Phuntsog Wangyal and Gedun Chopel, and (2) his subsequent service for British Intelligence.

The present author owes a huge debt of gratitude to Mr. Aris for getting Professor Kimura to agree, when they met in Tokyo in the spring of 1988, to include in the English edition these significant omissions. Without

these later inclusions no one might ever have come to know the much fuller extent of Gergan Tharchin's own intimate involvement in *both* these episodes. Aris and his publishing house are therefore to be congratulated for their timely contribution to the writing of the present chapter and parts of other relevant chapters, without which they could never have been written in their current form.

48. Actually, it was Tibet's Great Fifth Dalai Lama who had initially recognized this line of Mongolian high Lamas in the middle of the 17th century. Earlier that century the Dalai Lamas had begun to form alliances with the Manchus, a group of Central Asian nomads then living northeast of China. These Manchus then conquered China by 1644 and inaugurated the Qing or Ching Dynasty (1644-1911), thus signifying that the centers of Inner Asian power had shifted to Peking and Lhasa and dashing hopes for a new Mongol empire. Accordingly, to protect Mongol autonomy from the Manchus and Tibetans, a group of Outer Mongolian khans now proposed the establishment of a new line of Mongolian Lamas, the first of whom was Zanabazar.

Sent to Lhasa in 1649, Zanabazar was immediately recognized as the reincarnation of a renowned Lama-historian named Taranatha. The Great Fifth also conferred upon Zanabazar the Tibetan title of Jetsun Dampa (in Mongolian, Bogdo Gegen) and meaning "Resplendent Saint." Returning home, Zanabazar as the new Jetsun Dampa now became not only the Head of the Mahayana Buddhist Church in Mongolia, he likewise became the territory's Head of State. This first in the line of Jetsun Dampas also established his residence at Da Khuree (i.e., Urga, or today's Ulan Bator), which became Mongolia's administrative and religious center.

In time, however, Zanabazar's authority was challenged by a western Mongol khan named Galdan who attacked the Khalkhas in 1688 and destroyed Da Khuree's monasteries. The Jetsun Dampa, together with the Khalkhas, now turned to the Manchus for protection and submitted to the latter in 1691. Along with Inner Mongolia, which had been taken by the Manchus in 1635, Outer Mongolia was now officially a part of the Ching Empire. Even so, the Jetsun Dampa—believed by the Mongolian Buddhist Church to have been reincarnated seven times following Zanabazar's death—continued to be an important religious and political figure possessing immense holdings of wealth and enjoying the service of thousands of indentured laborers.

With the overthrow of the Manchus in 1911 the eighth Jetsun Dampa was crowned emperor of Mongolia and assumed the additional title of Bogdo Khan or "Holy Ruler." But despite his attempts to revive Mongol nationalism, he represented what proved to be the last in the line of the Jetsun Dampas or Grand Lamas of Mongolia. For his death in 1924 left behind an overthrown theocratic government, a ravaged country, people and monastic tradition, and the establishment of the Mongolian People's Republic as a satellite of the Soviet Union. Preceding information based on the displayed Notes that accompanied the Exhibition, "Mongolia: the Legacy of Chinggis Khan," shown at the National Geographic Society, Washington DC, Spring 1996.

48a. Berry 1995, p. 266.

49. This suggestion of planting Dawa as an agent in Inner Mongolia never came to fruition, since the new Indian government which came into power in August 1947 was apparently not interested; and also, by that time Lambert who had made the suggestion had left India for good. See Kimura 1990, p. 188.

50. Interview with S.T. Kazi, Oct. 1991.

51. James Nashold, a freelance journalist with a special interest in Tibetan Buddhism and "the spread of the Dharma in the West," who became a friend of Geshe Wangyal's many years later in the U.S., has provided a very plausible reason for the Geshe's numerous visits to Tharchin's hill station, which usually occurred during the Lhasan winter season. Having interviewed the Mongolian Lama at some length in 1977, Nashold learned that during one severe winter during the War years of the 1940s the Geshe nearly died from pneumonia. Fortunately, however, a supply of penicillin "offered by local British friends"—most likely those at the British Mission in Lhasa—"saved his life." "Thereafter wintering in northern India at Kalimpong," added Nashold, the Geshe "increased his Western contacts and students during the 1940s." Nashold 1981, p. 34. According to others, another reason for limiting his time spent at the Tibetan capital was the fact that "a cloud of suspicion" had gathered itself over him because of his "foreign heritage," his years spent in China, and his "service to the British" (read: to Sir Charles Bell). Little of all this had apparently sat well "among the xenophobes of the Tibetan court" at Lhasa. See Conboy and Morrison 2002, p. 51. It should be added, of course, that another prime reason for his frequent visits to Kalimpong may have been his desire to further his ever-widening commercial and business interests; see a page or two hence in the Text of this chapter.

52. Cutler was told by the Geshe that it was “in about 1936” that he had set out on his return journey from China; but this is not correct, since documented evidence surrounding his relationship with Sir Charles Bell (see immediately hereafter in the Text of the present chapter) proves it to have been otherwise, the year having been 1934 as indicated here.

53. The fact that he maintained a Tibetan room at his brother’s home is confirmed by a letter to Tharchin which Pallis had written on 26 September 1936 from Bombay as he was “about to sail for home, after a very useful time in Ladakh.” The part of Pallis’s letter dealing with the Kalmuck Lama reads as follows:

Now about Kushog Wangyal. I think that the best date for him to come is early Spring...—then he will naturally pay all expenses to and from England & while staying there. I will also help him to learn [more] English, and arrange a nice Tibetan room for him [at my?] brother’s house where there is a big, quiet garden and no smoke.... He had better bring his books and sacred vessels so that he can do his various ceremonies & arrange his little altar in his room. Also the Buddhist societies in England might desire him to lecture & perform service...

Many years later, as a mark of his deep appreciation and friendship for Geshe Wangyal, Pallis sent a large sum of money to Tharchin for Geshe La from England via Martins Bank in Liverpool. A letter from the Bank to the Babu explained as follows: “...On receipt of this sum [of 20 pounds from Marco Pallis] the Central Bank of India, Kalimpong, will notify you. It is Mr. Pallis’s wish that this amount has been sent by him through us for the ‘Mongolian scribe.’” Martins Bank Ltd, postmarked Liverpool 1 Feb. 1953, ThPaK. In an earlier letter from Pallis to the Babu (also in ThPaK), he had indicated that when the money arrived, it was to be used for the purchase of a *pony* and to be presented as a gift to the Geshe.

54. Letters, Geshe Wangyal to “My dear Tharchin,” place and date absent but most likely Gyantse in July 1946; and Wangyal to “My dear Tharchin,” c/o Tsarong, Lhasa, 17 Aug. 1946—ThPaK.

55. Except where already documented in Kimura and the ThPaK, consult the following sources for nearly all the remaining information and quoted material presented here regarding the Geshe’s life and career: Nashold 1981, pp. 31-8; Cutler 1995, pp. xi-xxvii; Cutler, “Introduction,” in Geshe Wangyal, trans., *The Jeweled Staircase* (Ithaca NY USA, 1986), 15-26; for the specific year (1935) when Sir Charles was in East Asia, see both C.J. Christie, “Sir Charles Bell; a Memoir,” *Asian Affairs* (Feb. 1977):59-60 and Bell, “The Struggle for Mongolia,” *JRCAS* (Jan. 1937):46; for Bell’s remarks about the Geshe, see *ibid.* 47-8; and for information about Bell’s wife, see McKay 1997, p. 139.

56. The derivation of Twan Yang’s unusual name is quite interesting. A Chinese festival called Wu Yüeh Twan, which means the feast of the fifth day of the fifth Chinese month, annually celebrates the death of a very good man of olden times in China. And because Twanyan had been born on this day he had been given the name of Twan Yang.

57. Van Manen had encouraged his Sino-Tibetan servant to recall the details of his young life and had suggested that he close the story at age 21. “He seemed to find in this child,” recalled van Manen’s obituary speaker, Colonel Noel Barwell, “many of those special qualities which from afar he himself had admired in the race from which the boy had sprung.” Moreover, continued Barwell, who knew both the Dutch scholar and Twanyan quite well,

van Manen’s capacity for understanding the human mind and heart soon enabled him to overcome those difficulties which to a man less endowed would have prevented the relations between these two developing into anything beyond the ordinary ties of master and servant. Van Manen, however, set himself to draw out every experience between infancy and the dawn of adolescence which this boy could recall and describe; and in the direction of psychological reactions as displayed in this child’s life story van Manen believed himself to have obtained results which seemed to him of permanent value. The boy’s slowly but carefully told narrative passed from one language into another and finally into English. It [covered] several closely-typed volumes [actually only two when bound] and [was] illustrated by the young man’s own drawings. *Yearbook of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal for 1943* (Vol. X, 1944):189.

Having himself typed the manuscript on his Dutch master’s typewriter and later had it bound in Calcutta, the young man had simply entitled it as Twan Yang’s Story. It tells of Twanyan’s unhappy childhood; his relationships with Tharchin and others who had befriended him in Kalimpong; his wanderings through India

including Karachi; his nearly seven years with van Manen in Calcutta that had included several trips together up to Kalimpong where the Dutchman got to know the Macdonalds and their Himalayan Hotel, where he would stay, and renew his acquaintance with Gergan Tharchin (whom the Dutch scholar had first met at Ghoom during Tharchin's years of close association with the Mission school headmaster Karma Sumdhon Paul who had served as van Manen's Tibetan *munshi* for over two years—see earlier in Ch. 5); his sadness and grief over the death of his Dutch benefactor just as the two of them were poised to relocate to Kalimpong and into a house which the Babu had found for them atop a hill above the town in the shadow of the Himalayas; and ending with a final chapter that is called "Life Takes a New Turn." A copy of this typed and bound edition was found in the Babu's personal library.

A quite interesting testament to the quality of the book should be mentioned. It is detailed in the version of Twanyan's autobiography that was published by John Day Co., 1947. It should first be said that Twanyan's Dutch master was a gifted linguist who spoke a number of languages including the classical Tibetan of Lhasa, and whose personal library—quite large and impressive, numbering nearly 3000 publications in all—contained books in Sanskrit, Chinese, Tibetan, Dutch, English and many other languages; that there were also many foreign-language dictionaries, hundreds of books about Tibet, and a large collection of holy books on Buddhism. And hence, because van Manen's library in his Calcutta home covered a vast array of subjects, his numerous well-known visitors, who as a rule were authors themselves, would often end their visits by discussing books and bookwriting with their host.

But that "would at once lead," wrote Twanyan, "to the book he was helping me to write." Then, after discussing the volume with his guests, van Manen would ask Twanyan to show them the sketches he had drawn for the book and the rough draft of its text. In this way many famous individuals came to know of Twanyan and his autobiography and volunteered their assessment of it. Among these visitors who met and talked about the manuscript with the youth were: Sir Francis Younghusband ("who read some chapters of my book and said that it was very interesting and that it should certainly be published"); Tharchin's bosom friend and fellow Christian David Macdonald (whose son John, wrote Twanyan, "had been my master when I was a little boy" in Kalimpong); two other friends of Tharchin's, the American Theos Bernard and Prince Peter of Greece (the latter "read a part of my book and said that it was not bad at all"); Sir David Ezra (the then President of the prestigious Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, of which van Manen was its Secretary for 16 years); the learned Moslem, Dr. M. Hidayet Husain; Sir Upendra Nath Brahmachari, a world-famous medical doctor ("who told me that what I had written would be of great interest to all Europeans"); and the renowned British literary figure, W. Somerset Maugham. The latter told his Dutch host that the short story he had published about a Chinese boy in Southeast Asia had, said the famous writer, "altogether spoiled that boy, who had at first been very nice as is told in the story, but who had become proud and vain after it became known to many people." This had caused Twanyan to confess: "This was a terrible lesson for me, and I prayed to God that my story, even if it should be published and if people should like it, might never spoil me in that way. I want always to remember that I am only a poor and unimportant Chinese boy who could never have written my book without the help of my master. To become proud is very bad and unhappy." *Houseboy in India*, 178-82.

There is a most interesting sequel to this literary production, however, which was recounted to this writer by Twan Yang himself, as supplemented by an account of it he included in a chapter of his autobiography, entitled, "The Writing of My Book." A year or two before the Dutch scholar's death, van Manen had decided to have a copy of the book's first volume taken by a friend to New York, where he presented it to the John Day publishers. Upon reviewing the manuscript, this publishing house and its President gave the book an enthusiastic reception and requested that the second volume be sent. Arrangements were made after van Manen's death for the second volume to be carried by American diplomatic pouch from the Consulate in Calcutta to Karachi, on then to Washington DC where it was delivered into the hands of Calcutta's former American Consul-General Edward Groth, who at last could bring it up to New York and John Day!

The latter's President, Richard J. Walsh, happened to be the husband of the world-renowned authoress, Pearl S. Buck, born in China of Christian missionaries and the recipient of the Nobel Prize for literature in 1938. Mr. Walsh requested his illustrious wife to edit Twan Yang's two-volume work, which she gladly did, condensing it into a one-volume version. Under a new and quite appealing title, it was eventually published. The happy results can be seen in Twan Yang, *Houseboy in India*, with sketches by the author (New York: John Day Co., 1947). Twan Yang told the present writer that in the course of her work on the book, he had received a beautifully-written letter from the Nobel Laureate which he dearly prized. Interview with Twan Yang, Dec. 1992; see also *Houseboy*, 173ff.

58. The rest of Twan Yang's story can be told as follows. After returning to Kalimpong and Mackenzie Cottage at the time Kimura met and lived with him, he would remain in Kalimpong till 1950. Yet he would not remain continually with the Tharchins during this period of years, since one can definitely infer from an extant letter of Twan Yang's written to the Babu from his Dunga Busty area home in the hill station and dated 10 Sept. 1946 that sometime before that date the heretofore married Twanyan had left Mackenzie Cottage to be with his children at his own home. This would mean that at most he had probably stayed with Kimura at Mackenzie for about six months. Most of Twan Yang's letter was actually an appeal for help from Tharchin-la once again, this time to have him placed in the local Charteris Hospital because his physical state (an extremely painful thigh and swollen glands) had reached the point where, he wrote, "I apprehend that my end is near, and death is pending to overtake my golden life.... Therefore, I beg you as I might beg the merciful God, to render me a kindness [and] show me your fatherly compassion." Given the kind and generous nature of Babu Tharchin, there is no doubt whatsoever he listened with great solicitude to his "adoptive son's" appeal and had him entered as a patient in the Scots Mission hospital for a time till his condition improved sufficiently enough that he could once more care for himself and resume employment and residence at the Mirror Press buildings. By 1950, however, Twan Yang's tuberculosis had considerably worsened, so he was forced to go down for treatment of his chest condition to the S.B. Dey Sanatorium in Kurseong, where he would stay till 1955. Returning once again to Mackenzie Cottage he stayed for only a few months there, after which Twan Yang went off to Gangtok where he lived forever afterwards. There he was employed by the Sikkim Government Publicity Department as a movie and print photographer for that Government's tourist publications. He remained employed in this line of work till 1967, at which time he became paralyzed and was forced to be bedridden for the rest of his life. As a consequence, never afterwards did he ever see his beloved Kalimpong again; nevertheless, his kindly first godfather, Babula, did visit him in Gangtok at least once after 1967. Said Twan Yang of the Babu to the present writer: "He was always very kind to me; he was a father to me because he knew my childhood background and therefore took compassion upon me. His wife Karma Dechhen also loved me very much." S.G. Tharchin, upon the passing of his pastor father in 1976, would continue the infrequent visitation to Gangtok to see Twan Yang, who had been a member of the Tibetan Christian Church in Kalimpong while living there. For it was the Christian faith he had embraced earlier which had supplied Twan Yang the strength to go on living amid such terribly difficult circumstances. In years gone by, one of the Scots Mission's well-known missionary ladies in Kalimpong, Miss Scrimgeour, had faithfully taught Twanyan to play the organ, and he himself had then learned on his own to play the accordion. The most unforgettable memory this writer recalls of his visit with Twan Yang, accompanied by the younger Pastor Tharchin, was to behold this frail and weak 73-year-old man's face beaming with unalloyed joy and anticipation of his soon-homegoing to be with his Master and Savior Jesus as he played his small accordion and sang some of his beloved Christian hymns for his two visitors. He would pass away the following year. Interview with Twan Yang, Dec. 1992.

59. The same local Chungwa (Chinese) School mentioned in the previous chapter which served as one of the venues for the confrontation that erupted between Babu Tharchin and Chinese General Chang Ching-wu five years later.

60. Interview with S.T. Kazi, Oct. 1991. The information re: the Tibetan physician is per Stoddard 1985, p. 380.

61. George Patterson has taken note of the fact that besides "political and espionage interests" in Kalimpong—all "generated by the Tibet situation"—there were also "the bizarre religious circumstances" which drew a different medley of individuals to the hill station, especially during the early to mid-1950s. He writes:

Dennis Conan Doyle and his wife, Princess Nina, with her parrot-familiar and her poet-companion, Tony Howard, came to Kalimpong to make contact with the spirit of Arthur Conan Doyle in the fulfillment of a spirit-prognostication that said he would appear in the Himalayas. Lama Anagarika Govinda came to find the supposed legendary Tibetan Buddhist masters practicing esoteric magic in caves. Followers of Madame Blavatsky and Krishnamurti and their cultic theosophy came to discuss theories with Kalimpong resident Madame Roerich [wife of the late Nicholas Roerich], who was a longtime companion of founder Annie Besant. Disciples of [Russian mystics] Ouspensky and Gurdjieff came to visit George Roerich, who was a Russian scholar with intriguing political interests in Tibet. The mysterious military adventurer, Colonel John Ryan, came to recruit members for his Young Men's Buddhist Association. *Patterson of Tibet* (San Diego, 1998). 303.

62. Mixed reports had apparently come back to Kalimpong during 1947 as to whether Lobsang had actually died. But shortly after arriving on a return visit to the Tibetan capital in the spring of 1948 Dawa was able to determine the certainty of his death. "Concerning Lobsang Donyod (in-law to Dharma)," writes the spy to Tharchin, "his death is sure. Last year...at about 6 o'clock in the evening near Gitopa he was shot from behind by some unknown man.... There are many rumors about his death. One says, after gambling quarrels. Another says, due to woman trouble. But after all, there is no doubt that Chinese murdered him. Why the reason I could not trace yet." Dawa Sangpo to Tharchin, Lhasa, 5/4th month (early 1948 according to both internal and external evidence), ThPaK.

63. Interview with the Kazi, Oct. 1991.

64. As was learned in the previous chapter, however, Independent India under Prime Minister Nehru would *not* continue that policy, especially after 1950. It would replace that policy with what U.S. Ambassador to India Loy Henderson termed an attitude of "philosophic acquiescence" to the inevitability of China's sovereign rule over Tibet. Not surprisingly, Gergan Tharchin would be outraged by Nehru's recognition of Tibet as part of China, calling it a foreign policy blunder of great magnitude; see Norbu 1975.

65. Quoted in Goldstein 1989, p. 549.

65a. See, e.g., Berry 1995, pp. 125-6.

66. In fact, these three traveler-scholars, writes Roy Miller, "became leading figures in Japanese Tibetological circles after their return to Japan." For during the period of their stay in Tibet's monastic schools, all three had been required to learn much about Tibetan grammatical texts—especially that of Tibet's First Grammarian and ostensible inventor of the Tibetan script, Thonmi Sambhota. Accordingly, notes Miller, upon their return to Japan where they began to teach Tibetan, all three required of their students the same familiarity with Tibet's grammatical literature. Particularly in the case of Bunkyo Aoki, who right through to the year of his death was one of the most prominent figures in Japanese Tibetology, "a number of the now senior figures in this science in Japan had their first lesson in the language with Aoki." He it was, added Miller, who "always insisted" that his students' initial textual study must commence with Sambhota's Grammar, and that it be read in conjunction with the major commentary on the Grammar written by the eighteenth-century scholar, the Si-tu Mahāpandita Chos-kyi Hbyung-nas (1699-1774)! Miller 1991, pp. 367-8.

Finally, the reader is reminded of the fact that two of these three Japanese Tibetologists—Aoki and Tada—had corresponded with Babu Tharchin for several years before their deaths; and one of these two, Tokan Tada, had actually visited in the home of the Babu.

66a. See Berry 1995, pp. 135-6, citing the British Consul, Eric Teichman, who negotiated a peace settlement between the two sides that year.

67. For much more on the life and career of the Babu, see again Vol. I, Ch. 5's Text and end-note 26. Ugyen Gyatsho, incidentally, was the uncle of the celebrated Darjeeling Policeman, Laden La, who like the Lama was himself a Sikkimese Tibetan. See Alastair Lamb, *The McMahan Line*, 2 vols (London, 1966), II:376. As noted elsewhere in the present narrative, Laden La became a very close acquaintance of Gergan Tharchin.

68. See Allen, *A Mountain in Tibet: the Search for Mount Kailas and the Sources of the Great Rivers of India* (1982; reprinted, London: Futura Publications, 1983), 120-1, 135-7; and MacGregor, *Tibet: a Chronicle of Exploration* (New York, 1970), 256-8, 267-9ff. It should be added here that the most recent and, by far, the finest and most exhaustive treatment of the Pundits—and utilizing both published and unpublished sources—is Derek J. Waller's work, *The Pundits: British Exploration of Tibet and Central Asia* (Lexington KY USA, 1990). A discussion of the "Great Game"—including this term's origin—can be found in Vol. II, Ch. 16's Text and End-Notes.

69. Hayden and Cosson 1927, p. 3.

69a. See Berry 1995, pp. 290-94.

70. A large portion of Kham had for many years been governed directly from Lhasa, a circumstance which in itself was one of the causes of friction between the citizens of Kham and their distant rulers at the Tibetan capital. The Governors were always one of the four *Shapes* or Cabinet Ministers who would be sent to Chamdo on a rotating basis every three years. "Soldiers and minor officials were rotated as well, and they tended to think of Kham not as a place to be well guarded, but as a source of wealth to be squeezed dry." Kimura 1990, p. 168. This too, one can accurately assume, was a cause of even greater friction between the Khampas and their Lhasan masters.

71. The source pages in *Japanese Agent* for these four passages, along with the pages of the Journal's parallel passages, are, respectively: 169 (but no Journal parallel); 178, 29th page; 179, 30th page; and 179 again, 31st page.

That was the silent Nationalist intention in 1947 with regard to this impassable road. But by early 1950, the situation would change. For by that time, one of Mao Tse-tung's crack Communist expeditionary forces, the First Field Army, under the command of General Peng Teh-Huai, was poised at Sining to take action to upgrade this same road between there and Jyekundo. In fact, reports Amaury de Riencourt, General Peng would himself supervise its "difficult construction," his forces "working at altitudes exceeding 17,000 feet, and gradually moving his army to the very edge of the Roof of the World." There he would await the order to invade the latter's territory. Riencourt 1987, pp. 296, 297.

72. See Bray 1999a. Writes Bray: "Richardson confirmed [his knowledge of] Tharchin's intelligence connections with Eric Lambert."

73. Actually, though, the Buddhist scholar had originally desired to go back to Peking to live and practice his religion there, but the Communist revolution in China had made that an impossibility. By mid-century, therefore, the Kalmuck Lama had decided to settle in Tibet instead; in fact, he was on the verge of purchasing a retreat house for himself at Lhasa when the Chinese intentions towards Tibet now gave him serious pause. So that when he heard that the Chinese army was moving on the Tibetan capital, the Geshe immediately fled to India. See Joshua Cutler in Cutler 1995, p. xxv. Indeed, the Kalmuck Lama had for some time been closely monitoring the movements of the onrushing People's Liberation Army: first through China herself, then Mongolia as it neared the northern Tibet border and the Kun-Lun mountain range. And like Babu Tharchin, he had made repeated attempts to warn the Tibetan nobles and high Lamas concerning the threat of a Chinese invasion. See Nashold 1981, p. 34.

Finally, the Geshe left Tibet for the last time and made his way to Tharchin's hill station, which had to have been the spring of 1951. This is because it is known from John Knaus that the Dalai Lama's mother, by that time residing in Kalimpong, had by late spring "sent 'Geshe-la' to the [U.S.] Calcutta consulate seeking assistance in her efforts to persuade her son to leave Tibet for India because she believed his life was in danger." One result of that encounter at the Consulate: there began an off-and-on relationship between the Geshe and the American Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) which would last for nearly a decade thereafter. This was most likely due to the fact that the Geshe was one of a few educated Tibetans with a command of both English and Tibetan. And upon his return to Kalimpong from Calcutta, the Geshe would introduce CIA and other U.S. officers to Tibet's Great Mother and other members of the Dalai Lama's family. See Knaus 1999, pp. 87, 147.

The Geshe would remain in Kalimpong till 1955, residing for a while as a guest in the Babu's home. This latter detail is known from a note found among the Tharchin Papers written by the Babu on 2 May 1952 and handcarried by a servant to Kalimpong's Frontier Inspector N.N. Namchu. The note informed the FI, who had made inquiry concerning the Geshe's whereabouts in the town, that the Lama "is at present staying with me." It is also known, from Professor David Snellgrove's scholarly tome on Tibetan Buddhism entitled *Buddhist Himalaya* (Oxford, 1957), that this Western Tibetologist had received help from a number of Tibetan scholars during his visits to Kalimpong in both 1953 and 1954. And among these helpful scholars, besides Tharchin and the latter's nephew by marriage Ringzin Wangpo, had been Geshe Wangyal. For in Plate 29 on page 213 of Snellgrove's volume there are three photographs of the author's "Friends and Helpers in Kalimpong"; and in the bottom photo are shown these three men, along with Tharchin's wife Karma Dechhen, standing in a Kalimpong garden setting (at Tharchin's residence?) with identities given in the caption beneath the picture.

Tadeusz Skorupski, one of Professor Snellgrove's later academic students back in England, relates what was probably the greatest service the Geshe had rendered Snellgrove during their interaction at Kalimpong. The latter, writes Skorupski, had "asked the advice of a Mongolian lama.... a certain Geshe Wangyal, who had lived in Lhasa for many years, and had recently settled in Kalimpong." In response the Geshe had summoned "a

young Sherpa, by name Pasang Khambache, who was now staying with him temporarily, ... and asked him if he would be interested" in serving as David Snellgrove's *sardar* and general assistant in mounting future research expeditions in Central Asia. Pasang readily accepted the offer and thus commenced what Skorupski has termed "one of the most fruitful periods of friendly cooperation in David's life of scholarly adventures"—of which there were many which lay ahead. See Skorupski, ed., *Indo-Tibetan Studies: Papers in Honour and Appreciation of Professor David L. Snellgrove's Contribution to Indo-Tibetan Studies* (Tring UK, 1990), 6.

That was in 1953-4. By the following year, however, the Kalmuck scholar/monk would bid goodbye to Asia, for he now traveled to the United States at the invitation of the World Church Service and the Kalmuck-Mongolian refugee community in the State of New Jersey. A thousand such refugees had settled in Freewood Acres alone. "It was in response to their need to maintain their traditional Buddhist worship amidst the increasing demands of their new American life that Geshe-la decided to live and teach in the United States and specifically in New Jersey." Working totally alone during the first three years, Geshe Wangyal was finally able to establish at Freewood "the first Tibetan Buddhist monastery in the United States in the sGe-lugs-pa tradition." Cutler 1995, p. xxv.

Reference was made above to the Geshe's early connection with the CIA, beginning in 1951. In 1957 he was asked to go to the American Trust Territory Island of Saipan in the Southwest Pacific and teach basic Tibetan grammar to illiterate Khampas being trained secretly by the CIA as future guerrillas in the ultimately unsuccessful struggle against the Chinese occupiers of Tibet. Here also was the Dalai Lama's eldest brother, Thubten Norbu, serving the CIA as primary interpreter in other classroom courses organized for the Khampas. Knaus has described the work of these two educated Tibetans and what happened later to the Geshe in his relationship with the American spy agency:

...In devising a telecode system to describe items that were not in the Tibetan vocabulary and in writing intelligible messages in a language that is frequently imprecise, CIA officers worked with the Dalai Lama's brother...and Geshe Wangyal...After returning from Saipan in 1957, the Geshe frequently left his monastery in New Jersey to train other members of the Tibetan resistance in the special grammar of message-writing and to teach them how to translate the messages from the [field] teams when they were received in Washington. This dedicated man abhorred violence, yet accepted its use for a rightful cause. The sight of him walking down Wisconsin Avenue in Northwest Washington wearing his red robe and gray fedora was a memorable one. Knaus 1999, p. 147.

See also Conboy and Morrison 2002, *passim* for further data on the Geshe and the CIA. He would himself exit the CIA's Tibet program in late 1960, never to return.

When not involved with the CIA, Geshe Wangyal would be occupied in following a variety of other pursuits: lecturing during 1956/7 in Tibetan and Mongolian at New York's Columbia University and in Washington DC, disciplining younger Lamas and, in the late 1960s, establishing his own monastery, teaching center and retreat house on 16 acres of land outside Washington NJ which he had purchased in 1967. At first there were many students as a consequence of the increased interest shown by Westerners in various Eastern religions during the 1960s and early '70s; eventually, though, there remained to the Geshe only a small, tightly-knit circle of devoted followers. Only in the early 1980s did his circle of students substantially increase. See Nashold 1981, pp. 35, 37. "I spoke to Geshe Wangyal by phone when I too was living in America," wrote Kimura long afterwards. "In the 'sixties," he added, "when young Westerners began seeking Eastern spiritual solace in large numbers many came to him, but he had little interest in commercializing Buddhism and his following remained small." Kimura 1990, p. 220.

The Geshe would pay what would appear to have been one final visit to his bosom friend Babu Tharchin. This would be in early 1961, apparently very shortly after gaining his American citizenship. For in a letter to their mutual friend in Japan, Hisao Kimura, and dated 7 December 1961, the Babu wrote the following: "Yes. Geshe Wangyal is doing and getting on well, and he became an American citizen and came here sometime at the beginning of this year and spent one week with me. Yes, he told me that there were disagreements and so he left the Khalmug [sic] Monastery and built another monastery for his own." Th-to-K Ltrs File.

The distinguished scholar and teacher of Tibetan Buddhism would die in January of 1983.

73a. Quoted in Berry 1995, p. 306.

74. Besides Kimura 1990, p. 184, this fact has been confirmed by Lhatseren's son, Namgyal Tsering, in an interview with Alex McKay in Feb. 1994 at Kalimpong; see McKay 1997, p. 261, note 41, where McKay reports that N. Tsering intimated that his father had inherited Lambert's post in Aug. 1947.

75. As chief author of a report on Tibet submitted in the early 1980s for the United Nations Commission on Human Rights by the London-based Scientific Buddhist Association (later known as OPTIMUS), Paul Ingram, in a revised updated edition of the original report, has noted the historically indistinguishable policy with regard to Tibet that exists between the Nationalists and Communists. The island of Taiwan, the current home of the Nationalists, although itself “determined not to be reunited with the ‘one big Motherland,’ nevertheless maintains a characteristically Chinese stance over Tibet” that is “virtually indistinguishable from that of Communist China.” In fact, the Republic of China government on the island has always claimed Tibet as part of China and, Ingram points out, “explains the Tibetan exodus in the 1950s and ‘60s as the consequence of the Communist takeover of China, not as the result of the Chinese occupation of a formerly independent Tibet.” Furthermore, the Taiwanese government even continues to this day to maintain within its bureaucracy a “Mongolian and Tibetan Affairs Commission.” As further evidence of the island government’s mentality with regard to Tibet, Ingram pointedly remarked how magazines published in Taiwan dealing with Chinese history frequently include pictures of Tibetan soldiery and people whose captions read: “The Strong and Superior Tibetan Army during the T’ang Dynasty,” or “Daily Life of the Tibetan people during the T’ang Dynasty.” The obvious implication from all this is, writes Ingram, that Tibet was part of China during this period of history. “It is difficult to resist the impression,” he continues, “that Taiwan and Communist China understand each other very well indeed.” As a matter of fact, Radio Beijing, concludes Ingram in this section of the Report, had recently confirmed this understanding when it stated in one of its broadcasts the following commentary on riots in Lhasa which had just been terminated. Claiming that these disturbances had been “plotted by a splittist clique abroad which had sent people to smuggle firearms across the border into Tibet,” the broadcast added this pregnant observation: The Kuomintang and the Chinese Communist Party “may hold different political views. However, their stands on such a major issue of principle concerning safeguarding the unity of the motherland and opposing the breaking up of our nation should be identical because, after all, both sides are Chinese.” This had been beamed on Radio Beijing 12 March 1989. See Ingram 1990, 378-9. And for a critical assessment of the intrigues and intentions of the controversial Mongolian and Tibetan Affairs Commission, the reader can consult two candid editorials by Tsering Wangyal which appeared in *TR* (May 1993):3 and (July 1994):3. Wangyal concludes his second editorial by declaring that “any official [exile] Tibetan dealings with Taiwan should only start after Taipei accepts the...premise [of “the existence of a separate Tibetan nation currently under illegal occupation of a foreign power”] and accordingly dismantles the...Commission. Like many seemingly complicated things, it is as simple as that.”

75a. Berry 1995, p. 307.

75b. See *ibid.*, 309, 291.

76. This is a reference to Abdul Wahid Radhu, at the time an educated younger-generation Ladakhi Moslem trader and sometime member of the Lhasa Moslem community. For a time he had even lived at Kalimpong, where most likely he came to know Gergan Tharchin personally, inasmuch as he became intimately acquainted there with the Babu’s close friend, Changlo Chen Gung, and with other important friends of the Babu. Radhu’s published memoirs (Radhu 1997) have served as an important source for this period in Anglo-Tibetan relations.

77. S.T. Kazi to Tharchin, [Lhasa], 19 June 1949, ThPaK.

78. Richardson 1945, pp. 82-3. See also Hopkinson 1948, Point 16.

79. This faithful informant of the Babu’s had had an interesting career in Tibet. It may be recalled from Volume II, Chapter 14 of the present narrative that Mrs. David Macdonald, wife of the British Trade Agent, had established a private primary school at Yatung in the early 1920s (and perhaps earlier) that was structured on the British model and where on his first visit to Tibet in 1921 Tharchin had served as a volunteer teacher for several months before establishing his own school at Gyantse shortly thereafter. The Alicia Private School at Yatung (its name in subsequent years) had continued to be maintained by the Macdonald family on into the 1930s. According to one of its annual reports, the school had been closed for several months during the early part of 1930 but had then been reopened at the end of July by the newly appointed teacher, a matriculate with teaching experience, Mr. Norbu Tenzin. The latter, however, was unable to remain at his post at Alicia beyond May of 1931. Consequently, the Macdonalds appointed a local Yatungian, Migma Dorje, as the temporary

teacher, “pending the appointment of a trained teacher.” Under his leadership, the annual report affirmed, “the number on the roll had increased from 17 to 19.” Per “Annual Report, Alicia Private School, Yatung Tibet, Submitted by Honourary Secretary J.D. Macdonald [son of David], on 29 June 1932,” ThPaK.

Migma would remain a teacher at Alicia for some little while before moving on to another and more sensitive position at Yatung. Having been observed by the Macdonalds as responsible and efficient, the British Trade Agent eventually picked him to serve as a Tibetan clerk with his Trade Agency at the latter’s main headquarters in Yatung. In due course Migma Dorje would become one of the Babu’s most faithful and long-serving informants he had in all of Tibet. After India gained independence from the British Raj in 1947, Migma would continue to serve as a Tibetan clerk with the *Indian* Trade Agency which had supplanted the British one and where the clerk would continue his undercover service for the Kalimpong publisher, even now reporting to the Babu the latest intelligence he had been able to gather with regard to the expulsion order presently under discussion.

80. Two letters, Migma Dorje to Tharchin, Yatung, 8 and 22 Aug. 1949—ThPaK.

81. One mild example of this occurred in 1952. Always befriending Tibetan refugees and other Tibetans who wished to stay in Kalimpong, Tharchin had sent a handwritten note to Lha Tsering who by this time had risen to become Assistant Director of the Subsidiary Intelligence Bureau, Ministry of Home Affairs in the Government of India, and stationed in Kalimpong. “Sir,” he courteously wrote, “the Panchayat wish to pay their respects, and wanted to request in connection with Sonam (Amdo); also they are requesting me to join with them. We shall be grateful if you kindly grant us interview, and if we come just now, will this suit you? Yours sincerely, Tharchin.” Returning the handcarried note immediately to the Babu with a penned reply on the back of it, Lhatseren wrote: “Sorry, I am engaged in some important outdoor work [growing those oranges of his? or a euphemism for some intelligence activity?]. With regard to Amdo Sonam, I am sorry I cannot do anything, as you are aware how Amdo Chundne made a great fuss. If we allow Amdo Sonam to stay, what about Amdo Chundne and others? The law is for all and not for one. Please explain to him. L/5/2”—Note, Tharchin to L. Tsering, Asst Director, Kalimpong, 5 Feb. 1952; L to Tharchin, same place and date, ThPaK.

81a. Berry 1995, pp. 308, 317; cf. also Kimura 1990, p. 208.

81b. Nowhere in his published accounts (whether in Japanese or in English) does Hisao Kimura have an unkind word to say about Nishikawa (see, e.g., Kimura 1990, pp. 208-12, 215-19). He does allude to the fact that there had been strained personal relations between the two disguised Japanese, but did not indulge in uncharitable or unkind remarks about Nishikawa (the closest he came to doing so was on p. 216 of Kimura 1990, where he characterized his fellow traveler’s published personal attacks on him as “immature outbursts”). The same cannot be said, however, with regard to Nishikawa and his opinions about Kimura.

Scott Berry, whose fluent knowledge of Japanese makes it possible for those not conversant with that language to know what Nishikawa thought of his traveling companion, has unveiled for the reader of his English-language volume on the various Japanese travelers to Tibet, published in 1995, what appears to be Nishikawa’s unfair and certainly grossly unkind treatment of Kimura in his account of their travels together. By reading through Berry’s translations or summaries of the relevant passages to be found in Nishikawa’s published narrative (*Hikyo Sai-iki Hachinen no Senkou*, Tokyo, 1968), one can easily discern that no love was lost between these two, though the fault, it would appear, should be laid chiefly at Nishikawa’s feet. Throughout much of the latter pages of Nishikawa’s record of his travel experiences with his compatriot, notes Berry, he “attempts to portray Kimura as weak, cowardly and cunning.” Whereas if the truth be told, Kimura is served up as the scapegoat for some of the more egregious flaws, failings and faults in the character and personality of Nishikawa.

For instance, far from the latter having reluctantly withdrawn from Drepung out of his concern to help a countryman in distress, Nishikawa did so, believes Berry, “because he had had enough” of the sedentary and intensely intellectual student life at the monastery. The unvarnished truth was that he was itching to be off traveling again. Yet, because it would never be deemed proper or acceptable by his Japanese audience for a true Japanese to acknowledge in any way the slightest semblance of disloyalty or insincerity, Nishikawa had had to lie his way out of having to remain with his *guru* at Drepung, Yeshe Lama; but since Kimura had conveniently provided the excuse he needed, Nishikawa could place the blame for his dissimulation at his countryman’s feet.

Furthermore, Berry has compared and contrasted the accounts these two travelers had later served up to their books' readers and found Nishikawa's to be wanting to some degree in truthfulness, integrity and kindness, and especially wanting in a willingness to forgive and forget the differences they had encountered in each other on the trail. Whereas this latter matter of being willing to forgive and forget, notes Berry, "seems to have been what happened on Kimura's side," with Nishikawa, it was radically different. Indeed, the personal issues he held against Kimura—whether wrongly or rightly—would continue "to fester" in Nishikawa's mind for many years thereafter. Having known each other hardly at all when Nishikawa had made "the fateful decision" at Lhasa to accompany Kimura to Kham, these two countrymen, Berry feels, should never have traveled together. For no one, observes Berry, would have found it easy to travel with Nishikawa. "His style of travel, admirable from a distance, would have been absolutely hell [for anyone] to share." In Nishikawa, apparently, a point was reached on the trail where his overweening pride had become obstinacy, leading Berry to conclude that had Nishikawa not gone with Kimura, then "quite probably...many of the difficulties" these two "were called upon to face might not have occurred at all." But the stress and strain caused by "being together all day every day," Berry adds,

was to turn their relationship into something very near hatred on Nishikawa's side. What is really surprising is that this seems to have been a secret hatred. On the surface they maintained friendly enough relations, and even when Nishikawa considered himself to have been betrayed by Kimura several years later there was no complete break between them until the publication of Nishikawa's book in 1968.

Ironically, it was a book which, had it not contained what Berry has justifiably described as "vindictive outbursts" against Kimura, would in his estimation have been "one of the great travel books of all times." Berry 1995, pp. 270, 308, 293-4, 306, 293, 306.

82. The reader is reminded that in Chapter 23 there is recounted in some detail what happened to Phuntsog Wangyal in Yunnan and elsewhere as his extraordinary career continued unabated.

83. But it would also evolve into a friendship between Hisao Kimura and the Babu's son and his family which would continue till Professor Kimura's own death in 1989. That in turn evolved still further into a cordial friendship both through visits in Kalimpong and by correspondence between Kimura's children and S.G. Tharchin's family which remains warm right up to the present day.

84. Two letters, Tharchin to Minoru Hori, Dir. of Kyushin Pharmaceutical Co., [Kalimpong], 16 June 1967; and Tharchin to Kimura, [Kalimpong], 15 June 1967—ThPaK. The subsequent letter three months later was dated Kalimpong, 21 Sept. 1967, Th-to-K Ltrs File. The letter Kimura wrote to Tharchin whose P.S. is quoted from is dated 9 July 1962, sent from Chiba City, Japan.

85. The Kimura letters to Tharchin alluded to here, all sent from Chiba City Japan, are: 25 Oct. 1956, 29 May [1958], 9 July 1962, 9 Feb. [1965], and 11 Mar. 1965—ThPaK.

86. This is according to B.C. Simick Jr. (son of Kalimpong's late illustrious Simick Sr.), longtime Lecturer in Tibetan at Kalimpong College, who got to know Tharchin very well while growing up and who several times himself had heard these warnings uttered during the course of the Babu's sermons. Interview with Simick Jr., Nov. 1992.

87. Interview with Ven. Kusho Wangchuk, Nov. 1992.

87a. See letters, John Bray to the author, London, 23 Aug. 1997 and 16 May 1998.

88. Interview with Nini (Mrs. S.G.) Tharchin, Dec. 1992; also, interview with S.G. Tharchin, mid-Dec. 1992; and interview with Jorga, Dec. 1992.

89. Interview with Ven. Wangchuk, at his Tharpa Chholing Gompa, located nearby the Tharchin compound, Nov. 1992.

90. Letter, A. Tshering to Tharchin, Barrackpore, 23 Jan. 1950, ThPaK.

91. Hopkinson, "The Position of Tibet," *JRCAS* (July-Oct. 1950):239.

92. Tharchin to Gould, Kalimpong, 7 July 1950, ThPaK.

92a. As was indicated in a Text footnote at this point in the present narrative, Tharchin had been faced with an ongoing problem of trying to secure suitable distributing agents in Tibet for his *Tibet Mirror*. But for a brief period during the late 1940s and early '50s, he had been successful in doing so. The present author discovered among the ThPaK the names of three individuals having been mentioned as agents for distributing his newspaper and collecting payments. The first two of these three were mentioned together in some of the pertinent correspondence and other documents. The first of these two was the well-known Khampa entrepreneurial trader family, the Messrs. Sandutsang, previously mentioned in the narrative discussion regarding Phuntsog Wangyal. This wealthy commercial family's members were residents of Kalimpong, and were willing to serve Tharchin on a free basis as the distributor of his newspaper among the many traders who frequented the Babu's hill station. This family accordingly did so for a number of years. The second of these two agents cited together in some of the ThPaK was another prominent commercial family, the Messrs. Bhajuratna Maniharsha Joti. This important business and trading firm was at this time headquartered in Kalimpong but also had branch shops at both Lhasa and Phari; this family firm would serve the Babu as distribution agent, likewise on a free basis, at these two places from early 1947 to spring 1949. For the documentation regarding these two agents, see the following items among the ThPaK for the relevant information: letter, Joti to P.O.S., Kalimpong, 26 Feb. 1947; the extant 2d page of letter, Tharchin to P.O.S., Kalimpong, 26 Feb. 1947; memo, P.O.S. to Tharchin, Gangtok, 26 Feb. 1947; letter, Tharchin to P.O.S., Kalimpong, late Feb. 1947, in reply to the P.O.S.'s telegrams of 20 and 24 Feb. 1947; "List of Tibetan Traders Who Subscribed [to] the Tibetan Newspaper," Kalimpong, signed by Tharchin, 28 Feb. 1947; and a note by Tharchin dated 28 Apr. 1949 relating that "one bundle of Tibetan newspapers for Messrs. Bhajuratna Lhasa" was sent up to the P.O.S. at Gangtok "for forwarding" to Lhasa by that Officer's mailbag.

The third agent mentioned in the Tharchin documents was the Kashmiri Moslem trader, Sirajudin Ladakh Khache (this title indicates he was from Kashmir-Ladakh), a prominent member of the Lhasa Moslem community. (The author was incorrect, incidentally, to have stated in the previous volume of the present narrative that it was Khan Bahadur Faizullah whom Tharchin had approached to be his agent at the Tibetan capital.) Moreover, this agent was also referred to in the Tharchin correspondence as Sirajudin Tshakur Lada Khache, or Sirajudin of Tshakur Ladakh Khache, or simply Tshakur Lada Khache. The name Tshakur or Tsakhur bears some significance in that Sirajudin was most likely one of the two well-known "Tsakhur brothers" in Lhasa who have been identified by Abdul Wahid Radhu as descendants of Haji Umar (Omar) Shah, one of the earliest Ladakhi Moslem settlers in Lhasa dating from the 17th century. (For a discussion of the early and later Lhasa Moslem community, see again Vol. II, Ch 18 of the present narrative, pp. 329-31.) Sirajudin served the *Tibet Mirror* publisher as the distributor of his newspaper at Lhasa during 1949, doing so on a commission basis and having the Babu cover all delivery expenses in getting the copies of the paper to their individual addresses within Lhasa and surrounding vicinity. But he then withdrew his service, necessitating the publisher to try finding another person, but without success, during the remaining years of the *Tibet Mirror's* existence. See the following sources among the ThPaK for the pertinent information: an inked handwritten list by Tharchin of newspaper-destination recipients by place, dated 24 Feb. 1947, in which the "Ladak Khache" is shown as receiving via the Indian Mission at Lhasa, 74 copies "addressed individually"; three letters, Tharchin to Sirajudin at Lhasa, Kalimpong, 6 Apr., 20 June and 21 July 1949; three letters, Tharchin to Hugh Richardson at the Indian Mission, Kalimpong, 19 Nov. 1949, 28 Apr. and 7 June 1950, in the latter of which Tharchin writes: "I have...to state that my agent Mr. Sirajudin Ladakh Khache has refused to continue as my agent since last 7 or 8 months."

For several years thereafter Tharchin would depend on the willingness of the Indian Mission to serve as his agent for not only distributing copies of his paper addressed to the Tibetan government (which the Mission had already been doing for some time) but also those copies addressed individually, and also favoring Tharchin with handling additional copies for local sale at the Tibetan capital. See two letters, Tharchin to Richardson at the Mission, Kalimpong, 7 June and 3 Aug. 1950.

93. Just a few days earlier the Babu had sent a letter to the former Political Officer for Tibet, Sir Basil Gould, now retired in Britain. In it he expressed his determination not to waver from his paper's anti-Communist editorial policy, despite the enticements from the Chinese to do otherwise. He writes:

So far I am continuing to publish my Tibetan newspaper, but it is never self-supported, and now I

think in the near future I may have to stop, as so far I am writing anti-Communist; but if I continue to do so I am sure the Chinese will stop the paper from going to Tibet. If I write good for them I think the paper might go in as well as sales [will be] more, but which [thing] I do not like to do. The Tibetan officials are pleased with my paper and asking me to write anti-C.C. and to continue its publication, but they never help me; and they think I am a very rich man to do the work for them.... Since the start of the new press [in 1948] I have fallen into heavy debts. But I am trusting in God, and He may open some way for me as I am always praying that before my death I may not owe anybody even a single paise.

As a matter of fact, at the time of his death he owed nobody a single paise. But, also, he had never once altered his newspaper's anti-Communist editorial policy during the paper's final decade of existence. Letter, Tharchin to Gould, Kalimpong, 17 Jan. 1952, file copy, ThPaK.

94. Two letters: Tharchin to Dayal at Camp New Delhi, [Kalimpong], 23 Jan. 1952; and Dayal to Tharchin, New Delhi, 24 Jan. 1952—ThPaK.

95. S.T. Kazi to Tharchin, [Lhasa], 8 Aug. 1952, ThPaK.

96. The correspondent was Mr. Girard Chaput, Director of *The Instant File*, a printed news forum published in Upper Darby PA USA. He had sent a questionnaire to the American Consulate-General's office in Calcutta, and its Consul-General, Nicholas G. Thacher, at the suggestion of Chaput himself, had in turn forwarded the questionnaire to Tharchin by letter dated 26 Aug. 1952. The questionnaire was concerned with Tibetan titles and customs, but it also asked other questions dealing with the Sino-Tibetan situation. All which has been quoted in the Text of Tharchin's response to Chaput dealing with the *Tibet Mirror* and related matters are found in his cover letter to the completed questionnaire dated 10 Nov. 1952, ThPaK and in his answers to Questions 11 and 12.

97. See Riencourt 1987, p. 297.

97a. Smith Jr 1996, p. 387.

98. Craig 1997, pp. 182, 185. For a thorough examination of this "quintessential step" for the introduction of these so-called democratic reforms by the Red Chinese—both within China Proper and the rest of the Chinese Communist domain—see Smith Jr 1996, pp. 396-7, 402-404, where the author in discussing *thamzing* (the Tibetan term for "struggle") quotes from the book by Bao Ruo-wang (Jean Pasqualini), *Prisoner of Mao* (New York, 1976), and from Jamyang Norbu's volume, *Warriors of Tibet* (London, 1986), the latter quoting from a Chinese Communist cadre in eastern Kham who revealed to others what lay behind this mode of terror and violence by which to achieve Red China's agenda in quelling all potential and real resistance to her socialist transformation program for Tibet. "Bao was a French citizen of mixed French and Chinese descent who was arrested as a counterrevolutionary in 1957. As Bao realized after participating in the struggle of another prisoner, 'we had been struggling ourselves at the same time, mentally preparing to accept the government's position with passionate assent, whatever the merits of the man we were facing.'" Smith Jr 1996, pp. 396-7n; see also p. 44].

And for information on the "sedentarization" of the East Tibetan nomads, see *ibid.*, 438.

99. For all information and quoted material gleaned from McGranahan which appear in this and the several preceding paragraphs dealing with the *Tibet Mirror* articles and editorials related to East Tibet, including all quoted passages (as translated by her) and paraphrases thereof which she has extracted from Tharchin's newspaper, see McGranahan 2001, pp. 245, 246, 246-7, 247, 247-8, 248, 250, 248-9, 249, 219.

100. The contents of this lengthy appreciation of McGranahan's can be found in *ibid.*, 243-4, 245, 247, 250.

101. Quoted from the only extant page, p. 2, of letter, Tharchin to Dir. of the School in Delhi's Defence Ministry, Kalimpong, 15 Feb. 1954, ThPaK.

102. These are the words of Dr. Sonam B. Wangyal who, still living today, had recently contributed an endearing brief essay about Babu Tharchin entitled, "Kalimpong's Lonely Warrior," which was posted on the

Internet on 22 March 2008 at the following website: www.Kalimpong.info. The website includes a biographical sketch of Dr. Wangyal as well.

103. As reported to the author by Achu Tsering, interview, Jan. 1998. Son of the late very close friend of Tharchin and the latter's fellow Intelligence agent, Lha Tsering, Achu often visited in the Tharchin home during this period.

104. Those such as: *Illustrated Weekly of India* (Calcutta), *The Statesman* (Delhi, Calcutta, etc.), *Amrita Bazaar Patrika* (Calcutta, now defunct), *Blitz* (Delhi, probably now defunct, an Indian Communist paper), *The Times of India* (Delhi), *Indian Express* (Calcutta, Delhi, Bombay, etc.), and *The Reader's Digest* (USA). Per interview with Mrs. S.G. (Nini) Tharchin, Dec. 1992.

105. Letter, Tharchin, to "My dear Kungo [Thubten Tendzin, Pallis's Tibetan name]," Kalimpong, 13 July 1958, ThPaK. This was written in reply to T.T.'s letter to Tharchin of 8 June 1958 sent from England where Pallis was then residing.

106. Dated Kalimpong, 5 Nov. 1962, Th-to-K Ltrs File, Babu Tharchin had begun the letter on 5 Nov., but the quoted part is from the remaining section of the letter which he noted as having been added on 20 Nov.

Chapter 25

GTUM TwMs, Ch. 23, pp. 1-5; quotes: 2, 3, 4, 5.

1. An allusion to I Timothy 1:19 in the Christian New Testament, which reads: “holding faith and a good conscience; which some having thrust from them made shipwreck concerning the faith.”

2. The reader is referred back to end-note 20 for Ch. 19 of vol. II for a brief sketch of Rev. William Scott’s life and service. Scott, incidentally, has been described as “a most thoughtful man” who was “one of the best SUMI principals” that institution ever had. Interview with Sonam T. Kazi (who spent many years of schooling in Kalimpong), Oct. 1991.

3. Dr. Craig had arrived in Kalimpong from Scotland in 1937 and late the following year succeeded Dr. Macdonald Smith as the Medical Superintendent of the Charteris Hospital. He would retire from this position and be replaced by Dr. Janet Duncan in 1963. E.W.S. Packard, comp., *The Story of Liladhar* (Elms Court, Eng., 1964), 3, 27. It is interesting to note that, according to Billy Bray (writing in the early 1970s), the door to the first permanent inland missionary work in Bhutan “was providentially opened through Dr. Craig’s treating of the king and queen of Bhutan when they visited...Kalimpong after World War II. He later delivered some of the royal children. Then high government officials occasionally called him in Bhutan to give treatment. In 1965 Craig was permitted to open the first hospital [for lepers] in this remote backward kingdom, but health prevented him from staying.” Bray, “Bhutan,” in Hoke (ed.) 1975, p. 87.

It should also be noted in passing that during the period 1965-7 Dr. Craig had also served on the teaching staff of SUMI. See “SUM Institution Staff Record—Locally Appointed Staffs,” in SUM Institution 1986, unnumbered page.

4. See Chirgwin 1952, pp. 60-1. Dr. Chirgwin, at the time the General Research Secretary of the United Bible Societies, paid a visit to Kalimpong in early 1952 at the time when Tharchin’s ordination was pending. He in fact had talks with the future national Tibetan minister while there.

5. He passed away some years ago. As already noted, Targain had been the longtime pastor (1933-70/71) of the Macfarlane Church congregation at Kalimpong. Although having had only a Class 6 education, notes Cindy Perry, he had been licensed and ordained in less than a year and done so without fulfilling the normal Scots Mission presbyter’s course. Accepted as a student for licensure in Aug. or Sept. 1932 following his teaching years at SUMI, he was later ordained on 7 May 1933 and almost immediately inducted as Macfarlane Church’s pastor. Targain had been chosen, rather hurriedly it seems, to succeed the breakaway pastor G. T. Sitling who had unexpectedly left the pastorate in 1931 (see again Vol. II, Ch. 19 of the present narrative for details). According to Perry, the rush to ordain Targain was due to pressure stemming from the surprising departure of Pastor Sitling to the Roman Catholic Church. See Perry 1997, pp. 54, 78 note 100. Rev. Targain was a longtime vocational teacher (1914-32) on the staff of SUMI, where he had also previously been a student. It was here that he first met Gergan Tharchin. See “SUM Institution Staff Record—Locally Appointed Staffs,” in SUM Institution 1986, unnumbered page.

6. This Sikkimese Lepcha was known more familiarly as Rev. C.T. Pazo. It will be recalled that he was at one time one of Tharchin’s Tibetan students in the SUM Institution and later his successor as the Tibetan teacher in the same school. It would be at SUMI, incidentally, where young Chhotuk would be converted and baptized a Christian. And it was while as Tibetan teacher here (in or after 1921, upon succeeding Tharchin) that Pazo, encouraged to do so by Scots Mission missionary Mary Scott, became a Divinity student in an English course then being taught by one of SUMI’s teachers. Completing the course, he was soon licensed for ministry in 1925 and later ordained for the ministry in Sikkim on 22 Feb. 1928 as the first national minister of the Sikkim Christian Church. Later, in 1933, Rev. Pazo would become Moderator of the Sikkim Kirk Session, with responsibility to visit all Sikkim Church congregations on a regular basis.

Though Miss Scott remained overall Superintendent of the Scots Mission work in Sikkim, it was from this point forward that the administration of Church affairs there was increasingly to be entrusted into Pazo’s hands; so that by the time in 1945 when Rev. Gavin Fairservice, who had succeeded Scott, left the Superintendency to return to Kalimpong, this top responsibility Rev. Pazo alone assumed. Interestingly, in

1952 he was nominated to be Moderator of the newly formed highest governing body of the entire Scots Mission, the Eastern Himalaya Church Council, thus "showing the high regard," notes Dr. Perry, "in which he was held by both missionaries and his national colleagues."

Many decades before his final retirement in 1976, this outstanding Christian leader had begun to be involved very prominently in the social and public life of Sikkim. To cite but one quite remarkable example, on the coronation day of the then Maharaja of Sikkim, the Christian pastor had himself been "unanimously chosen" to read out, in the Maharaja's presence, "the congratulatory address from the subjects of Sikkim." Indeed, in recognition of his many services rendered to the Sikkimese government, this same Maharaja would later confer upon him the title of "Pema Dorje," the then second highest anyone could receive in this State. See Perry 1997, pp. 100, 101, 103, 105, 124 note 80. For additional background information on this remarkable Christian, the reader is reminded to return to Vol. II, Ch. 12, p. 29, and also p. 422 note 73 in the same volume.

7. For a list of some representative works found in Rev. Tharchin's personal Christian library after his death, the reader can consult the pertinent Appendix at the end of the present biography.

8. Chirgwin 1952, p. 60.

9. See *ibid.*, 61.

10. See Graham 1897, p. 71 and Minto 1974, p. 63.

10a. See letter, Tharchin to Gen'l Secretary, Bible Society of India and Ceylon at Bangalore, Kalimpong, 10 Sept. 1963, ThPaK, in which, as signed by him as Supervisor of the Tibetan Mission Kalimpong, Tharchin states: "This year from January, the charge of the Tibetan Mission is given to me..." He was still the Superintendent, as is indicated in a letter of April 1969 (ThPaK) which Tharchin sent the State Bank of India, which was signed by him as "Superintendent, Tibetan Mission, Mackenzie Cottage, Kalimpong" and under the letterhead of the EHCC. He would remain so till shortly before his death in early 1976.

11. At one point, even, the Darjeeling Diocesan Council (DDC), the District ruling body of the Church of North India, of which the Kalimpong Tibetan church was a part, had resolved at its meeting of 25 April 1972 that "those Pastors...who were already over 70 years old should retire" by the end of 1973. Being well over this age by that time, Pastor Tharchin was therefore informed that his period of retiral would commence from the first of Jan. 1974. But at its meeting just a year later held in Apr. 1973, the Council made an exception in the Tibetan pastor's case when it passed the following Minute: "141.(c) Tibetan Church...DDC decided that Rev. G. Tharchin continue as Hon. Presbyterian-in-Charge of the Tibetan Pastorate, after his retirement." See letter, Miss A.D. Wallace (DDC Secretary) to Rev. G. Tharchin, Darjeeling, 28 Nov. 1973, ThPaK. In her letter Secretary Wallace added that "this means, therefore, that from 1.1.74 you will be Hon. Presbyterian-in-Charge of the Tibetan Pastorate. I hope you are keeping well, and will not find this task too tiring." As it turned out, however, Rev. Tharchin would only be able to continue to bear responsibilities as Pastor until 1975 when he was compelled to relinquish the Pastorate altogether. He would die a year later.

12. But since then taken over by the Indian government. Charteris Hospital, opened in 1893, was (with some help from the Government) the founding work of Rev. and Mrs. Graham, who named it after Graham's friend, counselor and Divinity teacher at Edinburgh University, the Very Rev. W. Charteris, Professor of Biblical Criticism. A great believer in "applied Christianity," Charteris "never ceased to proclaim that every worshiper of God should be a worker as well as a worshiper." He was also considered "the Father" of the Church of Scotland's Young Men's Guild, of which Graham was a stalwart member and became in 1889, as has been seen, the first foreign missionary the Guild ever sent forth.

The Hospital began with 25 beds but was in time enlarged to a 200-bed capacity by building a nearby addition on a higher vantage point that overlooked the river Teesta. The Government was most happy "to permit the Charteris Hospital to be completely responsible for all medical care in the district." Sometime after India gained her independence the Government assumed control of the facility, which received its new name as the Kalimpong Municipal Hospital. Minto 1974, pp. 7, 8, 36, 143; see also Graham 1897, pp. 74-83 for a brief account of the hospital's beginnings.

13. Even today it is still a custom in certain Oriental cultures for close family members to reside in hospital quarters set aside for this purpose so as to be near their loved one(s) during the critical stage of the latter's illness.

14. See the Gospel of Luke Ch. 24 in the New Testament.

15. Psalm 116:15 in the Old Testament Scriptures.

16. Graham 1897, pp. 62-3.

16a. Interview with Gyan Jyoti, Feb. 1993.

17. Th-to-K Ltrs File.

18. Aerogramme letter, Aoki to Tharchin. Tokyo, 21 May 1955. ThPaK.

19. ThPaK; the first two stanzas are written in ink on one side of a scrap of paper, the final stanza appears on the reverse side, with a P.T.O. indicated at the bottom of the front side.

20. ThPaK.

Chapter 26

GTUM TwMs, Ch. 24, pp. 1-4; quotes: 2, 4.

1. See Ch. 5 again for more on the bio-data of these missionary ladies and their activities at Ghoom and other mission stations.

2. The Cottage was still standing in good condition in Dec. 1987; and when visiting it at that time the present author was introduced to a beautiful Christian sister, Hannah, who was living there. When only a little girl she had been adopted by the two compassionate Anilas and lived with them till grown to womanhood. Hannah's living room at that time displayed one or two photographs of the two Anilas when they were still living at Karmala.

3. Carlson 1988, pp. 15-16.

4. The sources for much of the personal data which will be given, throughout this chapter, on the life of Miss Vitants, who would become the second Mrs. Tharchin, are chiefly four in number: (a) the end-of-life "memoirs" of Gergan Tharchin himself; (b) a sheet of inked answers, found among the ThPaK, written down in English by Miss Vitants in reply to questions which appeared on her Indian passport renewal application form, undated, but presumably executed in Aug. 1956, five years following the issuance of her original passport dated 28 Aug. 1951 which she had used to go abroad to Europe and North America during the years 1953-5; (c) interview with Rev. Tshering Wangdi, Dec. 1994; and (d) Margaret Urban, a close friend of Miss Vitants (both of whom hailed from the same area of eastern Europe—the Baltic States), in Urban 1967.

5. All information and quotations relative to the history of the Baltic States, the Secret Protocol, and its immediate aftermath are per the following media sources: (a) "U.S. Senators Ask Gorbachev to Allow Baltic Demonstrations," an Associated Press report datelined Washington, 13 Feb., appearing in *The Rising Nepal* (Kathmandu), 14 Feb. 1988, p. 6; (b) "Noted Estonians Appeal for Calm on Anniversary," a Reuters News Service article datelined Moscow and appearing in the *International Herald Tribune* (Singapore), 22 Feb. 1988, p. 2; (c) "News Summary" and "Focus—Baltic Bolt," in the Transcript of the television newsprogram for 23 Aug. 1989 of the *MacNeil/Lehrer Newshour*, a co-production of MacNeil-Lehrer Productions, WNET-TV in New York and WETA-TV in Washington, D.C. (with the main sources of news used from the "News Summary" and "Focus—Baltic Bolt" sections being, respectively, that of Robert Moore of Independent Television News, and both Brian Hanrahan of the BBC and author Geoffrey Roberts); and (d) a CBS Radio News Commentary by Judy Muller (sitting in for Charles Osgood) on the "Osgood File" and aired on CBS Radio Network, New York, on 24 Aug. 1988 discussing the Baltic States.

Interestingly, the existence of the secret part of the Pact between Berlin and Moscow would never see the light of day till one day in 1945 American military forces found the Secret Protocol among the papers of the German Nazi Archives and made the document public almost immediately. Yet it was only made public in the West, Soviet censorship having prevented the document's text from being published within its borders despite a strenuous campaign by Baltic nationalists to have it published. For ever since the Protocol's discovery by the Americans, the Soviet government had for the longest time consistently denied any such document or the fact of Moscow having ever signed such a protocol with Hitler's Germany—the official view having been that "the Baltic republics joined the USSR on a purely voluntary basis in 1940."

Finally, though, after some 50 years of such denial and explanation, Moscow, no longer the capital of a Communist-inspired Soviet Union of states, announced on 30 Oct. 1992 that the Protocol originals had been found the day before in the archives of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee. Indeed, the originals of nine such documents which had comprised the secret annex to the infamous 1939 Molotov-Ribbentrop pact were displayed on Russian TV for all the world to see at last. Moreover, Russian television even acknowledged that Andrei Gromyko, longtime Soviet Foreign Minister (1957-85) had definitely been aware of the nine-part Protocol's existence and that it had even been consulted in 1987 by Valery Boldin, an official in the office of Mikhail Gorbachev, the last Communist Party Secretary-General of the now-defunct Soviet Union.

Meanwhile, under pressure from a flurry of Western nations who one after another recognized officially and diplomatically the independence of the three Baltic States, President Gorbachev and his newly-created

States Council, unanimously recognized, on 6 Sept. 1991, the independence of these three formerly Soviet Baltic territories. Which in effect, therefore, nullified the secret Protocol of the Pact struck between Hitler and Stalin in 1939.

Sources for this end-note's information and quotes on these matters are: the "Osgood File" and MacNeil/Lehrer broadcasts cited earlier; and also, see "Nazi-Soviet Protocol Originals Found" and "Yeltsin Suspends Baltic Withdrawal," *The Rising Nepal* (Kathmandu), 31 Oct. 1992, pp. 5 and 6, respectively.

6. Urban 1967, p. 28.

7. Landour is a town in Uttar Pradesh State a few kilometers northeast of Mussoorie above New Delhi. It is of interest to note that some 20 years later, Margaret would return to these same two communities in Uttar Pradesh but under quite different circumstances—as the wife of Gergan Tharchin, who had been summoned to Mussoorie by His Holiness Dalai Lama XIV. While there the couple visited at nearby Landour with two Christian church leaders and scholars who were engaged in Tibetan Bible revision labors. See next chapter.

8. All quotations in this paragraph are from *ibid.*

9. In the first town of which her future husband, Gergan Tharchin, when a young man of 22, had met with a Christian congregation there while on an evangelistic tour in Sikkim in 1912. See again Ch. 6 of Vol. I. Lachen was also the site of the Finnish Mission's northern Sikkim headquarters. Macdonald 1943, pp. 96-7.

10. Identified earlier as the capital of Assam Province in British India and located some distance away to the southeast of Kalimpong.

11. For important background information on the community of Buxa Duar and the development of Christian missionary activity there, the reader is referred back to Ch. 5 again, especially in that chapter's end-notes 39 and 40.

11a. See letter, M. Vitants (and E. Treshbech) to Tharchin, Finnish Mission, Ghoom P.O., 23 Jan. 1948; and letter, M.V. to Tharchin, noted "As from Finnish Mission, Ghoom P.O.," 6 Mar. 1948; both ThPaK.

12. The types of incontrovertible evidence for the now indisputable fact of S.G. Tharchin's adoptive relationship to the elder Tharchins are three in number: personal interviews, personal letters, and published sources, as follows:

A. *Personal Interviews*

1. With the already-mentioned Sonam T. Kazi, on 22-3 Oct. 1991: "During my student days at Kalimpong College [in the mid-1940s], I remember, when visiting frequently in the home of Tharchin Babu, seeing the latter's adopted son. In those days everyone, including myself, knew him and called him by his name of Phubu Tsering."

2. With the Christian Tibetan, Mr. Gyamtsho Shempa (who with his family had lived in Kalimpong from 1959 to 1986), on 26 Jan. 1992: "All in Kalimpong who had any connection with Gergan Tharchin knew that his son Phubu Tsering was his and Karma Dechhen's adopted son, since they were issueless. In fact, everybody in Kalimpong knew this."

3. With Mr. Gyan Jyoti, son of the longtime, prominent and wealthy Jyoti Buddhist business family that operated numerous shops in Kalimpong, Lhasa, Calcutta, Bangalore and Kathmandu (the father, who knew Gergan Tharchin the best of all in the Jyoti family, having died in Kathmandu just prior to the author's interview there with son Gyan), on 8-9 Feb. 1993: "S.G. Tharchin was greatly loved by Gergan Tharchin, though all in Kalimpong knew that he was not Gergan Tharchin's own son but adopted."

B. *Personal Letters*

1. D. McHutchison, the Kalimpong Scots Mission In-Charge, to Mr. Mackelvie (of the Edinburgh Medical Missionary Society), Guild Mission House, Kalimpong, 14 Oct. 1944: "There is no other doctor at present whom we can appoint in Dr. Norbu Tenzin's place and only two Christian Tibetan boys at school. It is too early as yet to say what they plan to do with their lives. One of them is the adopted son of the Tibetan catechist, Mr. Tharchin..." ThPaK.

2. Signed Office Copy by Gergan Tharchin himself to ?Mrs. A.L. Shelton?, Kalimpong, date: 1950 (with internal evidence indicating latter half of that year but pre-October, the first two of four pages of the letter missing): "Now I close this letter with my best respects, and my dear wife and one son adopted since he was eight months who is now 15 [Tibetan reckoning] both ask me to mention their best greetings and respects." ThPaK.

C. *Published Sources*

1. Margaret Urban (friend of Margaret Tharchin's who visited both Tharchins in their home for two weeks during the spring of 1964), in Urban 1967, p. 27: "The marriage [between Gergan Tharchin and Karma Dechhen] remained childless. Finally they adopted a Tibetan orphan boy."

2. Hisao Kimura (close intimate friend of G. Tharchin's), in Kimura 1990, p. 220 (Epilogue section of the book): "Back in Kalimpong, after Mr. Tharchin's death, the printing press was taken over by his adopted son, Sherab Gyatsho. The newspaper is no longer published, though the younger Tharchin uses the press for tracts and pamphlets, and also runs an orphanage in the old house up on the hill."

13. All of the information regarding the N.P. Tshering family has been derived by the author (a) from conversations with S.G. and Nini (Tshering) Tharchin at their Kalimpong home during a visit there in Dec. 1987; and (b) from letters, S.G. Tharchin to the author, Kalimpong, 14 Jan. 1991 and 8 June 1991.

14. James 1:27 NIV.

15. The close friend, of course, was Margaret Urban, who visited the Tharchin home at Kalimpong during the spring of 1964. The quote is from Urban 1967, p. 30.

16. Gergan Tharchin's "memoirs" referred to Kindernothilfe incorrectly as Kinder Nut, but correspondence from the period shows on its letterhead stationery the correct spelling as Kindernothilfe. Hence, the abbreviated form, Kinder Not, is what now appears in the Text.

16a. Except for what is already documented, and besides what is provided in Gergan Tharchin's end-of-life "memoirs," the source for much else by way of information and quoted material related to the Children's Home up to this point in the narrative is per the author's interview with Nini (Mrs. S.G.) Tharchin, 12 Dec. 1992.

16b. Rev. Arangaden to Tharchin, Bangalore, 2 Sept. 1962, ThPaK.

17. Except where already documented, all information in this lengthy paragraph regarding support for the Home from the U.S. and Europe is taken from Urban 1967, p. 32.

17a. An extract taken from G. Tharchin, "Tibetan Congregation [News]," a two-page typewritten article, found in a file of the ThPaK marked "Tibetan Mission 1965." From internal evidence it is clear the article was prepared by Tharchin during the latter part of 1965 and was intended to appear, and most likely did so, in an issue of the *Eastern Himalayan Church News* by the end of 1965.

18. The two sources to be compared are: (a) p. 2 of two typed sheets of undated Church News entitled "Tibetan Congregation: Kalimpong" that are the enclosure to a cover letter, Tharchin to Mr. T. Brunton (Mission House, Kalimpong), Tirpai Hill, Kalimpong, 13 Jan. 1969; and (b) Rev. G. Tharchin, "Kalimpong: Tibetan Congregation," in *Eastern Himalayan Church News* (June 1969):33.

19. Letter, Thielmann to [Sherab] Gyamtsho Tharchin, Duisburg-Meiderich, West Germany, 7 Sept. 1965; courtesy of S.G. Tharchin, who provided a copy of this letter to the author.

20. Urban 1967, p. 32.

21. *Ibid.*, 32-3.

22. *Ibid.*, 33 with p. 18 also.

22a. All information and quoted material included in this and the preceding paragraph are per interview with Nini (Mrs. S.G.) Tharchin, 16 Dec. 1992.

22b. Per interview with S.G. & Mrs. (Nini) Tharchin, Feb. 1992.

23. Urban 1967, pp. 34-5.

24. All quoted material in this lengthy paragraph is from *ibid.*, 41-2.

25. For all information and quoted material in this paragraph see *ibid.* 10, 42-3.

25a. Per interview with Nini (Mrs. S.G.) Tharchin, 12 Dec. 1992.

25b. The commencement date of her ill-condition, the dates of her hospitalization, and the two quoted passages from Tharchin are per his letter to Prof. T.V. Wylie, Kalimpong, 10 June 1967, ThPaK.

25c. Per interviews with, respectively, S.T. Kazi, Oct. 1991; S.G. and Mrs. (Nini) Tharchin, Feb. 1992.

26. Rato 1977, pp. 225-6. For more on Losang Khyongla, see earlier at the end of Ch. 14 of Vol. II. Since about 1966 he had been living in New York City, and the present author had the pleasure of speaking to him on the phone while on a visit to that city for further research on the present biography.

26a. Interview with Dr. Pradhan, Nov. 1992.

27. Interview with T.P. Hishey, Nov. 1992.

Chapter 27

GTUM TwMs, Ch. 21, p. 4 and Ch. 25, pp. 1-3; quotes: Ch. 25, pp. 1, 2, 3.

1. Yet even with the personal intervention of the Nehru government, the Chinese were still bent on thwarting any travel to India by the Dalai Lama, for they “tried to keep this news from reaching the Potala” where His Holiness was staying at the time. Nevertheless, once the Dalai Lama learned of the dual invitation “through the Indian Commissioner in Lhasa,” he immediately and publicly announced to his people that he had accepted and would go! Rato 1977, p. 185.

2. See Patterson 1990, p. 150.

3. Craig 1997, pp. 182, 185.

4. Shakya 1999, p. 149.

5. Quoted in *ibid.*

6. Quoted in *ibid.*, 149-50.

7. See Goodman 1986, p. 241.

8. So said Ajit K. Das, writing from Kalimpong for the *Christian Science Monitor* (Boston USA), 6 Dec. 1956, p. 18.

9. *New York Times*, 20 Jan. 1957, p. 3; and the 23rd, p. 10. Several years later, in a book he published in 1960, George Patterson reported that when Chinese Premier Chou En-lai, who had also visited India at this time, returned to Beijing, he was asked about rumors that the two High Tibetan Lamas had been contacted by American agents in an attempt to dissuade both from returning to Tibet; and Chou “admitted knowledge of such rumors.” Patterson 1960, pp. 139-40.

10. Conboy and Morrison 2002, p. 34; see also Dalai Lama XIV 1962, p. 150.

11. In Chou’s second of two subsequent interviews with the Dalai Lama himself, the former left the latter “in no doubt that if there really was a popular uprising he was ready to use force to put it down....I repeated all I had told him before of our grievances against the Chinese occupation. And I said we were willing to forget whatever wrongs had been done to us in the past, but the inhuman treatment and oppression must be stopped. He answered that Mao Tse-tung had made it perfectly clear that ‘reforms’ would only be introduced in Tibet in accordance with the wishes of the people.” *Ibid.*, 151. See Wangyal 2004, pp. 206-11 for a discussion by a Tibetan Communist eyewitness on how and why the “reforms” difficulties in Kham/Amdo (beginning in late 1955 as a result of Mao’s summer 1955 socialist transformation campaign) would spread gravely troublous problems to much of Tibet leading eventually to the 1958/59 Uprising at Lhasa and elsewhere.

12. Although, at age 21, he was still inexperienced in the ways of international politics, the Dalai Lama was by this time mature enough to be able, in the words of Jonathan Mirsky, “to see behind false fronts”; for whereas “most foreigners who met Chou En-lai found him charming,” to the Dalai Lama—and here Mirsky quotes His Holiness—the Chinese Premier “‘was over-polite, which is invariably a sign of someone not to be trusted.’” Mirsky 1990, p. 59.

13. “Chou En-lai was a complex man. At first sight, he was the worst sort of career politician, a man who was most certainly not out of his depth. There is no doubt that he was instrumental in exercising strict control over Tibet, but he was in many ways an honorable man. Unlike many of those who surrounded him, he was not hysterical or destructive, and it is said that he did his best to reduce the carnage and destruction when the Tibetan uprising came in 1959. Many people owe their lives to him, lives which Mao was apparently prepared to sacrifice, and it was through his intercession that at least some of the great buildings of Lhasa, such as the

Jo-khang, were saved.” Hicks and Chogyam 1984, p. 92. Heinrich Harrer has also recorded reports of Chou’s apparent distaste for carnage and destruction, especially by the Red Guards of the Cultural Revolution era (1966-76). Writes Harrer in 1982: “According to some reports, Chou En-lai prevented even worse outrages by placing regular troops on guard duty outside surviving temples: armed soldiers were regarded with respect even by the Red Guards.” Harrer 1985, pp. 46-7.

14. See Shakya 1999, p. 152 re: this summary of the Nehru-Dalai Lama talks.

15. See Dalai Lama XIV 1962, pp. 151-2.

16. Patterson 1959, p. 163. Indeed, Patterson, who during this period had reluctantly become a resident of Kalimpong (having been thwarted, in fulfilling his great desire to return to the Kham-Amdo region of eastern Tibet, by events both in and out of Tibet beyond his control), remarked serio-comically in his book that “the exodus” of this “hitherto remote people into Kalimpong” had been so massive even at this early stage in the Tibet-China crisis that anyone observing his particular residential district in the town “might easily have...mistaken” it “for a suburb of Lhasa”! High officials from the Tibetan capital, Patterson reported, “were pouring into Kalimpong every day” from late Oct. 1950 onwards, he adding that his own rented house “in the New Development area of Kalimpong” was being “surrounded by Tibetan lessees of the other houses” and noting that members of the Tibetan government “quickly bought or rented houses” throughout the same area. In fact, “the Dalai Lama’s sister was only a few hundred yards away” from him. *Ibid.*, 61.

17. Shakya 1999, pp. 154, 156.

18. Dalai Lama XIV 1962, p. 152.

19. *Ibid.*, 153.

20. Dutt 1977, pp. 140-43.

21. Dalai Lama XIV 1962, p. 153.

22. So said Nehru on 2 Apr. 1959, and quoted in Sen 1960, p. 181.

23. Dalai Lama XIV 1962, pp. 153-4.

24. Thomas Jr 1959, p. 254; and Shakabpa 1967, p. 313; see also Dalai Lama XIV 1990, p. 120. Rani Choni Dorjee was also, it may be recalled, the sister of Taring Raja, father of Jigme Taring, a former student of Tharchin’s at his Gyantse school back in the 1920s.

25. Dalai Lama XIV 1962, p. 154.

26. Urban 1967, p. 29. Miss Urban had visited in the Tharchin home at Kalimpong for two weeks during the spring of 1964 and had therefore had many opportunities to converse with the Tharchins on a variety of topics.

26a. Interview with Rev. Biswas, Nov. 1992.

27. The information regarding the golden throne and the estimated crowd of Buddhists is per Urban 1967, p. 29. A more detailed description of the Dalai Lama’s visit at Graham’s Homes each morning into mid-afternoon over a three-day period is provided in Lillian Carlson, “Progress and Promise,” in Carlson et al. 1988, pp. 70-71. It should be pointed out here that the authoress has mistakenly asserted that the Dalai Lama had at this time been delivering this and other lectures in Bhutan when actually His Holiness was not to visit that land at all but Sikkim upon his departure from Kalimpong.

28. *Ibid.*, 70, 71.

29. Dalai Lama XIV 1962, p. 154.

30. George N. Patterson, "Kalimpong: 'The Nest of Spies'," *Twentieth Century* (June 1958):531.

31. Harrer 1956, pp. 228-9, 232ff. In a later book Harrer recalled one Shakespeare film he showed the Boy-King: "The first film I showed was *Henry V*, starring Lawrence Olivier, in which the king soliloquizes on the weight of the responsibility that falls upon him. And later we read in *Henry IV*: 'Uneasy lies the head that wears the Crown.' I believe that the intelligent boy understood that line even then, and that he surmised what was in store for him. The gods would soon...lay upon him grievous anxieties about his people and country." Harrer 1985, p. 90.

32. Carlson, "Progress and Promise," in Carlson et al. 1988, p. 71.

33. Dalai Lama XIV 1990, pp. 120-22 and Knaus 1999, pp. 140, 141.

34. Thomas Jr 1959, p. 245.

35. Dalai Lama XIV 1962, p. 121 and Knaus 1999, p. 141.

36. Dalai Lama XIV 1990, p. 121.

37. Thomas Jr 1959, p. 259.

38. Except for the material repeated here which had already previously been quoted and documented, the material which served as the basis for this summary of the reasons which determined the Dalai Lama's decision to return to Tibet is per Shakya 1999, pp. 152-3, 155, 156, 157, 159, 488 note 101. See also Lang-Sims 1963, pp. 58-9 and Patterson 1960, pp. 138-9.

39. Dalai Lama XIV 1962, p. 154. "Although the mantle of Mahatma Gandhi had fallen on him," said the Dalai Lama of Nehru, "I could not catch any glimpse of spiritual fervor in him. But I saw him as a brilliant practical statesman, with a masterly grasp of international politics, and he showed me that he had a profound love for his country and faith in his people. For their welfare and progress, he was firm in the pursuit of peace." When asked in an interview at Mussoorie, less than six months into his exile in India in 1959, whether in late 1956 he had asked for asylum in India while there that year, the reply the Dalai Lama gave demonstrated the great weight he had placed upon the counsel of the Indian ruler: "Yes, we had mentioned to Prime Minister Nehru that the Chinese were not keeping to their promises and that therefore we had no desire to return to Tibet....He also had a talk with the Chinese Premier, Chou En-lai, and Mr. Nehru told us that the Chinese Premier had promised complete autonomy for Tibet and that he had stated that the Chinese had made a mistake in eastern Kham and they would not again make the mistake of thrusting reforms on Tibet against the wishes of the people. So Mr. Nehru advised us to return....*We went back because of the advice of the Prime Minister.*" Quoted in ICJ 1966, pp. 291-2 (emphasis added). The Dalai Lama's impressions of Nehru are quoted in Goodman 1986, p. 250. Cf. Dalai Lama XIV 1990, pp. 117-20 regarding his meetings in India with Nehru and Chou. But see also *ibid.*, 122, where His Holiness acknowledged that he had made up his mind to return to Tibet "to give the Chinese one last try, in accordance both with the advice of Nehru and the assurances of Chou En-lai."

Actually, there had even been a secret meeting between all three of these personages in India in late 1956, as first reported by George Patterson in an article that was to have appeared in a Mar. 1959 issue of an Indian magazine, the story of which having also "been admitted to by Nehru" himself later. The meeting would have had to have taken place in Delhi on either Dec. 30 or 31, since those were the two days of Chou's second but quite limited visit to India before flying back to China. He had been in India earlier between Nov. 28 and Dec. 10. (He would even return to Delhi on 24 Jan. 1957 for a third visit in as many months, Chou leaving nothing to chance of losing the Dalai Lama permanently. But two days earlier His Holiness had already departed Calcutta for Kalimpong. See Conboy and Morrison 2002, p. 35.) Now the story, in its general outline, is that the Dalai Lama had approached the Indian Prime Minister privately requesting that he be permitted to remain in India because of the oppression of his people by the Chinese and because of his inability to help them since

he was virtually a prisoner in Tibet. Nehru soon afterwards sent for the Chinese Premier (who had left India on Dec. 11th and gone on to Europe), with whom subsequently His Holiness and the Prime Minister met, the latter endeavoring to arbitrate between the other two participants in this meeting. The result was that Chou gave an understanding that the major portion of Chinese troops in Tibet would be withdrawn, that Nehru would be invited to Lhasa to see for himself that the promise had been fulfilled, and that the Dalai Lama agreed to return. As is now well known, the promised invitation to Nehru was never kept, and the promise by Chou of the troop withdrawal was likewise unfulfilled. Lang-Sims 1963, pp. 58-9. The authoress became a friend of both Patterson and his wife, Meg, from whom she learned of the story in 1959 as it was about to be printed. Patterson later included the story in full in his book published one year later, *Tibet in Revolt*, 138-9.

That the last-minute intervention by both Nehru and Chou had been effective in convincing the young ruler of Tibet to return to his homeland is made very evident by what the Dalai Lama's biographer Michael Goodman had later reported with regard to the speech on "contradictions" (officially called "On the Correct Handling of Contradictions among the People") which Chairman Mao had given before a session of the Supreme State Conference in Beijing on 7 Feb. 1957, some six days before the Tibetan Priest-King would depart Gangtok—a mere one- or two-day caravan journey from the Tibetan border—bound for Lhasa. An edited version of the speech, wrote Goodman, was not released till 18 June, long after the Dalai Lama's arrival at Lhasa by slow caravan on 2 Apr. One part of the original speech which had subsequently been edited out concerned Chou En-lai's efforts to get the Dalai Lama to return. "According to some of those who heard a tape-recorded version of the original speech," explained Goodman, Mao had "severely condemned the mistakes his cadres had been making in Tibet, and disclosed that had it not been for the intervention of Chou En-lai, the Dalai Lama, then in Sikkim waiting for the Natu La to clear, would not be returning to Lhasa." Goodman 1986, p. 258. The true designs of Chou's intervention were thus clearly revealed by Mao's forthright but later edited speech. It had in fact been a close call, but the blandishments of the Chinese Premier, with an enormous bit of assistance by the Indian Prime Minister, were able to overcome the hesitancy of the still immature Dalai Lama: the Communist Chinese were in the end able to get their coveted prize back onto Tibet soil once again!

40. See Thomas Jr 1961, p. 115 and Knaus 1999, p. 173.

41. See the *New York Times*, 23 Jan. 1957, p. 10; Dalai Lama XIV 1990, p. 124; *Times* (London), 14 Feb. 1957, p. 7; and Norbu 1961, p. 255.

42. Patterson 1959, pp. 161-2.

43. Patterson, "Kalimpong: 'The Nest of Spies'," *Twentieth Century* (June 1958):531.

44. Shakabpa 1967, p. 313. Air travel between Lhasa and Baghdogra had only just been inaugurated the previous Oct. (1956) by the Chinese Communists. Per Ling 1964, p. 252.

45. Turrell V. Wylie, "Tibet," *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (Chicago, 1973), 21:1112; see also Rato 1977, p. 186 and Ling 1967, p. 783.

46. Some Western writers on Tibet have expressed the feeling that His Holiness and others in the Tibetan government should have done far less "collaborating" with and far more opposing of the Chinese than, in their critical opinion, the Tibetan ruler and his colleagues did. Two such writers, George Patterson and Michel Peissel, have condemned the Dalai Lama and the ruling elite for their apparent collaboration with the Chinese during this time of revolt. Peissel's criticism was especially unequivocal: "A word from the Dalai Lama, one single proclamation, and all Tibet would undoubtedly have stood up and faced the Chinese. The Dalai Lama's failure to understand this, his failure to act, to speak and to lead his people to war, is perhaps the greatest tragedy of Tibet's long history." But as another scholar on Tibet and himself a Tibetan, the late Dawa Norbu, had explained:

As the Khampas [from the east] moved their theater of operation nearer Lhasa, the simmering discontent of the local people in central Tibet grew into open resentment and hostility against the Chinese. Under such a tense situation, the Dalai Lama and his government, whom the Chinese had so far used as an unconscious agent of their designs in Tibet, were under increasing pressures from all sides. They were in an acute dilemma. By 1957 the traditional ruling elite in Lhasa was split between those who sided with Ngabo Ngawang Jigme and the Dalai Lama, both of whom realistically

thought that Tibet's future lay in collaborating with China, and those who felt, on the contrary, that Communist China and Buddhist Tibet had irreconcilable ideals. The Dalai Lama in particular was in a terrible dilemma because he had to oppose openly the very people who were trying to "defend" him and fight for all that he symbolized to them. He did so out of realism and his non-violent moral convictions, and no less under Chinese pressure and persuasion.

Out of realism, because the Dalai Lama seemed to sense the futility of the Khampa rebellion against the Chinese, he having observed that it was like "jumping off a cliff when you have eyes to see."

The mention of Patterson's criticism of the Dalai Lama, besides that of Peissel's, and all the quotes of Peissel, the Dalai Lama and Dawa Norbu are from Dawa Norbu, "The 1959 Tibetan Rebellion: an Interpretation," *TR* (Feb.-Mar. 1982):13.

And *out of his non-violent convictions*, because he had been taught and trained from boyhood to approach disputes, quarrels and hostilities in a pacifistic way. His boyhood hero, in fact, had been none other than Mahatma Gandhi, whose cremation site at New Delhi was the very first place the Dalai Lama went to after his arrival in the Indian capital on his first visit ever to the Land of Buddha's Birth in Nov. 1956. Early before dawn the morning after his reception at Delhi airport by Prime Minister Nehru, the young Tibetan ruler had gone to Rajghat to pay his respects and to pray. "As he prayed there," wrote one of his biographers (Goodman), "he was deeply moved." The Dalai Lama later recorded what his thoughts and prayers had been as he stood at the Gandhi Cremation Memorial whose green lawns sloped down to the banks of the Yamuna River:

I felt I was in the presence of a noble soul—the soul of the man who in his life was perhaps the greatest of our age, the man who had contended till death itself to preserve the spirit of India and mankind—a true disciple of Lord Buddha and a true believer in peace and harmony among men. As I stood there I wondered what wise counsel the Mahatma would have given me if he had been alive. I felt sure he would have thrown all his strength of will and character into a peaceful campaign for the freedom of the people of Tibet. I wished fervently that I had had the privilege of meeting him in this world. But, standing there, I felt I had come in close touch with him, and I felt his advice would always be that I should follow the path of peace. I had and still have unshaken faith in the doctrine of non-violence which he preached and practiced. Now I made up my mind more firmly to follow his lead whatever difficulties might confront me. I determined more strongly than ever that I could never associate myself with acts of violence. (Quoted in Goodman 1986, p. 243.)

In an article that reviewed the Dalai Lama's volume of memoirs published in 1990 (*Freedom in Exile*), Jonathan Mirsky expressed the following comments with regard to the philosophical views of His Holiness on killing and pacifism within the Tibetan Buddhist religious framework:

The struggle against those, like the Chinese, who attempt to destroy Buddhism, while preferably non-violent, can sometimes, when the taking of a few lives may save many, include killing. But the Dalai Lama explains that the compassionate killer is not guiltless; he takes on a great burden of suffering for what he has done and may be reborn as a lesser being. The Dalai Lama says he would not kill, although he sometimes sympathizes with those who do. His reluctance to take life helps to explain why, despite Tibetans' capacity for ferocity, so few Chinese have been killed in Tibet during the forty years in which they have taken many lives and destroyed much of the Buddhist fabric. (Mirsky 1990, p. 54.)

47. Shakya 1999, p. 166.

48. *Ibid.*, 202-3.

49. Ngabo Ngawang Jigme has been described as "surely the most popularly despised, secretly admired, and controversial figure in the last half century of Tibetan history." (Goodman) It will be recalled that this high-ranking monk official, who had been sent by the *Kashag* as the last Governor of Kham, ended up not only presiding over the fall of this distant eastern Tibetan province to the invading Communist Chinese in 1950 but also being captured by these foreign forces at the same time. Once in Chinese hands, he was soon appointed by the young 14th Dalai Lama to head up the Tibetan delegation at Peking which was forced to "negotiate" with China the concluding of the hated and despised Seventeen-Point Agreement of 23 May 1951. Ngabo was later to become, in the opinion of Noel Barber, "a Tibetan traitor of the first magnitude"; indeed, for Barber, writing in 1970, Ngabo's role during the entire period of the 1950s and '60s "leaves no room for equivocation" on that point. "It is only fair to say," he adds, "that several leading Tibetans are still not certain that he was a traitor, but wonder if Ngabo (now openly working with the Chinese) was not merely acting realistically." With this opinion, however, Barber could not disagree more. "One does not wish to be biased," the writer explained, "but

the Tibetans, by the very nature of their isolated, religious existence, tend to be extremely naïve . . . , and to this author there is no doubt that Ngabo was, and still is, violently pro-Chinese.”

Writing more than fifteen years later (1986), Michael Goodman saw Ngabo not only as a traitor of his people but also as a person who “was without doubt one of the prime movers in the plot to strip the Dalai Lama of his powers . . .” It was mystifying to Goodman, however, “why such a known traitor was not dismissed from the post of Cabinet Minister,” for incredible as it may seem to outsiders, Ngabo was to remain throughout the decade-long crisis of the 1950s as a member of the Kashag who was charged with particular responsibility for maintaining liaison with the Chinese occupiers. Goodman has posited the theory that possibly the Dalai Lama had felt he could not wield sufficient power under the foreign masters of his land “to dismiss the most important liaison officer in the country without precipitating a fresh Chinese outburst, or giving the Chinese an excuse to increase their hold on Tibet. The Dalai Lama may also have hoped that a man like Ngabo would in the end be able to help Tibet by mollifying the enemy.” On the other hand, Barber has mused that Buddhism’s teachings on compassion and tolerance towards all sentient beings, whether friend or foe, had so deeply affected the Dalai Lama’s thinking that “perhaps unfortunately he had . . . learned the art of tolerance to such a degree that he found nothing amiss in remaining on friendly terms with those plotting against him.”

Whatever may be the correct explanation for the Dalai Lama’s unusual relationship he maintained with Ngabo, this tall, aging, very thin wisp of a man has nonetheless cut an extraordinary figure in the bizarre twists and turns of recent Tibetan politics. In his 1986 epilogue to his biography of the 14th Dalai Lama, Goodman had this to say in summation regarding Ngabo Ngawang Jigme: he “continues to be the most controversial Tibetan of his time. The majority of Tibetans despise him as a ‘Second Langdarma’ and ‘Communist barbarian’; others believe him a patriot who has attempted to mitigate the treatment of the people of his homeland by the Chinese.”

Still later comments have been made concerning Ngabo. In an interview with John Knaus at Dharamsala in Nov. 1995, the Dalai Lama “excused Ngabo” of being “a Tibetan quisling.” But in another interview a few months earlier with the Lama’s eldest brother Thubten Norbu, Knaus heard the latter describe Ngabo as “a self-seeking person” who is Tibet’s “number one traitor.” But the Dalai Lama’s brother-in-law Yapshi Sey, who had been a member of the Tibetan delegation (as its interpreter) which negotiated the infamous 17-Point Agreement, told Knaus in a Nov. 1996 interview that he considered Ngabo a good man who had been caught between irreconcilable forces; though this, notes Knaus, may be a prejudiced view in that Yapshi Sey, in the words of Knaus, might have been “indirectly defending his own participation in accepting the Agreement.” Knaus went on to observe that “the more charitable interpretation” of Ngabo had gained support from a report which Tibetan official and later historian W.D. Shakabpa had submitted to the U.S. Consulate at Calcutta in early July 1951. At that time he had asserted that Ngabo, then on his homeward journey from Beijing, had sent word that the Tibetan government’s decision on whether to approve the Agreement should not be affected by any fears or concerns for his safety. And finally, from an interview with Lodi Gyari in 1998 Knaus learned that though the Dalai Lama and his exile government continue to believe that Ngabo had attempted in his own way to work for the Tibetan people’s interests, “they feel there is no comparison . . . between his contribution and that of the late Panchen Lama, who was outspoken and was punished for his courageous stands on behalf of the Tibetans.”

Sources thus far for this note are: Goodman 1986, pp. 154, 341; Knaus 1999, p. 338 note 2 and 349; and Barber 1970, pp. 32, 40, 73. For a detailed account of Ngabo’s bio-data, see K. Dhondup, “Ngabo Ngawang Jigme—Traitor or Patriot?” *TR* (Sept. 1977):11-14; in this same article can be found an interesting quote from the speech Ngabo delivered before the first session of the Second National People’s Congress in Beijing on 22 Apr. 1959: “I know the age-long history of Tibet quite well. Tibet is Chinese territory. Historical facts going back some 700 years prove this.” And some 20 years later the Reuter’s News Service could report on 1 May 1977 that Ngabo was heard to say before a group of Japanese journalists that “the Dalai Lama . . . would be well treated if he sincerely returns to the embrace of the [Chinese] motherland and stands on the side of the people.” *Ibid.*, 14, 11. Aged 98 today (2008), Ngabo, currently holding the title of Vice-Chairman, 11th National Committee of the Chinese People’s Political Consultative Conference, still lives in the Chinese capital, where most recently he has continued to “collaborate” with the Beijing government to the extent of having declared, in an interview with the official Xinhua News Agency, that the Dalai Lama had most recently been “the wire-puller” behind “the riots [which] broke out in Tibetan regions in China”—including especially at Lhasa—during the spring of 2008 (see <sify.com/news/fullstory.php?id=14665438>).

Interestingly, Phuntsog Wangyal, founder of the Tibetan Communist Party and leading Tibetan cadre within the Chinese Communist Party for many years, presents another portrait of the controversial Kashag member. In the course of Phuntsog’s many conversations with Dalai Lama XIV at Beijing in 1954-5, His

Holiness had spoken freely about certain Kashag ministers at Lhasa, one of whom was Ngabo Shape. He revealed to the Tibetan Communist that when Ngabo had visited the Dalai Lama upon his return to Lhasa from having signed the 17-Point Agreement, Ngabo “had cried when talking about the difficulties he had endured and the lies and rumors being spread about him—for example, that he was in the pay of the Chinese.” Surprised to have heard this, Phuntsog remarked that he and the Beijing government had always assumed “that Ngabo was completely on our side,” but nonetheless realized, after hearing the report on Ngabo from the Dalai Lama, that Ngabo “still stood on their [the Tibetan government’s] side,” which was understandable to Phuntsog Wangyal, who though a Communist was also a strong Tibetan nationalist. The latter went on to observe that although the controversial Shape had had a close relationship with the Beijing government, it “was not because he was versed in the Communist Party’s ideology and believed in it.” On the contrary, his close relationship with Beijing was only because “he felt it was futile to fight the PLA.” And with respect to the matter of the alleged lies and rumors, the Tibetan Communist had this to say: “There were popular rumors that he [Ngabo] was in the pocket of the Chinese—that he had been bribed with gold or that, having been captured at Chamdo, he had been forced to change his loyalties. None of these things was true, but the suspicions existed...” See Wangyal 2004, pp. 192-3, 146.

50. According to Noel Barber, late on the night of 10 Mar., the Kashag Ministers met without the presence of Ngabo, who had refused to obey the order of Surkhang, the Prime Minister, to attend the Kashag meetings. (By this time Ngabo had decided to ally himself with the Chinese generals.) His absence made the task of the other Kashag members easier and also ensured a degree of secrecy which Ngabo’s presence would have doubtless compromised—*vis-à-vis* the Chinese. The object of the 10 Mar. meeting was to discuss practical ways for the departure of the Dalai Lama from Lhasa should such action be necessary. At this point the Kashag’s thinking was only in terms of a departure to Khampa-controlled territory in southeastern Tibet, with the town and region of Loka in mind, but with no mention of withdrawing to India being made. It was the unanimous decision, however, that it was now necessary to at least *inform the Dalai Lama to prepare himself* for possible departure, and as senior member of the Kashag this “unenviable task fell naturally to Surkhang.” The latter “told the Dalai Lama bluntly that it was the advice of his Government that he ‘should be prepared if necessary to set up his Government outside Lhasa until help could come from India or the Western countries.’” The Dalai Lama reluctantly agreed to this possible course of action. Apparently at this same Cabinet meeting the Ministers also “came to an historic—and secret—decision.” In order to bypass bureaucratic red tape they gave Phala, the Dalai Lama’s Court Chamberlain, complete power to make whatever plans he saw fit—“even down to deciding the date and the hour”—for the departure of His Holiness, which the Kashag had earlier decided must occur in the next few days. “Phala may still have shared his master’s hope that a crisis could be averted,” added Barber, “but all the same he quietly sent for his personal tailor and instructed him to make up a set of ordinary soldier’s clothes. He would keep the disguise handy for the Dalai Lama—just in case.” Barber 1970, pp. 90-92. And as the time quickly approached for the Dalai Lama’s departure from the Summer Palace, “his simple soldier’s uniform was laid out in his bedroom, ready for him to don at the last moment.” *Ibid.*, 118.

51. According to Michael Goodman, the Lord, or Court, Chamberlain (who in Tibetan is called the Chikyap Khenpo) “had direct access to the Dalai Lama on matters within the jurisdiction of the monk officials. He headed the Dalai Lama’s personal household and was in charge of the ruler’s private treasury as well as the official Potala treasury. Although ranking slightly below the [Kashag] he was often called on by them to join discussions on matters of great national interest.” Goodman 1986, pp. 82-3. Goodman also pointed out that by 1955 the Lord Chamberlain had become the Dalai Lama’s official liaison between himself and the monastic branch of government and between himself and Beijing’s military commander in Lhasa. Phala, he added, had replaced the Dalai Lama’s immediate elder brother, Lobsang Samden, in this highly sensitive post when in 1957 the latter had decided on his own request to remain behind in India because of exhaustion and health reasons, thus requiring His Holiness to return to Lhasa without his trusted adviser. Phala, Goodman wrote, was “a tall, imposing nobleman with close-cropped graying hair and a warm, infectious smile.” *Ibid.*, 203, 268.

52. Shakya 1999, p. 199.

53. Quoted in Dutt 1977, p. 146. According to Nehru, the first his Government was informed of the Lhasa demonstration was on 11 Mar., a telegram having arrived that day from India’s Consulate dated 10 Mar. A second one was received on 14 Mar., prompting the Prime Minister that same day to report to his Parliament that a “clash of wills” was occurring at the Tibetan capital. See Shakya 1999, p. 494 note 65.

54. Quoted from GTUM TwMs, Ch. 21, p. 4.

55. Peissel's book (Peissel 1972) has been one of the prime sources used for some of the quoted and unquoted material to be found throughout this chapter. Author, explorer and scholar, Peissel achieved a doctorate in (Tibetan) Ethnology. He even lived with the Tibetans at Kalimpong, Delhi, in Nepal, and elsewhere before documenting his book. See Pema T. Rabgay and K. Dhondup, "Tibet Issue and the 'Concerned Asian Scholars,'" *TR* (Dec. 1977):23.

56. When consulting the various sources for verification of this date, the present author discovered some variation as to the precise day in March this declaration of independence by the people's representatives known as the Freedom Committee was said to have actually occurred. Some sources state the 10th of Mar., others, that it occurred on the 12th. After careful review of all available material the present author is inclined to side with Peissel's choice of date, especially (a) in view of what is said in the note immediately preceding this one about that author's procedure in documenting his book on the crisis; (b) in view of an article that appeared in a Chinese Communist publication in 1959 which stated: "...the all-out armed rebellion [was] launched in Lhasa on March 10 [1959]... when they openly raised the slogan of 'Independence for Tibet!' and 'The Han People Must Get Out!'..." Chang Lu, "The Rebirth of the Tibetan People Cannot Be Halted," *Hongqi* (Red Flag) (No. 9, 1959), and quoted from *Concerning the Question of Tibet* (Peking: Foreign Language Press, 1959), 226; and (c) in view of what the Dalai Lama himself said on the matter in answer to a question put to him by the Chairman of the Legal Inquiry Committee of the International Commission of Jurists (Geneva) in an interview held at Mussoorie, Northwest India, on 29 Aug. 1959 only a few months after the crisis in Lhasa. His Holiness had said: "Up to March 10, 1959, the Chinese were in complete control of Tibet and there was no public repudiation [of the 17-Point Agreement]. On March 10th there was public repudiation and this was done by the General Assembly consisting of the officials and the public, mainly the public." Quoted in ICJ 1966, p. 290. The Kashag had that same day also met, in emergency session at the Norbu Lingka, and announced the abrogation of the Agreement and proclaimed Mar. 10th to be Tibetan Independence Day. A.H. Stanton Candlin, *Tibet at Bay* (New York, 1971), 36. The previous source (ICJ 1966, p. 6) states that this Kashag meeting took place on the 11th of Mar., as does an earlier work published by the same Commission, ICJ 1959, p. 9; and so does Shakabpa recollect the Kashag meeting as having occurred on Mar. 11th (and who is quoted in *ibid.*, 13; although he was not in Lhasa at the time of crisis but was in Kalimpong). Again, the present author leans towards Candlin's choice of 10 Mar.

57. Its creation had come about as follows: Prior to 10 Mar., the Tibetan Prime Minister Surkhang "had a brain wave" as he struggled to calm the crowds surging about the Norbu Lingka. "'If you have any grievances,' he cried to the crowd, 'why don't you choose some men as your representatives and I'll let them inside the Palace to talk with us—and work with us.' Thus was born—out of desperation—the Freedom Committee of about 60 workers, peasants, traders, and businessmen. It was destined to work with the Kashag throughout the crisis." Barber 1970, p. 86.

58. At the foot of the Potala was the village of Sho (Shol), a community of some one thousand inhabitants, including ecclesiastical officials and others in the Dalai Lama's service. Hence it was the village that preeminently serviced the Potala; but it was also Lhasa's traditional "red-light district," the place where the Sixth Dalai Lama is said to have surreptitiously gone on nocturnal visits to amuse himself. Sho was a traditional site as well for public gatherings.

59. Quoted in ICJ 1959, p. 13.

60. During the ten years prior to Indian independence from Great Britain in 1947 the British had maintained a Lhasa Mission at Dekyi Lingka that "in theory" was only to have been temporary since its existence "was covered by no specific treaty agreement" but had only come into being because the Tibetan government had invited the Political Officer in Sikkim to visit Lhasa for the purpose of advising on military problems and most importantly of helping "to effect a reconciliation between Lhasa and the [self-exiled] Panchen Lama" who had been poised on the Sino-Tibetan border waiting to return to his ecclesiastical seat at Trashilhunpo accompanied by a Chinese armed escort (the latter feature being the stumbling block to any reconciliation with the Lhasa government). However, even with the death of the Panchen in late 1937 while yet outside Tibetan territory.

the British Mission still continued its existence at the repeated requests by the Tibetan government for the Political Office to return to the capital. This "'semi-permanent' representation at Lhasa was therefore an example of the advantage of falling in with the Central Asian tendency to avoid precise definitions." The Mission was actually quite modest in composition, having consisted throughout the period of but one Officer and his clerical staff of two, a Medical Officer with his small staff, and a Wireless Operator. The Mission even outlasted the transfer of power to the new independent Indian government that had been proclaimed on 15 Aug. 1947. On that date, of course, the British Mission formally became the Indian Mission. Nevertheless, the transition "was almost imperceptible." In its entirety the existing staff remained the same, and "the only obvious change was the change of flag." But after a year the British doctor was replaced by an Indian one, and "an Indian officer joined the British officer in charge of the Mission for training." In time, however, the entire Mission "was...converted into an Indian Consulate-General" status following the Chinese invasion and occupation of Tibet in 1950-52, it nonetheless continuing to utilize the same original facility at Dekyi Lingka which the British had used earlier. Richardson 1962a, pp. 144-8, 173.

The history of Dekyi Lingka as a place of accommodation for British officials whenever they were at the Tibetan capital dates at least as far back as 1920-1 when Sir Charles Bell had been invited to Lhasa by the Great Thirteenth as the head of an important British diplomatic mission. During this nearly year-long stay of Bell's, he and his staff resided at Dekyi Lingka. This diplomatic compound had been rented out to the British by the Abbot of Kundeling Monastery, the owner of the property. It was located on the western perimeter of the capital just outside the Lingkor, the five-mile-long Sacred Path that encircled the entire Tibetan capital. Situated on a backwater of the Kyi Chu, Dekyi Lingka (which means Park or Garden of Happiness) had ample open ground all about it and commanded excellent views of the Potala Hill behind it, the Medical College Hill a little downstream, and the Norbu Lingka Palace grounds just to the south of the compound a short ways. The two-story main building, which always housed the Mission head, has been described as "a compact, comfortable and airy house, with a small walled garden full of peach trees, roses and hollyhocks." Besides regular rooms, this so-called summer house of the Abbot's had also a reception room upstairs and a large dining room downstairs. The clerks had their rooms and offices among the outbuildings within the compound. That was in 1922. Later a small hospital run by the British was added in the 1930s, which was situated only a hundred yards from the Legation officer's home, and which was gradually well patronized by the Tibetans. Besides the hospital, wireless station, the numerous flower and vegetable gardens, Dekyi Lingka also possessed "the ubiquitous tennis court." In those days the British Mission was in the charge of the former British Trade Agent at Yatung (and personal assistant to the Political Officer, Basil Gould), Rai Bahadur Dzasa Norbu Dhondup.

By 1938 the Tibetan government decided to establish at Dekyi Lingka a small school run on Western lines. In its first year there were about nine or ten boys specially selected by the Regent, Reting Rimpoche. The Regent had in mind that these selective candidates might learn English and Hindi, solely for the day when they might be sent to the Reting Trading Co. in India that had been established as a result of Reting Rimpoche having been elevated to the Regency in 1934. With these two languages learned, these youths when matured to manhood would be able to work more effectively in India. One of these boys was Tsewang Y. Pemba, aged 7 or 8, who lived on the grounds of Dekyi Lingka with his family. This was because his father (whom Tharchin had taught at Ghoom and had met again at Lhasa in 1937) served the Lhasa Mission as one of its clerks. He mentions in his autobiography and elsewhere that he and the other boys "were taught English, Hindi, arithmetic, general knowledge and English literature. We also did P.T. [Physical Training] every morning [and] we used to play football quite often." Another of the pupils with young Pemba was the son of Jwala Singh, the Nepalese Representative at Lhasa. These statements concerning Pemba's and Singh's attendance at the school, incidentally, belie the assertion by Hugh Richardson in his book (Richardson 1945, p. 82) that the school "was attended only by boys of the trading community." The teacher in those early days of the school was Rai Sahib Tseten Wangdi, formerly the Assistant British Trade Agent at Gyantse (under Richardson) who, Theos Bernard had noted, "had learned to speak perfect English," he having worked for the British government many years. Rai Sahib Wangdi had served as interpreter for Bernard in 1937 at Gyantse after the latter had dispatched Gergan Tharchin to Lhasa to gain permission from the Tibetan authorities for the American to come up to Lhasa. Young Pemba was enrolled at this school until 1940 when his family moved to Sikkim. According to Betty Sherriff (see below), the school was still in operation when she and her husband George (the new Lhasa Mission head) were at Dekyi Lingka from Apr. 1943 to Apr. 1945. Like all Western-style schools established in Tibet's history, however, this one, Pemba wrote, was "later closed because the monks objected to the teaching of modern subjects."

In 1943 the Kundeling Abbot permitted the new Mission occupants, the Sherriffs, to extend the garden and to include a small stream. (Betty Sherriff, by the way, was the daughter of Dr. John Graham of Kalimpong.)

“Basket loads of black soil and sweepings were brought from the Monastery.”

Sources for this note (other than Richardson): Hayden and Cosson 1927, p. 62 (Hayden, a geologist, had been invited by the Tibetan government in 1922 to come to Tibet to advise regarding the development of the land's mineral resources; he stayed at Dekyi Lingka that year); Goldstein 1989, p. 422; Pemba 1957, pp. 72, 97, 103 (the last two cited pages deal with the school); Betty Sherriff, “Lhasa, the War Years” (pp. 227-46), in Fletcher 1975, pp. 228, 233, 235, 239, and cf. xvi, xxvii; Dr. Tsewang Yeshe Pemba, “Tibetan Reminiscences,” *TR* (July 1977):23-4; Maj. Gen. Philip Neame, “Tibet and the 1936 Lhasa Mission,” *JRCAS* (Apr. 1939):237-8; Neame 1947, pp. 180-1; and Bernard 1939, pp. 96-7.

61. But not without some fear and trepidation. As Mary explained in her autobiography, when the women had initially begun to collect in front of the Potala on the 12th, “I was called there.” “We ladies of the committee [of the Women's Patriotic Association],” she confessed, “could not lead the Lhasa women because we were all too afraid of the Chinese; worry about the consequences of our actions for our husbands, children, fathers and brothers kept us bound. So this meeting was bravely led by Serong Kunsang—the eldest daughter of Tsarong's brother Kyenrab and the mother of six children—who was like a Tibetan Joan of Arc.... She instructed me to go to the Indian Consul-General to ask India to help Tibet—which I did....” Taring 1970, p. 226. The Women's Association, created in 1952, had as its Chairwoman the Dalai Lama's elder sister, Tsering Dolma. Its six Vice Chairwomen had been in 1955: General Chang Ching-wu's wife; Shashur Lhacham (or Lady Shashur); Lady Ragashar; Lady Ngabo; Lady Tsarong (Pema Dolkar), but because of poor health, she had been replaced with another Lady of nobility; and Mary La as the 6th, who also served as General Secretary. *Ibid.*, 184.

62. Nehru is quoted in Dutt 1977, p. 146; and the author of the quote regarding the undelivered manifesto is Zahiruddin Ahmad, *China and Tibet, 1708-1959; a Résumé of Facts* (Oxford, 1960), 29.

63. Taring 1970, pp. 226-7.

64. Quoted in Craig 1997, p. 216; see also p. 225 note 10.

65. Indeed, in the opinion of Anna Louise Strong, certain circles in India had apparently been privy very early on to specific knowledge about the Uprising before it had even broken out at Lhasa. She reports the appearance of an unusual article in one of the more prominent Indian newspapers, *The Statesman*. In the issue for the 2nd of Mar. 1959—a full week and more before the public declaration of Tibetan independence—this article gave “a detailed prediction of the coming rebellion.” It “even stated,” said Strong, “that the Dalai Lama would be taken out of Lhasa on March 17th, which actually, two weeks later, occurred!” Strong 1959, p. 104. Interestingly, however, a thorough search of this newspaper on microfilm for the months of February and March 1959 conducted by the present author turned up no such article.

66. Except where noted already, the sources for much of the information and all the quoted material relative to what happened between 9 Mar. and 17 Mar. 1959 both at Lhasa and in northern India are: Peissel 1972, pp. 124, 139-41; “Tibetan Women's Demonstration Against Chinese, 12 March 1959,” *TR* (Mar. 1984):14-16; Nowak 1984, p. 23; Patterson 1990, pp. 166-7, 172-3; and Shakabpa 1967, pp. 318-9, this latter being the source for all the developments which took place in the Tibetan enclaves of northern India.

67. Whatever the reason for Gen. Tan's order for this early shelling of the Summer Palace, “it was a fatal error, for, as Heinrich Harrer put it at the time, ‘within a few hours of those shells dropping, the prize the Chinese Commander was playing for—the God-King whose help he needed to quell the Tibetans—had slipped through his fingers.’” Barber 1970, p. 110.

68. See Shakya 1999, p. 201.

69. There has been some controversy as to who actually planned, organized and carried out the exit and flight from Lhasa: the Tibetans themselves or others—in particular, the American CIA. Though Chris Mullin in his 1975 journalistic account has some of the details of the Dalai Lama's dramatic escape to freedom correct, on the CIA's role in it he is misinformed. This, according to a much more recent recounting of the events surrounding the said CIA agents as reported by Jamyang Norbu, who had the opportunity to interview two of the participants: Phala himself, and one of the two Tibetan CIA agents. Writes Norbu:

The only agents the CIA had in Lhasa who attempted to make some kind of connection with the Dalai Lama and the Tibetan government were two Lithangwas, Atha and Lhotse, who had been parachuted near Samye some time before the outbreak of the revolt in Lhasa. Lhotse died a few years ago but Atha is still alive, in New Delhi. He told me that he and his partner secretly managed to see Phala..., who with Surkhang [Shape] was the leader of the nationalist faction in the Tibetan government, and sympathetic to the resistance. Atha gave Phala a message from the American government asking for an official request from the Tibetan government for American military aid. Phala told Atha that it was too late and that it would be impossible to trust the entire Cabinet or the Assembly with such a sensitive and potentially compromising message. Phala confirmed this story of his meeting with Atha in a conversation I had with him some years ago before his death. Phala planned and organized the Dalai Lama's escape using Atha and Lhotse with their radio transmitter to keep the Americans informed of developments in the escape plan, and later during the actual escape itself. (Norbu, "The Tibetan Resistance Movement," in Barnett & Akiner 1994, p. 195)

According to Mullin, incidentally, the Dalai Lama himself later did categorically deny "reports that he had air cover from the CIA during his escape" but confirmed that "he was in radio contact with the Americans." For Mullin's account and conclusions on this episode, see his article, "The CIA: Tibetan Conspiracy," *Far Eastern Economic Review* (5 Sept. 1975):30-34.

Others claiming the CIA's central role in the escape are: T.D. Allman, "On the CIA's Role in Tibet: Pawn to Check Peking," *The Guardian*, 31 Dec. 1973, who writes: "According to sources with first-hand knowledge, the Dalai Lama's departure was engineered by the CIA"; Tom Grunfeld, *The Making of Modern Tibet* (London, 1987), 150-1, who, quoting George Patterson as a source, claims that the CIA had been planning to abduct His Holiness out of Tibet well before the Lhasa Uprising; and Fletcher Prouty, *The Secret Team* (New York, 1973), who asserts that without the CIA's assistance the Dalai Lama would not have been able to have fled to India.

On the other side of the argument, besides Jamyang Norbu, the reader should consult Shakya 1999, pp. 200-207, who writes on p. 201 that "it is clear that the CIA was not involved in organizing the Dalai Lama's escape as alleged by the Chinese and some Western writers," and who asserts elsewhere that "there is no evidence to support [the] claims" made by Allman *et al.*—see *ibid.*, 494-5 note 67; Knaus 1999, *passim*; and Conboy and Morrison 2002, *passim*.

On a related matter, historian Shakya has also made it clear that "neither the CIA nor the *émigré* groups in Kalimpong accused by the Chinese of instigating the revolt were involved in organizing either the revolt or the Dalai Lama's flight from Lhasa." Shakya provides documentation that refutes the Chinese allegation. See Shakya 1999, pp. 201-2.

70. Barber 1970, pp. 109, 129.

71. One of the most celebrated journeys by Government leaders ever to be made in modern times and which riveted the world's attention for weeks. It is dramatically recounted by His Holiness in Dalai Lama XIV 1962, pp. 194-218, beginning with the clandestine exit from his summer residence, the Norbu Lingka, one night in mid-Mar. 1959, and ending weeks later with his announcement to the world at Tezpur, Northeast India, of his safe arrival when days before he had gone up and over the snowcapped mountainous Indo-Tibetan frontier pass just east of Bhutan. Incidentally, one of the reasons why his journey took so long and why his relatives and many friends in other nations (such as Tharchin at Kalimpong) were left to wonder for such a long time where he and his party were, was because, as the Dalai Lama himself explained in his book, "we tried to spare our ponies as much as we could all through our journey" by frequently leading them rather than riding them constantly, "not only because Tibetans always do, but especially because they had so far to go and there was so little fodder for them." *Ibid.*, 213.

72. Patterson 1990, p. 173.

73. Of his last act in the Norbu Lingka on that fateful night of Mar. 17th the 23-year-old Theocrat of Tibet writes: "A soldier's clothes and a fur cap had been left for me, and about half-past nine I took off my monk's habit and put them on. And then, in that unfamiliar dress, I went to my prayer room for the last time. I sat down on my usual throne and opened the book of Lord Buddha's teachings which lay before it, and I read to myself till I came to a passage in which Lord Buddha told a disciple to be of good courage. Then I closed the book and blessed the room, and turned down the lights. As I went out, my mind was drained of all emotion." Dalai Lama XIV 1962, p. 198. At the last moment before the beleaguered Dalai Lama slipped out the passageway towards the exit gate of the Palace, his Court Chamberlain Phala, who had made all arrangements meticulously for his departure, stood waiting for him on the steps, watching as Tibet's Young Theocrat stood in silence for a few

seconds, "the saddest sight, the most awful moment," Phala later recalled, "I have ever known in my life." Quoted in Barber 1990, p. 110.

74. Knaus 1999, p. 165.

75. For instance, Heinrich Harrer had entitled a photo-magazine article he wrote about the Dalai Lama's departure that fateful night as: "Flight in a Sandstorm: a Miraculous Escape," and in the article itself has declared that the escape from the Palace "had been possible at all only because of a blinding sandstorm so providentially timed that I found myself believing in a miraculous divine intervention." Moreover, in 1970 a book by Noel Barber declared that "it was at this moment [just before the Dalai Lama was to slip out of the Palace gate]...that something very close to a miracle occurred. Almost as though ordained by divine providence, one of the worst sandstorms Lhasa had ever known wrapped the City, the Vale and the Summer Palace in a swirling brown veil." After quoting Harrer about how such a sandstorm obliterates everything, Barber added in a footnote that this particular storm even obliterated "the Chinese searchlights that stabbed the sky from a dozen points." Barber 1970, pp. 119, 120n.

Others have disputed the miraculous element in his exit from the Palace, declaring that sandstorms have always been quite typical phenomena in Tibet, and more specifically in Lhasa itself. Yet these critics overlook the fact of the *intensity* and the *precise timing* of this particular sandstorm at the capital which coincided so perfectly with the intended moment of the Dalai Lama's departure from the precincts of Norbu Lingka that were under surveillance by the Chinese Red soldiers garrisoned in their various camp sites a mere 200 yards from the Palace walls. On the other hand, another critic who has disputed the element of miracle in the event (he observing with obvious disdain that the term "miraculous" to describe the exit from the Palace had later been employed "not by the Tibetans but by the sensation-loving Western press") is Michel Peissel. He has stated that the Dalai Lama had "nothing worse to fear than recognition by his own people" and not by the Chinese, whom he claimed remained "in their barracks" that eventful night "awaiting orders from Peking" rather than venturing out to face armed Khampas and other Tibetan citizens who "patrolled the streets of Lhasa and its environs." Peissel 1972, p. 134. (Though he does not indicate why, the Chinese were currently under orders to avoid any unnecessary contact with the Tibetans until new orders were received as to what the Chinese response should be to the turbulent events which had already engulfed the capital up to that moment. Indeed, as was indicated earlier in the Text, it would not be till three days later that the PLA would be ordered to recapture the Tibetan capital from demonstrators and resistance fighters.)

Yet Peissel misses two crucial points here: (a) that though the Chinese troops may have remained in their barracks (though that claim is still debatable), there must have been a *few* soldiers on patrol guarding the perimeters of the camp sites which surrounded the Norbu Lingka at no greater distance away than 200 yards; and hence, were there no sandstorm to obliterate the view which at night was daily made possible to them by their searchlights beaming from a dozen different vantage points in the Palace area, then these Chinese could easily have noticed the movements of people entering and exiting the Palace at various gate points; and (b) that to be recognized even by his own people might have proved fatal for His Holiness, simply because absolute secrecy even from the Tibetan populace and non-involved Khampa soldiers was imperative for a successful departure, since any excitement which might be ignited by devout Tibetans suddenly and unexpectedly recognizing their "god-king" outside the precincts of Norbu Lingka could easily have created a scene of pandemonium, word of which would immediately have gotten back to the several Chinese camps which ringed the whole Palace area. Then, too, there were spies among the friendly crowds outside the Palace who needed to be thwarted in their work. As Barber has pointed out elsewhere in his book, decoys were necessary—officials of importance known to be close to the Dalai Lama—who would remain behind for several days and show themselves to the crowds in order to both bluff the Chinese into believing the Dalai Lama was still inside the Palace, and to keep the secret from the crowds outside; "for if they discovered the truth, spies would pass the information to the Chinese in a matter of minutes." Barber 1970, p. 112. Consequently, it is not too much to say that the timing and intensity of a sandstorm to have so perfectly coincided with the departure proved of inestimable assistance to the plan of avoiding the possibility of recognition by both friend and foe alike.

Now it must be understood that these sandstorms are no small innocuous affairs, as Harrer, who has experienced them firsthand, can report:

These sandstorms in Lhasa obliterate everything. You must close your eyes to avoid being blinded. You close your lips tight shut, yet still the sand gets into your teeth. When you are caught in such a storm you must just wrap your mantle right around you, covering your face and head and wait for it to pass.

This is what the Chinese soldiers...must have done as the god-king moved invisibly through them dressed [in his disguise]...and enveloping his whole head except for his eyes in a thick wool stocking cap which Tibetans call *o-mo-su*. The noise of the swirling sand deadened his footsteps as he crept out of the south gate, accompanied only by three noblemen attendants. It had been agreed that the party should split up into small groups, reassembling only after they had crossed the river Kyi...

Once through the south gate the Dalai Lama and his three attendants walked through the storm to the dried-up bed of the tributary of the river Kyi which skirts the south side of the Norbu Lingka.

The Chinese were camped all around, but thanks to the sandstorm, not one spotted the god-king. He walked on and, boarding a public ferry, crossed the wide river Kyi with a score of ordinary passengers. Once across the river the Dalai Lama's party found horses waiting and were able to ride quickly away into the night. *Life* (4 May 1959):30-1.

Another witness to these ferocious sandstorms around Lhasa was Frenchwoman Alexandra David-Neel. This was in February of 1924. Disguised as a poor Tibetan peasant, she attempted successfully to enter the capital without being detected. And she attributes her success partly to a sandstorm that arose out of nowhere just as the ferry which had carried her across the Kyi Chu arrived on the Lhasa side of the river. Wrote Madame David-Neel later:

A miracle seemed to protect our entrance into Lhasa. No sooner had we landed than the air, till then so calm, became agitated. All of a sudden a furious storm arose, lifting clouds of dust high into the sky. I have seen the simoon in the Sahara, but was it worse than this? No doubt it was. Yet, that terrible, dry lashing rain of dust gave me the impression of being once more in the great desert. Indistinct forms passed us, men bent in two, hiding their faces in the laps of their dresses, or whatever piece of cloth they might happen to have with them.

Who could see us coming? Who could know us? An immense yellow curtain of whirling sand was spread before the Potala, blinding its guests, hiding from them Lhasa, the roads leading to it, and those who walked upon them. I interpreted it as a symbol promising me complete security... "The gods threw a veil over the eyes of his adversaries and they did not recognize him." So went an old Tibetan tale which I had heard long ago... *My Journey to Lhasa: the Personal Story of the Only White Woman Who Succeeded in Entering the Forbidden City* (New York, 1927), 256-7.

Without question, the sandstorm provided the perfect cover indeed, without which it would have been extremely problematical for the "god-king" of Tibet to have made his exit from the Norbu Lingka and to have walked the short but dangerous distance south of the capital to the Ramagan ferry crossing of the river Kyi. It would therefore be difficult not to agree to some extent with Harrer's conclusion of a "miraculous intervention"—however one might wish to define "miraculous"—and that without the sandstorm the clandestine departure from Lhasa would almost certainly not have been possible; even granting, as was true, the presence of the fiercely loyal Khampa soldiery in Lhasa who—as Harrer himself acknowledged—had been prepared, if need be, to form diversionary groups between the Norbu Lingka and the river to draw off the superior Chinese fire should the Chinese have discovered that the Dalai Lama had departed the Palace. *Life* (4 May 1959):31.

76. As recorded in John F. Ayedon, *An Interview with the Dalai Lama* (New York, 1980), 22.

77. Quoted in *Far Eastern Economic Review* (Hong Kong) (18 Mar. 1974):22; see also Barber 1970, p. 109: He had learned these terrible tidings from the capital by means of runners who in relays had brought to His Holiness a tragic eyewitness account written by the Dalai Lama's Private Secretary, Khenchun Tara. In fact wounded by the Chinese shelling, he had remained behind for several days once the shelling of the city had begun, before making his own escape. The Tibetan ruler was severely shaken by Tara's report, which went a long way in convincing him that no good purpose would be further served by his remaining on Tibetan soil. Goodman 1986, p. 309.

78. To round out the story of the May 1951 Treaty insofar as the Tibetan government-in-exile was concerned, it should be noted that the Dalai Lama, in a June 1959 press conference at Mussoorie, formally repudiated the 17-Point Agreement. Wrote His Holiness about this later: "I did that on my own initiative; but while I was at Mussoorie I had the chance, for the first time in my life, to meet experts on international law, and they confirmed that it was a proper thing to do." He was told that "if a treaty is violated by one of the parties to it, it can legally be repudiated by the other party, and then it is no longer in force." The Chinese, he continued, "had certainly violated" it, and "we were willing to prove it." Now that "I had repudiated the agreement," concluded His Holiness, "it had ceased to bind us, and our claim to sovereignty was the same as it had been before the agreement was signed." Dalai Lama XIV 1962, pp. 220, 221.

79. *Ibid.*, 211.

80. *Ibid.*, 211-2.

81. See Shakya 1999, pp. 205-6.

82. As recorded in Avedon, *Interview with the Dalai Lama*, 22. Yet the inability of the Nehru government to comprehend the Tibetan mind would be further accentuated less than two months later. During his now famous 20 June 1959 press conference at Mussoorie, the Dalai Lama was asked by one reporter whether Tibetans still recognized him as the Ruler of Tibet. He answered: "Wherever I am, accompanied by my Government, the Tibetan people recognize us as the Government of Tibet." This public statement of the Dalai Lama's received the same reaction from Nehru through his spokesman ten days later as had the earlier one by His Holiness made in private to the Indian Prime Minister: the Government of India, the spokesman declared, does not recognize any separate Government of Tibet and that there is no question of a Tibetan government under the Dalai Lama functioning in India. Moreover, according to Subimal Dutt, India's Foreign Office Secretary at the time, Nehru subsequently advised the Dalai Lama privately "to avoid embarrassing the government of India by further statements of this kind." Dutt 1977, p. 156. But as one authority on Tibet and Tibetans has pointed out, however, "there was no other answer that the Dalai Lama could honestly have given"; for, he added, "it is fundamental to all Tibetan thinking that a Dalai Lama, once discovered, cannot in any circumstance divest himself of his position as head of the religion and head of the state." Richardson 1962a, pp. 217-8. The source for the declaration by the Indian government spokesman is "Chronology of Events" in ICJ 1959, p. 10; but see again Dutt 1977, p. 156.

It should be noted by way of conclusion on this point that during an interview at Mussoorie two weeks later the Dalai Lama responded on 4 July as best he could to the Government spokesman of the Prime Minister by stating that he would do nothing or make any pronouncements which might embarrass the Indian government to which His Holiness was very grateful for having given him asylum. ICJ 1959, p. 10. Interestingly enough, a day or two later, Nehru himself stated to the press that India would not recognize any separate government of Tibet in exile under the Dalai Lama because such a step, he declared, would mean "breaking away entire relations" with China, which naturally India was not prepared for undertaking at this time. Quoted from the *Hindu Weekly Review*, 6 July 1959, in Sudershan Chowla, "Tibet: the Red Chinese Challenge to India," *Current History* (Mar. 1961): 174. Apropos of this is the fact that in his later memoirs (Dalai Lama XIV 1990, p. 194), the Tibetan leader could report that in 1965 India's then Prime Minister Shastri had been seriously thinking of recognizing the Dalai Lama's exile Government but had died before making a final decision on the matter. Which prompted Tibetan historian Tsering Shakya to observe that had India done so, "it would have been most likely that China would have broken off diplomatic relations." Shakya 1999, p. 500 note 82.

82a. See Dutt 1977, p. 152 and Dalai Lama XIV 1990, pp. 146-7.

83. All in this and the preceding longer paragraph per Goodman 1986, p. 309; Barber 1970, p. 152; and Peissel 1972, p. 148.

84. Knaus 1999, pp. 167-8; see also Shakya 1999, p. 200.

85. Dalai Lama XIV 1990, p. 221. The earlier quote regarding the Dalai Lama alive in a foreign nation is from a report datelined Hong Kong that appeared in the *Times of India* (Bombay), 28 Apr. 1959, and quoted in G.P. Hutheesing, ed., *Tibet Fights for Freedom* (Bombay, 1960), 176.

86. When the world had become sufficiently aware of the awful tragedy unfolding in Lhasa and of the Dalai Lama's exit from the Tibetan capital, over a hundred correspondents began to fly into India from Paris, London, New York, Africa and East Asia seeking what was already being heralded as "the story of the decade" and "one of the epic escape stories of history." They all naturally first headed for Kalimpong as the most likely place to commence their quest for news, where they converged on the Macdonald family's celebrated Himalayan Hotel. "Daddy" Macdonald had already taken to his bed out of concern for the Dalai Lama after hearing of his clandestine departure from Lhasa. "The press," wrote John Avedon in a touch of wry humor, "scoured the surrounding peaks with binoculars, accosted the town's most prominent Tibetan citizens, drove one hundred miles a day back and forth to Gangtok in search of leads, and, under increasing pressure from their editors to

provide front-page news on the whereabouts of the mysterious 'God-King,' began issuing fabricated reports over Kalimpong's antiquated morse-key telegraph." Competition for a news scoop was so intense and genuine news so limited, he added, "that much of the reporters' time was spent surreptitiously tailing one another for sources." Avedon 1984, p. 67.

87. The scene very rapidly and dramatically shifted to Assam, Avedon further explained, when news reached Kalimpong that the Dalai Lama had crossed into the North-East Frontier Agency of India. For the journalists could, by a mere glance at the map, deduce that he must eventually emerge at the small railroad terminus of Tezpur. Whereupon the newsmen hurriedly "decamped en masse" from Kalimpong, traveling first to Shillong and then to Tezpur itself. *Ibid.*

88. Dalai Lama XIV 1962, p. 218. Interestingly, the Dalai Lama felt compelled at Mussoorie to issue a further statement confirming that the Tezpur release had been authorized by him. See Dalai Lama XIV 1990, p. 146. Of further interest is the fact that Tsering Shakya could report that "a highly-placed source" had told the Tibetan historian that the original Tezpur statement had been "written by Nehru himself." Shakya 1999, p. 216.

89. An extremely excellent and quite scholarly sourcebook that documents and intelligently discusses much of the material on this point to be found in the paragraphs which follow in the present narrative is Chanakya Sen's exhaustive study of the period, Sen 1960, *passim*.

90. The full text of the NCNA communiqué is quoted in Sen 1960, pp. 133-40, of which the foregoing quotes appear on p. 135.

91. See "Long Day's Journey," *Time* (13 Apr. 1959):30.

92. This excerpt from the text of the CPI Secretariat's press release appeared in "Put Down the Rebellion in Tibet Thoroughly!" as quoted from *Renmin Ribao* (People's Daily) of 31 Mar. 1959 in *Peking Review* (17 Apr. 1959):7.

93. *Ibid.*

94. Quoted in Patterson 1964, p. 254.

95. Chang Lu, "The Rebirth of the Tibetan People Cannot Be Halted," *Hongqi* (No. 9, 1959), and quoted from *Concerning the Question of Tibet* (Peking: Foreign Language Press, 1959), 226.

96. In what can only be termed a humorous and quite colorful passage from an otherwise serious speech before the Lok Sabha on 2 Apr. 1959, Nehru, with most likely a twinkle in his eye, described at some length this spy nest:

Kalimpong, Sir, has been often described as a nest of spies, spies of innumerable nationalities, not one, spies from Asia, spies from Europe, spies from America, spies of Communists, spies of anti-Communists, red spies, white spies, blue spies, pink spies and so on. Once a knowledgeable person who knew something about this matter and was in Kalimpong actually said to me, though no doubt it was a figure of speech, that there were probably more spies in Kalimpong than the rest of the inhabitants put together. That is an exaggeration. But it has become in the last few years, especially in the last seven or eight years. As Kalimpong is more or less perched near the borders of India, and since the development in Tibet some years ago since a change took place there, it becomes of great interest to all kinds of people outside India, and many people have come here in various guises, sometimes as technical people, sometimes as bird watchers, sometimes as geologists, sometimes as journalists and sometimes with some other purpose, just to admire the natural scenery, and so they all seem to find an interest; the main object of their interest, whether it is bird watching or something else, was round about Kalimpong.

...there is no doubt that so far as Kalimpong is concerned there has been a great deal of espionage and counter - espionage and a complicated game of chess by various nationalities and various numbers of spies and counter-spies there. No doubt a person with the ability to write fiction of this kind will find Kalimpong an interesting place for some novel of that type. (Quoted in Sen 1960, pp. 175-6; the full text of the speech is quoted on pp. 172-83)

97. Quoted in Knaus 1999, p. 141 and in Shakya 1999, p. 158.

98. The full text of this 27 Apr. speech of Nehru's is quoted in Sen 1960, pp. 184-92, of which the foregoing quote regarding Kalimpong appears on p. 189. One who was very knowledgeable about the "goings-on" in the Himalayan hill town over the years since 1950, in some of which he himself was either directly or indirectly involved, was none other than that British ex-missionary and indefatigable commentator on things "Kalimpongian"—George Patterson. In one of his many books on the period, he wrote the following descriptive commentary on the two very quotable phrases of acknowledgment in Nehru's speech before the Lok Sabha: "While the term 'nest of spies' applied to Kalimpong by Mr. Nehru was an exaggeration, there was a considerable amount of intrigue going on from 1950 onwards. The Chinese, Kuomintang and Communists, intrigued; the Indians, Communists and non-Communists, intrigued; the Tibetans, priest, lay, Lhasa official and Khampa tribesman, Dalai versus Panchen faction, aristocratic families, feuded and intrigued; Americans, British and Russians intrigued. Some did it because the atmosphere of the town 'got' them, some because they were bored or dispossessed, some were amateurs who indulged for the 'kicks,' a few were skilled professionals, working skillfully and effectively outside the knowledge and publicity of town and press."

And as for Nehru's phrase, "a center of trouble," Patterson had this to say: "In spite of the military and security control of the Chinese on the Tibetan border, constant contact was easily maintained between Tibetans living in Kalimpong and their relatives and friends inside Tibet. Medical supplies, and even arms and ammunition were slipped through to the guerrillas by many channels; papers, propaganda pamphlets and correspondence were introduced into Lhasa, and throughout other towns and monasteries in Tibet, almost at will. Messengers disguised as muleteers and traders, crossed into India regularly, sometimes bypassing checkposts, at other times openly registering but using different names and occupations each time. It was no wonder the Chinese Communists developed a violent hatred for Kalimpong." Nevertheless, added Patterson one page later, "The Chinese allegation that Kalimpong was the 'center of revolt' was blown up out of all proportion and bore little relation to the true facts. Certainly, letters passed to and from Lhasa to individuals in Kalimpong, and supplies—mostly medical—were sent from Kalimpong to the rebels, but that apart, the Tibetans in Kalimpong contributed little to the revolt in Tibet." Patterson 1964, pp. 251-2, 253.

99. The charge was made by the Prime Minister on 20 Apr. *New York Times*, 21 Apr. 1959, p. 4.

100. Peissel 1972, pp. 155-6.

101. Quoted in Sen 1960, p. 420. The complete text of the Chinese diplomatic note can be found on pp. 419-23. Point Three in its entirety reads as follows:

3. There is openly published in Kalimpong the *Tibetan Mirror*, a reactionary newspaper hostile to the Chinese government and people. The Tibetan reactionaries and the organizations under their control also printed various reactionary leaflets and other propaganda material and smuggled them into Tibet. Such newspapers and propaganda material spread vicious rumours and slanders against the Chinese government, the Chinese Communist Party and the Chinese People's Liberation Army and fabricated all sorts of lies; moreover, [they] attempted to sow discord between the Han and the Tibetan nationalities of China, between the Chinese Central Government and the Tibetan local authorities as well as between the Dalai Lama and Panchen Lama. Some of the propaganda material even openly called on the Tibetan people to rise up against the Chinese government and advocated the separation of Tibet from China. [Various individuals formerly of high rank in Tibet but now in Kalimpong]...wrote to the Lamas of the three big monasteries in Tibet to entice them to participate in their subversive activities.

102. This five-point Chinese diplomatic note of 10 July 1958 intimated Chinese frustration and concern about more than Kalimpong being the command center of the revolt and Gergan Tharchin's anti-Chinese editorial stance. The note also aimed its barbs at the U.S. (and at Taiwan's Chiang Kai-shek, for that matter) for having intruded herself into the Tibetan situation and against China. In one of its five points the Chinese claimed that "the U.S. and Chiang Kai-shek clique" had been increasing its "collusion" with Tibetan "reactionaries" in Kalimpong and that this clique was "actively inciting and organizing a handful of reactionaries hidden in Tibet for an armed revolt there in order to attain the traitorous aim of separating the Tibet region from the People's Republic of China." *Ibid.*, 421-2.

Now for the longest time there had been those in and out of the American government, and those in India and elsewhere in Asia who denied these charges by the Chinese of an American involvement. But over the years since the time of these events, historians, researchers, journalists and others began bit by bit to unearth the truth or falsity of such charges, rumors and oblique reports until a rather full picture finally emerged as to what actually happened where and by whom; all of which plainly revealed the fact of American complicity, and that it was substantially more than merely rendering lip service to the Tibetan guerrillas but which involved the American Defense Department's provision of clandestine military assistance to the rebels inside Tibet. Moreover, it even involved the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) of the United States government that in 1958 commenced its own rebel training programs in the Colorado Rocky Mountains in the western part of the U.S. and, later, on one U.S. Trust Territory island in the South Pacific. For example, a total of some 170 Khampas from eastern Tibet received combat training at a remote Colorado base called Camp Hale between 1959 and 1962 and were then secretly sent back into Chinese-controlled Tibet. So clandestine was the Camp Hale training that many of the guerrilla recruits never realized they were in the U.S.! And when at one moment during 1961 there was the possibility of the *New York Times* leaking the story, the Defense Department pleaded with the newspaper to refrain from publishing it, the Department claiming, in its own words, that "it might raise tensions between Washington and Peking to a dangerous level." Indeed, even into the 1990s, so secret had some aspects of American involvement in the operation remained that Jamyang Norbu had noted in 1994 that the appropriate U.S. records were still "security-classified," Washington still regarding its support for the Tibetan resistance to be "a sensitive issue." Norbu, who had himself been a member of the Tibetan Guerrilla Force operating from Nepal till 1974, quoted U.S. Air Force Colonel Fletcher Prouty, who oversaw secret air missions for the Office of Special Operations, as observing in 1972 that Tibet is "buried in the lore of the CIA as one of those successes that is not talked about."

Now inasmuch as the CIA had become directly involved in supporting the Tibetan guerrillas as early as late 1956, one could logically conclude that this Agency's supply drops into Tibet and its training of Khampas did in fact play a part in the Tibetan Uprising of 10 March 1959 at Lhasa and in the general Revolt which followed immediately thereafter. But in the opinion of Jamyang Norbu, this is not at all to be construed as supporting the notion "prevalent at one time among journalists and academics sympathetic to China...that the Tibetan revolt was essentially a conspiracy of...the CIA" in concert with "the Tibetan church" and "the aristocracy"—a notion, some vestiges of which, he added, "still prevail today [writing in 1994]." Nor, he observed, can one accept the assertion made by one such journalist, Chris Mullin, that the CIA engineered the Dalai Lama's flight to India and even escorted him along the way. That, wrote Norbu recently, "seems to be mostly the result of creative journalistic imagination." (See end-note 69, earlier that supports Norbu's position on this latter issue.)

Though admittedly the CIA did play a role in the March 1959 Uprising and its long-term aftermath, even so, according to one writer on these events, American assistance was at times "reluctantly given, and in any case would never approach the level necessary to sustain a real drive for Tibetan independence." When, for instance, the first American arms drop to the rebels occurred near the end of 1958, it only came after repeated appeals had been made by the guerrillas. And when, in response to the CIA decision to shift the headquarters for the training and guerrilla operations to near Jomosom in the remote Mustang area of Northwest Nepal some 2000 Khampas relocated there in early 1961 expecting concomitant American aid, these rebel soldiers were near starvation by the time the aid finally did reach there in *late* 1961! This was most likely due, however, to the fact that news of the CIA operation had leaked, causing hundreds of Tibetans to join the resistance in Mustang. "With its cover blown," noted Andrew Balestracci, "the CIA halted its aid for six months." Following what must have been an arduous winter, assistance to the Tibetans came from a new source, India, following on the heels of her humiliating defeat in the 1962 Indo-Chinese border war; for New Delhi now had decided to coordinate her activities with the Americans and also the British. "Under CIA sponsorship," reports Balestracci, "India created the Special Frontier Force, made up entirely of Tibetans, and code-named 'Establishment 22,' to guard her northern borders. Under it came a new force called the Tensung Dangling Magar, or the National Volunteer Force Army (NVDA), under the leadership of Gyalo Dhondup, the brother of the Dalai Lama."

By the early 1970s, though, all U.S. assistance ceased once it became apparent to the Americans that Tibet no longer served as a useful Cold War front in the West's containment of Chinese Communism. Moreover, with the normalizing of relations between Washington and Beijing, the CIA's aid to the NVDA soon ended; and Chinese threats of military action caused the Nepali government to close down the NVDA bases along the frontier that in the mid-1960s had boasted over 6000 trained Tibetan guerrillas from all parts of Tibet. Although some military confrontations did occur between the rebels and the Royal Nepal Army when it marched up the Kali Gandaki gorge, full-scale fighting was prevented by the Dharamsala exile government. This was because its emissary flew up to Jomosom's STOL airfield armed with a 20-minute taped message from the

Dalai Lama that requested the Tibetans to disarm peacefully. "The rebels were anguished to hear the message," writes Balestracci, "but they complied." Riven by internal strife and bereft of military and financial support from the U.S., Indian and Nepali governments and of moral support from even their own exile government, many of the Tibetan rebels, having occupied the northern areas of Nepal for some 15 years, began settling down in the Nepali mountains, sharing religious and cultural ties with the local inhabitants.

For a good and well-documented summary of this entire affair, the reader should consult Norman C. Hall, "The U.S., Tibet and China," *TR* (Jan. 1978):13-21. A briefer but still noteworthy, detailed and much more recently published summary can be found in Balestracci's article, "'Four Rivers, Six Ranges,'" *Himal* (Mar./Apr. 1991):14-15. A short but very significant more recent critique of the CIA's involvement is part of J. Norbu's article, "The Tibetan Resistance Movement," in Barnett and Akiner 1994, pp. 186-96. It was on these three articles that the above note was largely based, including the quoted material from the Defense Department, from the Balestracci article, from Norbu, and the other quotations found in the preceding four paragraphs of this note.

Other sources to which the reader should go for additional information are the following: (a) Chris Mullin, "The CIA: Tibetan Conspiracy," *Far Eastern Economic Review* (5 Sept. 1975):30-4—despite what Norbu has called misleading assumptions, this is a thorough treatment of the subject, bringing nearly all facets of the affair together into one composite whole, though it should be noted that unlike his pro-Tibetan stance later (1990s), in 1975, Mullin, a British freelance journalist and "spy-thriller" novelist whose specialty has been Tibet, was "more than a little biased towards the Chinese" (so writes Robert Ford and Tsering Wangyal in a July 1991 *Tibetan Review* book review of his latest "thriller," *The Year of the Fire Monkey*); (b) Peissel 1972, pp. 75-81 and Smith Jr 1996, pp. 506-510; (c) *Pentagon Papers* (Gravel Edition), II:648-9; (d) two newspaper articles cited and/or quoted from by J. Norbu: Jeff Long, "Going after Wangdu: the Search for a Tibetan Guerrilla Leads to Colorado's Secret CIA Camp," *Rocky Mountain Magazine*, July/Aug. 1981 and Fletcher L. Prouty, "Colorado to Koko Nor: the Amazing True Story of the CIA's Secret War vs. Red China," *Denver Post*, 6 Feb. 1972; and (e) again cited by Norbu, some references can be found in Victor Marchetti and John D. Marks, *The CIA and the Cult of Intelligence* (New York, 1980). Also, two of the latest full-length volumes worth consulting on America, the CIA, and the Tibetan struggle against the Chinese Communists are Knaus 1999 and Conboy and Morrison 2002.

See also Goodman 1986, p. 327, where the author, in an interview with His Holiness at Dharamsala in the early 1980s, elicited from the Dalai Lama an acknowledgment that there *was* American assistance rendered to the Tibetans but that His Holiness again denied that the Americans initiated the rebellion of 1959: "The rebellion of our people against the Chinese was inevitable. The CIA was pursuing a global policy against Communist China, while we were opposing Communist Chinese aggression in our country; our basic aims did not clash, so we accepted it." Jamyang Norbu goes even further in setting the record straight on the limited extent of American involvement. In his article cited above (pp. 189, 195), Norbu asserts, on the basis of substantial documentation, that "popular resistance in eastern and northeastern Tibet began long before any American involvement," and that it was only after "tumultuous and far-ranging events...and...successes [achieved by the East Tibetan guerrillas in both East and Central Tibet], reports of which reached the ears of the American government in due course, that the United States actually sent assistance to the resistance forces in Tibet," it not reaching them till 1958. "By all accounts," adds Norbu, "during the crucial period of the resistance in eastern Tibet and during its greatest successes [there and elsewhere], no American arms or assistance of any kind were received by any resistance group."

103. Quoted in Sen 1960, p. 180.

104. *Ibid.*, 425. The full text of the Indian Note of Response is quoted on pp. 422-25.

105. Tharchin 1963, p. 3.

106. In fact, at Beijing in 1954 Chinese Premier Chou En-lai had separately told both Nehru and India's Ambassador K.M. Panikkar that the granting of asylum to the Dalai Lama would not be considered by China as an "unfriendly act." He had also told Nehru at this same time that if India had granted asylum to the Dalai Lama back in 1950 when His Holiness had almost sought it, China would have deemed it as accepted international protocol so long as the Dalai Lama would not have been allowed to engage in political and other activities considered inimical to Beijing. See Shakya 1999, pp. 213, 496 notes 2 & 3.

107. Except for the lengthy quoted passage from Knaus, all of which is from Knaus 1999, pp. 169-71, the various comments by Sen Gupta and all quoted material, whether his or others, appearing in this and the preceding six paragraphs of Text, can be consulted in Sen Gupta 1988, pp. 119, 308, 312, 308, 310, 119, 119-20, 120, 345 note 41, 120-21. Also, the J. Narayan quote is per Patterson 1990, p. 178.

108. Nehru had already carefully considered in advance the question of political asylum for the Dalai Lama, were he to request it. Subimal Dutt has provided some insight into Nehru's thinking on the subject; for he was very close to the Prime Minister inasmuch as at this time Dutt was Foreign Secretary of India's Foreign Office where Nehru was himself serving as Foreign Minister as well as being Prime Minister of India. Writes Dutt of Nehru: "A senior colleague of his, one in whom he had great confidence, did not like the fuss that was being made in India about conditions in Tibet and about the Dalai Lama, but Nehru strongly reacted against any suggestion that political asylum should be refused. It was the inherent right of a sovereign nation, he said, to give asylum to a political refugee so long as the refugee did not indulge in any political activities. He recalled Chou En-lai's statement to him in Peking in Oct. 1956. Nehru had then referred to the presence in Peking of the Nepalese political leader, K. I. Singh, who had found asylum there, and mentioned to the Chinese Premier that the Nepal government were feeling concerned. Chou En-lai replied that it was the accepted international norm to give asylum to a political refugee but Singh would not be permitted to indulge in political activities. The Government of India would impose the same condition on the Dalai Lama but there could be no question of denying him political asylum in India." Dutt 1977, p. 150.

109. Norbu 1961, p. 262.

110. Indeed, just the year before this publication, when in July 1989 he was in New York one day to receive the Human Rights Award from the U.S. Congress's Human Rights Caucus, the Dalai Lama had indicated, as reported in a nationally televised news broadcast that night, that "he still considers himself a refugee even today." Per the "NBC Nightly News," 21 July 1989.

111. It has been estimated that only about 4000 Tibetans had slipped over the border into India in the years between 1950 and early 1959. They "had quickly moved, a few at a time, into the Indian countryside around Darjeeling and Kalimpong..." Oden Meeker, "Tibetans Out in the World," *New Yorker* (12 Dec. 1959):163. George Woodcock, President of the Tibetan Refugee Aid Society, Vancouver, Canada, has given a remarkable profile of these Tibetans who exited their homeland during the decade of the 1950s and described what happened to them afterwards:

At first these expatriates tended to be relatively well-to-do people who foresaw that their possessions might soon be threatened. A number of noblemen and their families made their way—with their portable property—to Calcutta, where some of them still live, and some of the wealthier Lhasa merchants transferred the scene of their business activities to the Darjeeling-Kalimpong region. In numbers these exiles who came between 1951 and 1959 were very few, and since they did not require assistance they passed almost unnoticed in the polyglot and poly-cultural society of West Bengal, which contains many native-born people of Tibetan race....

It was after the Dalai Lama's flight from Lhasa in March 1959...that large numbers of Tibetans of all classes began to cross the mountainous frontiers not only into India, but also into the smaller Himalayan states of Nepal, Sikkim and Bhutan. "Tibetan Refugees in a Decade of Exile," *Pacific Affairs* (Fall 1970):410.

112. A vividly dramatic and quite stirring account of the escape from Lhasa of one of the Dalai Lama's countrymen, that of Mary La, the wife of Gergan Tharchin's former Gyantse pupil Jigme Taring, is recounted in her autobiography (see Taring 1970, pp. 233-45). As for Jigme himself, both he and Mary La had become separated during the awful throes of the Lhasan Uprising; and as a consequence, both had to find their way to safety on their own. Wrote Mary concerning Jigme's escape: he "had followed His Holiness's route to India; at the border [he and his party] were met by Indian officers who were much surprised by Jigme's fluent Hindi and English. His Holiness had left a special request that if Jigme...arrived [he] should be allowed to travel at once by train to Mussoorie. Jigme said [to Mary when they were finally reunited] that when he again met His Holiness he could not help shedding tears." *Ibid.*, 265.

113. Concerning the huge influx of refugees into India by the end of 1963, Michel Peissel writes that it "is an incredible figure when one...knows all the means employed by the Chinese to stop this mass migration; for the Chinese did not hesitate to fire on the refugees. They also declared all over Tibet that 'flight to India would be futile' because they controlled Kalimpong and could catch up with the refugees 'as far as Siliguri on the Bengal plain.'" Peissel 1972, p. 169. This exodus from Tibet in 1959 the Dalai Lama has described in the following terms:

After I left my country, about 60,000 Tibetans followed me into exile, in spite of the difficulty of finding a way of crossing the Himalayas and avoiding the Chinese guards. They did not come from any single class: they are really representative of our people. Among them are lamas of outstanding fame in our country, erudite scholars, about five thousand monks, some government officials, merchants and soldiers, and a great majority of humble peasants, nomads, and artisans. Many of them escaped by routes which were far more difficult than mine. Some managed to bring their families; some children died of the hardships of the crossing of the mountains; but a great many men among them were separated from their families during the fighting, and have the added grief of knowing that their wives and children are abandoned to the Chinese. Dalai Lama XIV 1962, p. 225.

His Holiness updated these statistics later in an interview he gave to freelance writer-photographer Fred Ward during the Grand Lama's first U.S. visit in Sept. 1979. "The Chinese themselves," said the Dalai Lama, "admit to killing 87,000 Tibetans [in their crushing the March 1959 revolt]. We estimate that starvation, labor camps, and later Cultural Revolution oppression raised that to 200,000 deaths. But 90,000 got out, and most live near me in northern India." Quoted in Ward, "In Long-Forbidden Tibet," *NG* (Feb. 1980):228. And when it was announced on 5 Oct. 1989 that His Holiness would receive the Nobel Prize for Peace, his advisers that same day at Newport Beach CA in the U.S. (where the Dalai Lama was himself attending a conference on world harmony) issued a statement, in his name, which declared that "over a million" Tibetans had "perished" during the 40-year period since the Chinese invasion of Tibet. *Washington Post*, 6 Oct. 1989, p. C2.

114. Ingram 1990, p. 38.

115. Quoted in Art Perry, *The Tibetans: Photographs* (New York, 1999), 23.

116. Figures given by Goodman 1986, p. 323; cf. also the Dalai Lama's figures in Dalai Lama XIV 1990, pp. 182, 190; and cf. the statement made by Ingram in the SBA Report of 1990 referenced in an earlier end-note to the effect that "about 100,000 Tibetan refugees are settled all over the world, mostly in India" (p. 38).

117. G. Tharchin and David Woodward, "Tibet," in Tharchin and Woodward 1975, pp. 655, 643, 644.

118. A brief survey of these social, humanitarian and evangelistic efforts among the Tibetan refugees is recited by Tharchin and Woodward, in *ibid.*, 643-6. For a fascinating in-depth update as of early 1978 on how the Tibetans in Darjeeling, Kalimpong and Gangtok—both exile and pre-exile Tibetans there (who numbered some 10,000)—had fared in their ongoing adjustment to the Indian Himalayan region that is predominantly Nepalese in language, the reader can consult Tsering Wangyal's Special Report article, "Tibetans in Kalimpong, Darjeeling and Gangtok," *TR* (Apr. 1978):11-14. And for a much lengthier and general overview of many efforts to assist the refugees in their exile existence on the Subcontinent as a whole and elsewhere in the world since the late 1950s up through 1995, the reader can consult the book by the Dalai Lama's sister, Jetsun Pema, *Tibet. My Story: an Autobiography* (Shaftesbury UK/Rockport MA USA/Melbourne, 1997).

119. Tharchin and Woodward 1975, p. 645.

120. See GTUM TwMs, Ch. 25, p. 1 (also designated as p. 151).

121. All information and quoted material regarding the Tarings in this paragraph are per Avedon 1984, p. 96. Encomiums would be showered upon the Tarings when after 15 years of service to the Tibetan community in the field of education, they would step down from their posts of responsibility. An article recognizing the retirement of Mary Taring as Secretary of the Tibetan Homes Foundation at Mussoorie appeared in early 1975 in the *Tibetan Review*. Ever since the Foundation's inception, she had served as its Secretary, and she had

resigned from the post on grounds of health. The article went on to applaud the faithfulness of both Tarings in the following candid fashion: "Mr. and Mrs. Taring have been faithful aristocrats who have stood by the Tibetan people through thick and thin. Many others of their social class have not been so faithful, for as soon as the Tibetan government lost its power and money, they left one after the other for one reason or the other. Not so Mr. and Mrs. Taring....They deserve the Tibetan people's respect and affection." See "A Faithful Aristocrat Retires," *TR* (Feb.-Mar. 1975):10. Jigme had continued as Principal of the Central School for Tibetans at Mussoorie (formerly called the Mussoorie Tibetan Refugee School) till 1968, after which, appointed Education Minister in the exile Tibetan government and serving till 1975, and now retired, he and Mary La would live at Rajpur where he occupied himself with gardening and collecting flowers from all over the world. See "Obituary: Jigme Taring," *TR* (July 1991):9-10. From its beginning in 1960 he had served as the school's very first Principal. He could therefore rightly be called, as indeed he was, the Father of the institution. See "Taring Father Retires," *ibid.* (Jan.-Feb. 1976):12.

122. J. Taring to Tharchin, Mussoorie, 1 July 1966, ThPaK.

123. See two notes above regarding his principalship of the School from its inception. Having received his early education at a Gyantse monastery and in Gergan Tharchin's school there, Prince Taring would next attend Graham's Homes School in Kalimpong for three years and complete his education at St. Paul's School in Darjeeling. See "Obituary: Jigme Taring," *TR* (July 1991):9. Later, by virtue of his position as Director of the Council for Tibetan Education (one of the five administrative departments of the Tibetan government and in which position he served until 1975), Jigme Taring became (a) one of the five ex-officio members of the Kashag of the subsequent more fully-formed government-in-exile, and (b) an important member of the Tibetan National Working Committee that in concert with the Dalai Lama was "the ultimate decision-making body dealing with matters in which the Kashag cannot take a decision." See Anon. 1969, pp. iii-v, 231, and 225 for date of inception of the Mussoorie Tibetan School.

124. Per P.O.S. 1938, p. 39.

125. All of the information and quoted material in this and the preceding two paragraphs can be found in Anon. 1969, p. 248.

126. Dalai Lama XIV 1962, p. 226.

127. Mrs. Welthy (Honsinger) Fisher. *To Light a Candle* (New York, 1962), 276. Mrs. Fisher's unusual given name was a variation of the adjective "wealthy" that had been bestowed upon her at her birth in upstate New York in Sept. 1879. Her late husband, Frederick Bohn Fisher (1882-1938), had in the 1920s become the youngest American ever to be ordained a Bishop in the United Methodist Church, and had subsequently been appointed to India as Bishop of Calcutta by his own request. There the Fishers would give themselves completely to the Indianization of the Church, Bishop Fisher gladly being replaced, upon his resignation in 1930, by an Indian Churchman. While on the Subcontinent together during all of the 1920s both Fishers became extremely close friends to that unique triumvirate of friends, M. Gandhi, R. Tagore and C.F. Andrews (all of whom are mentioned often elsewhere in the present narrative). Mrs. Fisher also became a friend of Jawaharlal Nehru. Said Mrs. Fisher about this triumvirate: "It was our privilege in India to know three men for whom no other adjective except *great* will serve." *Ibid.*, 201 (emphasis hers). And of her husband she wrote: "It seemed to me natural that all three of these men should choose my Bohn for friend, knowing that he who was a doer had also a strong streak of poetry and mysticism in his nature and the courage to battle for his beliefs." *Ibid.*, 202. Additional information in this note has been derived from *Current Biography Yearbook 1969* (New York, 1970), 146-7. Bishop Fisher, incidentally, wrote a book about his friend Gandhi that was given the provocative title by its publisher in 1932 as *That Strange Little Brown Man*. According to Mrs. Fisher, the volume was banned in India by the British but was nonetheless smuggled through to Gandhi while he was in jail. See Norman Cousins, ed., *Profiles of Gandhi: America Remembers a World Leader* (1969; 2d ed., Delhi: Indian Book Co., 1970), 20. After their return to the U.S. in 1930 and Bishop Fisher's untimely death in 1938, Mrs. Fisher made several more trips to Asia, including India; and even though she had turned 80 in 1960, she was very active working for the needs of children and other refugees, and was even honored on her 80th birthday by

children of the United Nations. For more on the Fishers, and their unusual encounter with Tsarong Shape and Mary La, see next two notes below.

128. This training of Tibetans was actually a part of a greater work that had been established by Mrs. Fisher. As stated in the preceding note, after her husband's death she made several more trips to India and elsewhere in Asia. One of these had occurred in 1947, when she met Gandhi for the last time just a few weeks before his assassination. In her autobiography she was to write: "We spoke tenderly of the beloved wife he had lost and of Fred Fisher, whom he had loved. As we parted he took my hands and said, 'When you come back to live in India, go to the villages and help them. India *is* the village.'" (emphasis Gandhi's) This parting benediction by the Great Soul of India was to exert a strong influence on Mrs. Fisher upon her return to India once again in late 1951. For by Feb. 1953, still feeling "young and vigorous" at even the age of 72, she entered upon a new life of service and founded Literacy Village—first at Allahabad, then at Lucknow, a project which became a pilot institution for adult education in both India and elsewhere in the world. For between 1953 and 1968, Mrs. Fisher (who had long before learned to speak and read Hindi fluently), along with her staff, had trained some ten thousand Indians who, following their training, had gone to live in villages where they were paid a small stipend that they might pass on to others what they had learned. This program was based on the principle known as "each one teach one" that had been developed by another noted educator and missionary, Dr. Frank C. Laubach, founder of the Moral Rearmament movement. According to the estimate of the Indian government, teachers from Literacy Village had by 1968 taught more than two million new literates in India alone!

Of her continuing work at Literacy Village and her attempts to keep the memory of Gandhi alive, Mrs. Fisher was to write in the spring of 1968 at age 88: "I have only just returned from India...Our School of Writing at Literacy House (which trains professionals to write in a style for new literates) has written eight or nine small pamphlets about Gandhi...as we often find that the young people in the villages know very little about him. He is only a vague name to them, and those who can read have difficulty reading what is available. We are also preparing puppet dramas and will take them into many villages to let them know in more dramatic fashion...about their great emancipator."

Mrs. Fisher was the recipient in 1964, from the Philippine government, of the \$10,000 Ramon Magsaysay Award for International Understanding (the Asian equivalent of Europe's Nobel Peace Prize), which she used to establish the Young Farmers Institute as an extension of Literacy Village. Inaugurated in 1966 on a 120-acre tract of land, this institute instructs Indians in the latest agricultural techniques. In the meantime, Mrs. Fisher continued to divide her time between Literacy Village and the U.S., where she often lectured, raised funds, and directed World Education, Inc. (headquartered in New York City), the chief sponsor of her literacy project. She was also the recipient of the first Nehru Literacy Award of the Indian Adult Education Association in 1968.

Among the traits Mrs. Fisher had at one time listed as having been endowed with from childhood was "good health," which was borne out quite demonstrably, since at the time of her death she had reached the incredibly senior age of 101! She would die in Dec. 1980 at Southbury CT USA. "Energy for life," she once remarked, "comes from a cause that is outside yourself."

All quoted material and information have been derived from *To Light a Candle*, 28 and *Current Biography Yearbook 1969*, 146-8. See also an obituary of her in the *New York Times*, 18 Sept. 1969, p. 49; and see as well *Who's Who of American Women, 1970-71*.

129. It may be recalled from Ch. 2 of the present biography that during early 1925 Mrs. Fisher and her husband had had an extended interview in Calcutta with Tharchin's future friends Tsarong Shape and Mary La when these two Tibetans were on pilgrimage together in India. Some of Tsarong's most interesting statements made during this interview were quoted at length in Ch. 2.

Now it so happened that in Feb. 1960 Mrs. Fisher was to meet Mary La for a second time at Lucknow while working on behalf of Tibetan refugee children and particularly their educational needs; see again *To Light a Candle*. But in her own autobiography Mary has given additional details of her second and more extended encounter with Mrs. Fisher and provided information as well on what happened immediately afterwards. She writes:

He [the 14th Dalai Lama at Mussoorie] asked me to help Jigme organize the [Happy Valley, Mussoorie] school, and when [upon my arrival at Mussoorie from Kalimpong in late Jan. 1960] I went to the *Kashag* office for instructions, I was told that after three days I must go to Lucknow for a Teacher Training Course, with four other Tibetans. In Lucknow we met Dr. Welthy Fisher, the American lady missionary who was organizing the course. She said she had met Tibetans before.

in Calcutta in 1925, and their names were Commander-in-Chief Tsarong and Princess Mary of Tibet....I told her I was "Princess Mary"...During the month we spent in Lucknow we compiled a textbook to teach Tibetan to young Tibetan adults by the latest methods....The school [for adults—50 young men aged 18 to 25] was inaugurated by His Holiness [at Happy Valley] on 3 March 1960....A year later the [50] young men dispersed,...replaced by boys and girls, and now [1970] there are about 600 students at Mussoorie. (Taring 1970, pp. 266-7)

130. The information with respect to the decisions of the meeting and the follow-up activities of the *ad hoc* groups in subsequent years can be found in Anon. 1969, p. 249.

131. Stoddard 1985, p. 162; see also p. 385 for the month and year of the interview: Jan. 1975.

132. Anon. 1969, p. 249.

133. Dalai Lama XIV 1962, p. 226.

134. J. Taring to Tharchin, Mussoorie, 1 July 1966, ThPaK. See also letter, Tenzin Chhonyi (the Dalai Lama's Private Secretary) to Tharchin, Dharamsala, 10 June 1965, ThPaK.

135. Hicks and Chogyam 1984, p. 135.

136. Interview with Lhawang La, Nov. 1992.

137. Takla to Tharchin, New Delhi, 21 July 1966; both this letter and that of the Principal's are part of the ThPaK.

138. M.R.W. Baxter to Tharchin, Mussoorie, 7 June 1965, ThPaK.

139. Dalai Lama XIV 1962, p. 227. For a thorough history of the nursery, see the book published by the Dalai Lama's sister, Jetsun Pema, and cited earlier above: *Tibet: My Story, an Autobiography, passim*.

140. The friend was Margaret Urban, a European-born, Canadian-reared missionary who had visited the Tharchins in their Kalimpong home for two weeks during the spring of 1964, and who reported these sentiments of the Tharchins in her book, Urban 1967, p. 29.

141. See the next chapter for more on these stalwart Christian servants.

142. All quoted material in this paragraph is from Woodward 1975, p. 120. Tharchin's more serious involvement did in fact take place in Kalimpong when Rev. Phuntsog and Tharchin had the opportunity of working together further on this revision. See the following chapter for more on this.

143. Moraes 1960, pp. 220, 222-3.

144. Interview with Tharchin by Dawa Norbu, as reported in Norbu 1975, p. 19.

145. All information and quoted dialogue in this paragraph relative to the 1960 Mussoorie audience with the Dalai Lama, together with the quoted material from Tharchin's end-of-life "memoirs," can be found in GTUM TwMs, Ch. 21, p. 5. The phrase, "the year 1957 in Kalimpong," is correct in the Text of the present narrative, but incorrectly shown in the "memoirs" as "the year 1954 in Kalimpong."

146. For a summary of Nee's interpretation of these unusual phenomena, see section II of Ch. 10 of the present narrative's first volume.

147. Sources consulted or quoted for this discussion of the alternative interpretation of the Dalai Lama's remark to Tharchin are: O'Connor, *Things Mortal* (London, 1940), 79-80; O'Connor, "The New Dalai Lama," *Listener* (7 Mar. 1940):459; O'Connor, "With Younghusband to Tibet," *ibid.* (9 Dec. 1936):1104; O'Connor, "Tibet in the Modern World," *Geographical Magazine* (Dec. 1937):108; Gould, "The Discovery of the Fourteenth Dalai Lama," *ibid.* (Oct. 1946):255; Thomas Jr 1959, p. 45; "Boy God in Lhasa, The Dalai Lama's Return," *Times* (London), 4 Nov. 1939, p. 7 (describing events at Rigya on 6 Oct. and at Lhasa on 8 Oct. 1939); Richardson, "Typed draft for approval. *Times*," in Richardson 1998, pp. 675-6, esp. p. 676; Richardson, "Typed draft for approval. Associated Press of India," in Richardson 1998, pp. 672-3, esp. p. 673; Richardson, "Tibetan Lamas in Western Eyes," *Bulletin of Tibetology* (1988, no. 1):21-33, but esp. 30, 32-3; Taring 1970, p. 138; Goodman 1986, pp. 61-2; and Nee, *The Latent Power of the Soul* (New York: Christian Fellowship Publishers, Inc., 1972), *passim*. That the special correspondent who wrote the 4 Nov. 1939 *Times* article was indeed Hugh Richardson has been confirmed by this very article having been listed as his in a published definitive bibliography of Richardson's which appeared in Aris and A.S.S. Kyi 1980, xii-xv. But the *Times* article has likewise been definitely ascribed to Richardson in Richardson 1998, pp. 676-8, where the article's full text has been included.

148. Tharchin had reference here to what happened at the Norbu Lingka summer residence of the Dalai Lama (into which he had only just moved for the summer season from the Potala on 5 March) a mere 48 hours after he had secretly slipped out of the Summer Palace the night of 17 Mar. 1959 and gone on to complete his escape to safety in India. Prior to this, thousands of his loyal Tibetan subjects had surrounded the Palace in an attempt to protect His Holiness from potential Chinese harm. George Patterson and Michel Peissel report that on the day after the departure of His Holiness (18 Mar., but Noel Barber says the 19th), the Chinese began to suspect he might have left the Norbu Lingka to hide out elsewhere in the capital. In an attempt to locate him, the Chinese General Tan Kuan-sen (Chang Ching-wu was away in Beijing at the time) dispatched a message to the Bhutanese, Nepalese and Indian consulates, requesting permission to search their premises, the Chinese perhaps suspecting, writes Patterson, that one of these consulates had "kidnapped" him and was keeping him on its premises. "When permission [to search] was refused," writes Peissel, "the infuriated Chinese commander ordered the consuls to vacate their compounds on the pretext of possible damage. This they declined to do, quite rightly understanding it to mean that the Chinese were now planning to bombard the summer palace." Peissel 1972, p. 138; Patterson 1960, p. 174; Barber 1970, p. 129.

According to a firsthand account given His Holiness later and recorded in his autobiography, the Chinese, now believing the Grand Lama was still holed up in the Jewel Park Palace (as did even the Tibetans surrounding the Palace), began an artillery shelling of it at 2 a.m. Mar. 20th. They continued to shell it throughout the day and even turned their artillery on Lhasa itself, the Potala, the Jo-khang Temple, and the neighboring monasteries—including Sera three miles north of the city.

The total death toll in Lhasa was never precisely known, but in the eyewitness account, which had been prepared for His Holiness by the latter's Private Secretary Tara, who had remained behind (and which was delivered to the Dalai Lama by postal runners while he was still journeying towards the Indian border and freedom), stated that "thousands of bodies could be seen inside and outside Norbu Lingka." By the end of the first day, when the Palace "was a deserted smoking ruin full of dead," the Chinese entered its precincts. Not finding His Holiness alive or dead inside, the enemy that evening "were seen...going from corpse to corpse, examining the dead faces, especially of the monks." The Chinese, reported His Holiness in 1973, even resorted to "washing the faces of the bald-headed monks...to find out if I was among the killed." But during the night the report came back to the nearby Chinese military camp that the Dalai Lama "had disappeared." Whereupon, enraged, they continued to shell the city and the monasteries without mercy. Heinrich Harrer has rationalized that it was the Tibetan resistance "which prevented the Chinese from guessing the truth" of the Dalai Lama's earlier departure. Harrer 1985, p. 24.

It might be added that in the view of His Holiness, the only possible explanation for why the Chinese ruined the Norbu Lingka and devastated the rest of the capital was because "the ordinary people" of Tibet "had finally, eight years after the invasion began, convinced the Chinese that they would never willingly accept their alien rule. So the Chinese were trying now to terrify them, by merciless slaughter, into accepting this rule against their will." Dalai Lama 1962, pp. 206-7; A.J. Singh, "Interview: Dalai Lama on Lhasa Uprising," *TR* (Apr. 1973):8—with correction notice in (May-June 1973):17 giving credit to Singh and indicating that the interview had originally appeared in the (Chandigarh) *Tribune*; and Barber 1970, pp. 185-6, 197 (re: postal runners).

Actually, one of the reasons why the Chinese had clung so long to the belief that the Dalai Lama was still inside the Garden Jewel Palace was because of the continuing known presence there of Tharchin's former student at Gyantse, Jigme Taring. He was the personal photographer to His Holiness, having, among many memorable events of the 1950s at Lhasa, taken detailed photos of the Dalai Lama's final examinations held at the three great monasteries there in 1958. And in 1959, Dzasa Taring (who received that rank the year before) would occupy himself much of the time during the tense days at the Palace in taking photographs and motion pictures of the crowd. As one writer has noted, "His tall figure was well known, as was his closeness to the Kundun [the Dalai Lama]..." As part of a planned ruse to deceive the Chinese and others, "his presence at the Norbulinka would convince many that the Kundun also remained." Hyde-Chambers 1985, p. 603; see also "Obituary: Jigme Taring," *TR* (July 1991):9-10. Yet another writer on these events has claimed that the departure had been so secret that Jigme, living at the Palace in the very next room to the second in command of the Dalai Lama's bodyguard—a minor noble named Sekshing, who had been privy to the exit plan and had been instructed to cover the departure for as long as possible, "did not know for three days that the Dalai Lama had gone." Patterson 1960, pp. 172-3; see also Barber 1970, p. 112.

As to the toll of dead in Lhasa during the Uprising, Peissel writes: "Although to this day [1972] detailed figures have never been issued about the number of victims of the street fighting and artillery duels, this figure [of 5000] is now generally accepted as a compromise between the ridiculous Chinese claim that not one civilian was killed and the more exaggerated reports of stunned survivors who claimed that over 20,000 people had died in the streets." Peissel 1972, p. 147.

149. The quoted and unquoted material herein presented in this paragraph forms a composite of information Tharchin gave twice, combining as it does into one paragraph what he related when having his "memoirs" prepared (see GTUM TwMs, Ch. 21, p. 2) and also what he said to Dawa Norbu in an interview he gave to the latter as recorded in Norbu 1975, p. 19.

150. Quoted in A.J. Appasamy, *Sundar Singh, a Biography*, 1st Indian ed. (Madras, 1966), 127-8. This trinitarian conception of god for Tibetan Buddhists has been no better expressed than by Dalai Lama XIV's eldest brother, Thubten Jigme Norbu, in his classic volume on Tibetan religious culture and history entitled simply *Tibet*:

...the core of Tibetan Buddhism is represented by the Three Precious Ones: Sanggye, Cho, Gedun (the Buddha, the Dharma and the Sangha); the Buddha who is ever here to lead us to enlightenment, his Word (as given to us in the scriptures), and the brotherhood of his monks. This is our three-fold refuge, symbolized in all our public and private worship by the images, the scriptures always housed around and above the images, and the congregation. This is where we all, monk or layman, find the inner security that has for so long been a part of normal Tibetan life.

There is a fourth refuge, the lama. The lama is simply a teacher, yet to every disciple his lama is the most important living being, for his mind, speech and body correspond to the Sanggye, Cho and Gedun. It is under a lama that one learns the process of concentration and then meditation, leading to Sanggye Sa [Nirvana—the end of suffering]. (Norbu and Turnbull 1968, pp. 306-7)

151. Interview in late 1975 with Dawa Norbu, as reported in Norbu 1975, p. 19.

152. Harrer 1956, p. 238. One of the reported abilities of certain Tibetan Lamas—especially among the Tulkus or incarnate Lamas—is to create at distances of varying lengths "phantom bodies" of themselves in terms of appearance, and even personal habits such as walking, sitting, etc. Although Harrer himself was a skeptic when it came to such powers of the soul, that was not the case with Watchman Nee (Nee To-sheng), one of the outstanding evangelical Christian leaders in China during the 20th century. He was one who readily acknowledged such powers of the soul as the Dalai Lama had described to Harrer, as well as the power to project "phantom bodies." Once again, the reader is directed to consult section II of Ch. 10 earlier for information on Nee and the volume he wrote in 1932 on this fascinating subject from an evangelical Christian perspective.

153. Quoted in Thomas Jr 1961, p. 51.

154. A detailed recounting of the Tibetan Bible translation history is presented in the next chapter.

155. Told about in *BW* (Nov.-Dec. 1952):96. The Bible's fly-leaf inscription had been chosen before her death by Miss Mildred Cable, former China Inland Mission missionary in China and the indefatigable Messenger on World Travels for many years for the Society. The gift of this Tibetan Bible had been made possible by a special contribution from a lady in Crowborough, England.

156. The Dalai Lama had reference here to the Tulkus or incarnate Lamas and Revered Teachers of Tibetan Buddhism, of whom, it has been said, there are over a thousand recognized and who bear the title of Rimpoche ("Precious One"). A Tulku, in Tibetan Buddhism, is understood to be an emanation body—that is to say, one who is recognized by Tibetans as being a human vehicle for the spiritual influence either (a) of a saint who had previously lived on earth or (b) of an aspect of the divine or deity. Most likely, the Dalai Lama had in mind here the second sense. See Hyde-Chambers 1985, p. 64 with pp. 18, 19 of Glossary of Terms. With respect to the first sense—that of (a) above—Chogyam Trungpa has an informative passage that is part of a brief but excellent discussion of "this oft misunderstood aspect of Tibetan spirituality." He writes: "In some instances a man of advanced spiritual development, but short of final liberation, dies before accomplishing a certain task and returns to complete it. Another kind of incarnation is known as a 'Tulku of benediction': when a certain well beloved Lama dies, his disciples will ask another Lama who has been closely associated with the deceased (the latter, as often as not, will be the presiding Lama of their school) to locate his spirit; as a result of this, the Lama, though he does not return in person, confers his blessing upon the one who is to carry on his teaching: the person thus designated for the task will then reincarnate the departed Master in the sense of perpetuating his spiritual influence. Multiple incarnations...most frequently occur in fives, of which one in particular will embody the visible presence of the departed Lama, another his powers of speech, and yet another his powers of thought: again, one will represent his activities and another his qualities." Trungpa 1966, pp. 254-5. Tulkus have been incorrectly described in Western parlance as "Living Buddhas," early European visitors to China having adopted this nomenclature that was in fact derived from "confused Confucian literati." Nirmal C. Sinha, "India and Tibet: Historical Considerations," *Bulletin of Tibetology* (8 Feb. 1978):15.

157. The source for the words spoken between the 14th Dalai Lama and Rev. Tharchin during the latter's audience with His Holiness at which the Tibetan pastor presented the third Bible is Maberly 1971, pp. 140-42. Although Tharchin is nowhere identified by name in the volume, it can with great certainty be concluded—on the basis of a comparison between internal and external evidence—that Gergan Tharchin is the person in mind whom Maberly alludes to as having had such a conversation with His Holiness at Mussoorie. No one else then living in Kalimpong, the sole place where the book's author acknowledges having gathered the source materials for writing this particular part of the volume, could fit the scenario Maberly briefly lays out as to what transpired in far-off Mussoorie privately between an unnamed Christian and the Dalai Lama with respect to the Bible and Jesus. (See the very next paragraph in the Text of the present narrative for additional information regarding this book by Maberly.)

158. *Ibid.*, 142.

159. The two sources for the account of this personal presentation to the Dalai Lama by Rev. Phuntsog must be read together and compared: (a) *MQ* (Apr. 1972):3, and (b) *ibid.* (Oct. 1973):6. The (b) source, in referring to the (a) source, incorrectly stated that the presentation had occurred in 1972, but (a) was correct in showing it to be 20 July 1971 and not 1972 since the reporting of the events of 1971 by Rev. Phuntsog himself had only just appeared in the Apr. 1972 issue of the *Quarterly* and hence the presentation could never conceivably have taken place in 1972. Most likely (b) asserted it to be 1972 because it was referring its readers back to the earlier (a) issue of the periodical which had appeared in 1972. The importance of citing (b) as a source for this event stems from the fact that it substantiates that Rev. Phuntsog *personally* presented the New Testament copy to His Holiness, a significant detail to the story which was not made clear in (a). Finally, the act of respect for the New Testament Scriptures shown by His Holiness and his words which accompanied it were shared by Rev. Phuntsog, immediately following the presentation, with Rev. Stephen Hishey, who reported the same to the author during a conversation the latter had with Hishey at the Tharchin home in Kalimpong on 16 March 1992.

160. Tharchin and Woodward 1975, p. 653. Cf. this source with another, but *unpublished*, earlier writing of the Babu's, Tharchin Late 1966, p. 3, wherein can be found the exact same comment by the Indo-Tibetan Christian.

161. Dalai Lama XIV 1962, p. 219. The exile government is still there at this writing. In fact, by the beginning of 1988 there were some 7000 Tibetan exiles living in Dharamsala, where they “have given the place an atmosphere of stability.” Nevertheless, say the exiled Tibetan leaders, “the Chinese should not be misled by the appearance of semi-permanent arrangements.” Tibetans, they warned, “won’t remain in India forever.” Per article, “Dalai Lama’s 5-Point Plan,” in *Indian Express* (Vijayawada), 11 Jan. 1988, p. 14. That was in 1988. By 1996, though, there were 10,000 Tibetans living in Dharamsala, whose presence has, unfortunately, engendered bitterness among the Indians there who resent the prosperity of these Tibetans, dominating, as the latter do, the local commerce of the community. Many of the Tibetan exiles at Dharamsala, on the other hand, have not in the least disguised their conviction that they have prospered there, while many Indians have remained poor, simply because Tibetans, say they, are more diligent. By 1996 also, many in the Dalai Lama’s entourage had become skeptical about leaving India and returning to Tibet, they believing, reports one *New York Times* correspondent on assignment at Dharamsala, that “China has the power to hold onto Tibet indefinitely.” Yet even among those at Dharamsala around the Dalai Lama who believe that Chinese authoritarianism has begun to crack, there are some who fear that the long period here and elsewhere in India “will have fatally corrupted the Tibetans, addicting them to materialistic values they say were foreign to the old Tibet.” One of these concerned Tibetans close to His Holiness, the latter’s younger, former monk-brother, has wondered aloud whether his countrymen would be prepared to return to Tibet anyway, even should the way be opened to do so. Invoking the admonition of Mahatma Gandhi, Tenzin Choegyal, who left his Buddhist orders and eventually became a Dharamsala businessman, has warned Tibetans everywhere as follows: “We should heed the words of Gandhi, when he appealed to Indians to prepare themselves for independence. He said, ‘Be worthy of the day.’ We have to ask ourselves, will we be worthy when our day comes?” See John F. Burns, “Where the Dalai Lama Muses, the Sinful Intrudes,” *Times*, 21 Mar. 1996, p. A4.

162. The source for this quote and for the departure date to Dharamsala is Dalai Lama XIV 1990, pp. 161, 159.

163. See Goodman 1986, p. 323 and Dalai Lama XIV 1962, p. 170.

164. For more on these 1990 developments, see both Dixit, and, Dixit and Tseten, in Dixit and Tseten 1991, pp. 5-10 and pp. 11-12, respectively. And for detailed information regarding further developments towards the fuller democratization of the Exile government as a consequence of the changes implemented in 1991, 1992 and 1995, and which are still in place today, see Helen R. Boyd, *The Future of Tibet: the Government-in-Exile Meets the Challenge of Democratization* (New York/Washington DC/Bern, 2004), 25-30.

164a. All information and quoted material comprising this paragraph are per Smith 1996, pp. 632-3.

165. See Patterson 1964, pp. 250, 254-5.

166. It would not be till 30 July 1990 that such restrictions imposed on foreigners would finally be withdrawn—by the Union Home Ministry of India’s central government—from Kalimpong, Darjeeling and Kurseong in Darjeeling District, and from four other districts in northern West Bengal that had had similar restrictions imposed upon them in times past. Per *The Telegraph* (Calcutta), 31 July 1990.

167. Per “Tharchin Passes Away,” *TR* (Apr. 1976):13.

168. The reader is referred back to Ch. 12 of the present narrative for further information on this primer authored by Tharchin in 1917.

168a. *Pioneer in Tibet: the Life and Perils of Dr. Albert Shelton* (New York, 2004), 241.

169. See the following letters, all a part of the ThPaK, as sources for this discussion regarding the *Tibetan Bible Concordance*: Mrs. A.L. Shelton to Tharchin, [Dallas TX USA], 29 July [1951—from internal evidence]; Tharchin to Mrs. Still, Kalimpong, 14 July and 9 Dec. 1964.

170. Grimes, “Indian Border City Tries to Help Tibetan Refugees,” *New York Times*, 2 Jan. 1960, p. 3.

171. Woodcock, “Tibetan Refugees in a Decade of Exile,” *Pacific Affairs* (Fall 1970):415. This article, found on pages 410-20, provides an excellent overview of what happened to the Tibetan refugees in India—with considerable space devoted to Darjeeling and Kalimpong—during this critical decade after the Chinese had

crushed the 1959 Uprising in Tibet. See also Nowak 1984, *passim*.

172. First of two interviews in late 1992 with the Venerable, at Kalimpong's Tharpa Chholing Gompa, this one held on 21 Nov. 1992.

173. Quoted in Urban 1967, p. 8. Urban visited the Tharchin home at Kalimpong for two weeks in 1964.

174. So reported Pandey Hishey to the author in an interview, Dec. 1992.

175. Again, the Woodcock article, in *Pacific Affairs* (Fall 1970):419. During the decade of the 1960s about 6800 refugees had been resettled from the Darjeeling-Kalimpong area to South and Central India, enabling those who remained to fend fairly well for themselves as just now indicated. But at all places to which these refugees were resettled, noted Woodcock, they "went through a difficult process of adjustment to the hot climates and low altitudes, while they were unfamiliar with local farming methods and with the kind of special difficulties they soon encountered..." *Ibid.*, 417; again, see Nowak 1984, *passim*; see also the pertinent chapters in Dalai Lama XIV 1990.

As early as 1960, reported Woodcock, a first plan for resettlement of such large numbers of refugees who had collected in and around the towns of the Himalayan foothills of West Bengal, Uttar Pradesh and Himachal Pradesh had actually been made by India's central government and the governments of the several Indian states involved. For different reasons these various governments had grown increasingly concerned about these Tibetan refugees, "who, naturally enough," Woodcock observed, "were reluctant to leave the setting of the mountains and the neighborhood of their own country." "The central government," he noted, "was alarmed by the danger to security posed by the presence near the frontier of large concentrations of Tibetans among whom it was thought Chinese spies might take on protective coloring. The state governments were concerned about the adverse effect large numbers of Tibetan mendicants might have on the economies of hill towns like Darjeeling, Mussoorie and Simla which lived largely by their appeal as summer vacation spots. They were also aware of the scarcity of unused lands in the foothills on which to resettle the refugees." *Ibid.*, 416.

176. The Rimpoche's remarks are per interview with Nini (Mrs. S.G.) Tharchin, Dec. 1994, who herself was present at this function; interview with Mr. Jorga, Dec. 1992; and interview with Rev. Rapgey, Dec. 1992.

177. Maberly 1971, p. 142.

178. See Radhu 1997, p. 230 and Carlson et al. 1988, pp. 59-61.

179. It should be noted that the structure now known as the "Central School for Tibetans" and managed by the Delhi Board of Education was at one time the Nanduram Wool Godown owned and operated by Shri Ram Nanduram, one of the wealthier Marwari merchants of Kalimpong. It is located at Topkhana not far from the Tharchin homesite. Its transformation from a storage warehouse into a school for Tibetan refugee children occurred sometime after 1959. According to one of this School's former principals, Lhawang La, the *first* school for Tibetan refugees in Kalimpong had actually been located in another converted wool godown, this one having belonged to Sandutsang, a Khampa merchant from Tibet who had settled in the hill station well before the Chinese began to take over the Snowy Land.

In an interview with the present writer at Darjeeling in 1992, Lhawang La indicated that the refugee school which met at Sandutsang's converted warehouse had only been a day school and had existed only between late 1959 and 1965, after which the Nanduram Godown became the new and permanent venue for the Tibetan refugee school under Lhawang La's longtime principalship thereafter. Unlike the earlier school, Lhawang La's became a residential institution sanctioned by the Indian government because there were many Tibetan children arriving in Kalimpong from other Tibetan refugee centers that had been established throughout India. And thus the Government felt moved, under the circumstances, to provide all necessities, including shelter, for the children. Interview with Lhawang La, Nov. 1992. Nevertheless, there would come a time—at least by the year 1975—when this School would revert back to being once again the Central Tibetan *Day* School. The two godowns in question here, incidentally, were both situated in Topkhana a mere half mile from each other.

180. Christianson, "Reminiscence," in Carlson et al. 1988, pp. 104, 103.

181. Maberly 1971, p. 142.

182. *Ibid.*, 142-3.

Chapter 28

GTUM TwMs, Ch. 26, pp. 1-3; quotes: 1, 2; Ch. 28, p. 2.

1. Nowak 1984, p. 25.
2. Richardson 1998, p. 392.
3. See Goodman 1986, pp. 76, 137.
4. Kimura 1990, p. 113.
5. The Thirteenth Dalai Lama was more fortunate than some of his predecessors, due to his greater awareness and sophistication for one of his age. He later "is reported to have said that he survived only because he was cunning enough to realize what was in store for him, and also had a very faithful servant who safeguarded him until he was 18. Then it was the Regent who died mysteriously, and the Dalai Lama seized the reins of power and, being a strong and remarkable character, ruled until his natural death..." Neame 1947, p. 160.
6. Tibetans themselves were never particularly dismayed by such a development. Bell explains it thus: "They believe that the Dalai Lama need not die until he wants to." Although the four Lamas who immediately preceded the Thirteenth all died young—"a fact which the white foreigners not unreasonably attribute to poison"—the Tibetans "do not admit this point of view, for they will say that the poison would not have killed any of them, unless they had wished to pass on to the Honorable Field." Bell 1946, pp. 188-9.
7. Quoted in Goodman 1986, p. 138. Interestingly, one Tibetan historian, Tsering Shakya, has noted that Dalai Lamas have not lasted long in periods of relative peace, but that in times of crisis—as have occurred during the reigns of the Great Thirteenth and the current Fourteenth—they have lived longer; and this is perhaps because the job, as it were, has appeared less inviting to others. See Mirsky 1991, p. 16.
8. Michael Goodman is one writer, however, who has placed little credence in the assertion by others like Bell that the Ambans might have had a hand in some of these puzzling deaths. In his biography of the current Dalai Lama, Goodman writes: "It has been theorized that the Manchu Ambans were the likely culprits and carried out the nefarious deeds because a regent was easier to control than a Dalai Lama, but available evidence suggests otherwise.... The behavior of at least one regent was so ruthless that the accession of a Dalai Lama would likely have been welcomed by them with great relief. It is probable that the regents themselves, highly ambitious and lusting for power, were responsible for a series of unnaturally early deaths that could not have been entirely coincidental." Goodman 1986, p. 84. Nevertheless, nearly all recent historians and scholars are now in agreement that there was indeed foul play perpetrated upon some of the Dalai Lamas during their minority or just at or shortly after reaching their majority.
9. Richardson 1998, p. 393.
10. This untimely death of the Tenth in 1838 had, according to William W. Rockhill, been generally thought in Lhasa to have been hastened, if not his murder instigated, by the Regent, who thus hoped to ensure his own rule over Tibet during the minority of the Tenth's successor that must surely follow. Because of strong accusations jointly made to the Emperor in 1843 by the Kashag and the Panchen Lama concerning the alleged subsequent misconduct in office by the Regent, the Manchu government in Peking sent a new Amban to Lhasa with orders to investigate the matter and promptly deal with the Regent if charges against him proved to be true. Included in these charges was one indicating the Regent had had a hand in the premature death of His Holiness. All misconduct charges against the Regent were proved to be accurate; and furthermore, Rockhill noted, his "probable complicity...in the death of the Dalai Lama in 1838 was fairly well established, his ambitious schemes disclosed." Rockhill then went on to mention that much later a Memorial addressed to the

Emperor in 1877 and published in the *Peking Gazette* of 7 Sept. of that year had made reference to "a wound in the neck" of the Tenth Dalai Lama and to "the strong suspicion entertained by the Amban and the Panchen Lama" during the investigation of the Regent that the latter "had very likely been guilty" in the death of His Holiness "of something more than simple inactivity." The Memorial had not declared, observed Rockhill, that the Dalai Lama had died of this wound; "perhaps he did not," concluded Rockhill, and that "he only succumbed to another attempt against his life." Nevertheless, another Memorial, this one from the Lhasa Amban in 1877, and published two years later in the *Peking Gazette*, confirmed all the facts as stated by Rockhill in his discussion of the death of the Tenth Dalai Lama. As a result of the investigation jointly made by the Kashag, Panchen Lama and Amban, the deposed Regent was degraded, stripped of all his honors, and banished to a distant Chinese province for the remainder of his life. Rockhill, "The Dalai Lamas of Lhasa and Their Relations with the Manchu Emperors of China, 1644-1908," in *T'oung Pao...* (Leyden, Holland), 2d Series, Vol. 11 (1910):66-8. Rockhill, sometime American representative to Peking at the turn of the 20th century, had also become a highly respected scholar on Chinese Imperial history, with an emphasis on relations with Tibet. See also Shakabpa 1967, p. 180 on the deposition of the Regent, who was replaced in 1844 by the Panchen Lama as the appointed administrator of Lhasa during the period necessary for selecting a new Regent. This took place in the spring of 1845, at which Yeshe Gyamtsho Reting of the Reting Monastery was appointed the next Regent, the same one who would serve during the minority of Dalai Lama XI.

11. Other than the Rockhill source (see previous note), the other sources used for the discussion found in this and the preceding four paragraphs dealing with "Lhasan palace politics" were: Burman, "The Regents of Tibet," *TR* (May 1977):24, and cf. with Melvyn Goldstein, "An Anthropological Study of the Tibetan Political System." Ph.D. dissertation, Univ. of Seattle, 1968, p. 166, and referenced in Nowak 1984, p. 17; Bell 1924, p. 41; Luciano Petech, "The Dalai-Lamas and Regents of Tibet; a Chronological Study," in *T'oung Pao...* (Leyden, Holland), 2d Series, Vol. 47 (1959):375, 389; Bell's observation on Dalai Lama XIII's adult rule is per Thomas, Jr. 1951, p. 146; and additional pages in Shakabpa 1967, pp. 176, 181.

12. One supposed facet to this death event at Lhasa, first reported in 1922 but far from verified up to the present day, was that all the prominent Tibetan officials "were summoned to Peking for an inquiry." See Arthur Ward (Moravian Bishop), "Monthly Notes," *PA* (Dec. 1922):90. Ward was the one two years earlier at Leh in Ladakh who had ordained into the Christian ministry Lama Gergan Sodnam Wangyal's son Joseph (Yoseb), and he therefore had come to know Joseph rather intimately during his lengthy field visit in Indian Tibet that year. Citing Joseph as his informant, Ward, as it were, became the root source for this and a few other facets to the story (e.g., that the Dalai Lama had been poisoned, that the two Lamas under discussion here were blood brothers, etc.) which have either been denied by later scholarship or else remain unsubstantiated. It was from this one source that others since 1922 had picked up the story and, unfortunately, had then published further elaborations upon it in not an altogether accurate manner.

Now although Rockhill (see earlier note) definitely believed that the Tenth Dalai Lama, as well as the Ninth, had been murdered, he has expressed a contrary opinion about the Eleventh Dalai Lama's demise in the following terms: "Although it has been said that he, like his two immediate predecessors on the pontifical throne, was put to death, there seems little or no ground for this opinion." As evidence of this, Rockhill went on to point out that the Regent of that time, who had been so ever since the removal from office in 1843 of the previously banished Regent, "remained in charge of the affairs of state after the death of the Dalai Lama, and appears to have continued to enjoy, not only the favor of the Chinese government, but the confidence of the people of Tibet." Rockhill, the work already cited, in *T'oung Pao...* 69. Another much later Western historian on Tibet, Luciano Petech, has also discounted the idea of any foul play having befallen the Tibetan ruler. See Petech, the work already cited, in *ibid.* Moreover, a Tibetan historian, Shakabpa, already mentioned, apparently came to the same conclusion, if his silence on the matter when mentioning the death of the Eleventh Dalai Lama can be considered as meaning that the Tibetan ruler died of natural causes. See Shakabpa 1967, p. 181. Finally, it should be noted that contrary in part to the view of Rockhill, David Snellgrove and Hugh Richardson, in their cultural history of Tibet, are of the opinion that although "there is good reason to believe that the Tenth Dalai Lama was assassinated, with the connivance of the then Regent," they doubt that the Eleventh as well as the Ninth Dalai Lamas were murdered. These co-authors observed that though Western writers have indeed expressed suspicions with regard to the early deaths of these two and the Twelfth, such suspicions have "not been supported by anything in Tibetan or Chinese records or by Tibetan oral tradition." Snellgrove and Richardson 1968, p. 225.

13. The stated high position of Lama Gergan's father noted in the Text here comes from an Anglican minister and missionary traveler Henry Lansdell in his book of travels. Dr. Lansdell had arrived at Leh on 19 Nov. 1888, had immediately met with Br. Redslob (who had recently established a new Moravian station here) and ex-Lama Gergan himself, who having met Redslob for the first time briefly in 1880 at Leh had now become the Moravian's *munshi* (language teacher). Rev. Lansdell was hoping to gain permission (which was later denied him) to go to Lhasa on a quasi-missionary journey for the purpose of distributing Christian literature, and had already been in correspondence with Br. Redslob about the matter prior to the Anglican's arrival at Leh. On page 373 of his book, Lansdell writes: "...Mr. Redslob expressed his willingness to accompany me [to Lhasa] in the following spring as interpreter; and upon his asking, by way of a feeler, Gergan, his *munshi* (a son of the former Treasurer to the Dalai Lama), whether he would accompany him as servant and guide, via Darjeeling, the man consented, though somewhat afraid of the heat of the Indian plains." Lansdell 1893. This passage thus reveals that Redslob had learned about the rank and position of Gergan's father directly from ex-Lama Gergan himself. Otherwise, Lansdell could not have written here what he did.

That the position of Treasurer could indeed be characterized as very high can definitely be asserted when one understands that in the Tibetan government, aside from the office of Dalai Lama, the highest administrative office below the Tibetan God-King's Council of Ministers or Cabinet (called, it will be remembered, the *Kashag*, whose three, four or five members held the title of Shape) was the *Tsekhang* or Finance Department, which was composed of three or four Finance Ministers or Secretaries (all laymen) each of whose title was *Tsipon*. See Goodman 1986, p. 82; Petech 1973, p. 10; and P.O.S. 1938, p. 3. And hence, the father of Sodnam Wangyal was one of three or four Tsipons whose responsibility and authority was second only to that of the Shapes.

13a. Bray 1994, p. 69; Pierre Vittoz, "The Church of Ladak," *MQ* (Oct. 1954):3-4; Sinkler 1953, p. 41; and Ray 1960, p. 3.

14. Driver 1954, p. 45. Arriving on the mission field in Ladakh in 1933, Rev. Driver would get to know Joseph Gergan during the missionary's first two years at Leh, as well as through his frequent visits to Leh from Khalatse thereafter, and also as a result of his relocation from Khalatse back to Leh once again during the final years of Joseph's life, 1944-46. Most likely, therefore, he learned much about Lama Gergan through his son Joseph.

15. Most likely the Lhasa monastery in question was Ganden, for several reasons: (a) Zodpa's inmate population figure of 3000 matches up fairly closely in number to the stated original Ganden enrollment often quoted in the literature on Tibet: 3300. See Vol. II, Ch. 20, pp. 368-9 and 533-4 of the present narrative for a discussion on the top three great monasteries at Lhasa: the monastic triumvirate of Drepung, Sera and Ganden that is frequently referred to as "The Three Seats" and which wielded a highly "potent priestly force in the Tibetan government." (b) When later in life Lama Zodpa had relocated himself to the Poo mission station of the Moravians, and having initially made the acquaintance of the missionaries there in July 1871, he subsequently learned and then reported to them about a monkish armed revolt having broken out in his own Lhasa monastery earlier that same year. The Italian Tibetologist Luciano Petech has documented this very uprising, which had erupted at Ganden in April 1871. And (c) Lama Zodpa had also related to the missionaries the fact that "during a previous disturbance" at his monastery he had "himself engaged in the strife, and received a wound, from which he recovered without any permanent injury." Once again Petech's research has documented what appears to have been this earlier uprising mentioned by the Lama, it having happened in the beginning of Zodpa's third year at Ganden. For Petech records the fact that in early 1862 a "conflict" broke out between the Regent Reting of that day and "the leading monks" of Ganden and Drepung "over a matter of alms to the Colleges" of Drepung, with the monks subsequently having "armed themselves with the guns and ammunition found in the Potala" that eventuated into "a small-scale civil war" which "broke out in the town." For Lama Zodpa Gyaltsan's information, see Moravian missionary Pagell's letter, Poo, Nov. 1871, *PA* (June 1872):256; and for the results of Petech's research, see his monograph, "The Dalai-Lamas and Regents of Tibet" in *T'oung Pao* 47 (1959):391-2, 390.

16. Quoting Moravian missionary F. Redslob in letter, Kyelang, 27 Mar. 1874, *PA* (Sept. 1874):159. Br. Redslob had been "assured" of this fact by a Lhasan Lama, by name Puntsog, "who knew him [Nathanael] in former days" (*ibid.*), he having "lived...for some time in the same lamasery [at Lhasa] as Nathanael." Redslob,

letter, Kyelang, 6 Dec. 1873, *ibid.* (Mar. 1874):76. Lama Puntsog had come to Kyelang professing a desire to become a Christian and at the same time re-acquainting himself with Zodpa Gyaltsan, who by this time was living with the Moravians at the Kyelang station. *Ibid.*

Moravian historian Hermann G. Schneider has provided a thumbnail sketch of the mind and character of Zodpa as he stepped forth into the world following his lamasery studies: "Of a clear, keen understanding, of extensive culture, of deep and earnest thought, he was far superior to the mass of his fellow students in knowledge and mental capacity. In character he combined the habitual self-restraint of a lama with the excitable nature and hasty temper of a son of the soil. Cautious as a merchant, suspicious as a Chinese official, he had yet a certain frankness, which scorned to give a false reason instead of the true one." Schneider 1891?, p. 85.

17. Even today the majority of the people in Ladakh as a whole is still Buddhist, though not by much since the Moslem faith is not that far behind in numbers of adherents, the latter—mostly Shias—having only begun to settle in the Nubra and Indus Valley towards the end of the 16th century. (See the N.T. Shakspo source cited in the next note below for further details on the influx of the Moslems into Ladakh.) The more current geographical location of these two faiths and their respective ethnic or racial identifications have been delineated by Jack Finegan: "As for the present people of Ladakh, they are regarded in terms of anthropometry as a mixed race, partly Dardic (Indo-European from Dardistan, i.e., the region around Gilgit) and partly Tibetan; in terms of religious statistics they are 45% Moslem (largely in the western regions), and 54% Buddhist (in the area of Leh 69% Buddhist)." Finegan 1986, p. 185. From this it can be seen that the Nubra Valley, which is situated to the north of Leh, and Leh itself—both of which are located in the eastern regions of Ladakh—are still predominantly Tibetan in race and Buddhist in faith.

18. Nawang Tsering Shakspo, "Historical Perspectives of Nubra in Ladakh," in Icke-Schwalbe & Meier (eds.) 1990, pp. 100-101, 104.

19. So stated Rev. Hermann Kunick, at one time a close Moravian missionary colleague of Joseph Gergan at Leh Ladakh. See Kunick 1946, p. 39.

20. This, according to Moravian missionary Frederick Redslob, who toured much of Ladakh for many years. In his report, "Journey...in Ladakh and Nubra in June and July 1880," he wrote that "the lamas...throughout Nubra belong to the *yellow* [Gelugpa] class, and enjoy a reputation of superior holiness and temperance." *PA* (June 1881):28. See also N.T. Shakspo's article, previously cited, pp. 100-106. The same impression is left to the reader from this work regarding the Gelugpa dominance of Nubra. See pp. 101, 104. It should be mentioned, however, that in Ladakh as a whole at that time, and probably still so, the "Yellow Hats" were "in a great minority." Per Dr. Arthur Neve (1858-1919) at Kashmir (CMS) Medical Mission, Srinagar, in his book *Thirty Years in Kashmir* (London, 1913), 68. Even so, John Bray has correctly pointed out that the Gelugpas are still "quite a significant minority," especially when one considers their Ladakhi monasteries of Rizong and Spituk. Email, Bray to the author, 27 May 2008.

21. See especially N.T. Shakspo's article again, p. 102.

22. The note of caution which seemed to characterize Rev. Heyde's entire response to the earnest entreaties of this truth-seeker (see also the next few paragraphs of the narrative) may seem strange, if not distant in tone, to those of a more modern day in mission work. But Moravian Missions historian Schneider, already cited in these notes to the present chapter, has addressed this very issue and this very incident between Heyde and ex-Lama Gergan. He writes:

It may seem to some readers as if the missionaries were over cautious in baptizing converts. Those who blame them must bear in mind that the character of the people renders it necessary to make sure that it is not the hope of temporal advantages, or a fitful enthusiasm which leads to the expression of a desire for baptism, lest there be disappointment on both sides. He who becomes a Christian here [in Indian Tibet] has often literally to forsake father and mother, and house and lands. Yet many, like Gergan, have been brought to hunger and thirst after the truth, and to long for the next visit of the "white sahib." The number of earnest inquirers was one of the strong reasons for the commencement of the third station at Leh. It is evident that such people require more care than can be bestowed upon them during the short summer visits. Schneider 1891?, p. 70.

23. All information and quotations in this section of the narrative dealing with Rev. Heyde's summer 1875 ministry tour to Leh and Nubra and involving the two ex-Lamas have been derived from Heyde, "Account of a Missionary Tour to Ladakh and Nubra...from 15 June to 1 August 1875," *PA* (June 1876):13-17.

As will shortly be learned in the Text, Moravian missionary Redslob would report in 1881 that Gergan, at Leh, had wished to visit Kyelang a year earlier in order that he might see "especially his countryman, Nathanael." This was not only because of their common ethnic homeland and Lhasan connections but also, perhaps, because Nathanael, during his visit with the older ex-Lama five years earlier, had met and proposed marriage to a relative of Gergan's, a young woman in the Hundar village area; who, however, a year later had refused to relocate to Kyelang, which thus ended any thought of marriage to her. See in *PA* the following: (Mar. 1876):493-4, (June 1876):11, (Mar. 1877):179-80, and (Sept. 1877):275.

Although in other respects a helpful and reliable source of information on the "exotic culture, customs and psychology of Tibetans" and on the translation of the Bible into Tibetan, Allan Maberly's account (in *God Spoke Tibetan*, 1971) of Gergan Sodnam Wangyal and his son's early experiences in Ladakh, as well as his account of Heyde and Pagell's founding of the West Himalaya Mission and their subsequent interaction with ex-Lama Gergan, are so full of inaccuracies, untruths and outrageously massive chunks of fiction that his book should not be relied upon *at all* for the early period in the lives of these four characters who figured so prominently in the history of the Mission in Indo-Tibet. Moreover, no mention is made of missionary Redslob, whose interaction with ex-Lama Gergan was so significant. And as for Lama Zodpa Gyaltsan, later known as Nathanael, Maberly devotes not a single word to him, not even so much as mentioning his name. This may have been because Maberly may have become aware of the ex-Lama's life-dominating problem of an explosive temper which got him into a lot of trouble wherever he went. Nevertheless, Nathanael was to play a far greater role in assisting the Moravians in Bible translation and revision than ex-Lama Gergan (see later in this chapter's Text and in these notes). Observed one Moravian historian about Nathanael's contribution: "For the invaluable aid he rendered in the great work of translation, his name deserves to live in the annals of the Mission in Tibet." Schneider 1891?, p. 91.

Finally, it ought to be mentioned that, after a careful search through the available sources, it can be stated with confidence that it is highly unlikely that these two ex-Lamas ever saw each other again, despite one known attempt by Nathanael during the ensuing year to go to Hundar but prevented from doing so by impassable snows in the passes. Certain it is that Gergan never did realize his goal to visit Kyelang (where Heyde and Nathanael were generally based) prior to his death in 1890; certain also is it that Heyde never again saw Gergan after that first and only encounter with him in Nubra and at Leh in 1875. The missionary sought him out on two other occasions thereafter, but unsuccessfully: one in 1877 at Leh (Gergan was in Nubra at the time) and once more in 1879 at Hundar (but Gergan was away on official business in his capacity as the *gopa*). And other than Rev. Redslob, no other Moravian seems to have had any interaction with ex-Lama Gergan till his period of years spent at Leh during the latter 1880s.

24. Those, for example, whose declaration is the first, are the following: Editor, "The Rev. Joseph Gergan," *MM* (May 1940):1; Kunick 1946, p. 39; Sinker 1953, p. 41; Ray 1960, p. 4 ("...he never confessed Christ, but died...still a Buddhist"); and Carlson 1988a, p. 11. And examples of the second declaration are: Arthur Ward, "Monthly Notes," *MM* (Dec. 1922):90; Driver 1951, p. 198; Vittoz, "The Church of Ladak," *MQ* (Oct. 1954):4; Hooper 1963, p. 141; Bray 1994, 1:69; and Bray 1998, p. 6.

24a. Driver 1954, p. 46.

25. Redslob, "Journey in Ladakh and Nubra in June and July 1880," *PA* (June 1881):26. For information on Johnson being the Wazir-Governor of Ladakh, see John Bray, "The Lapchak Mission from Ladakh to Lhasa in British Foreign Policy," *TJ* (Winter 1990):87 with 75.

26. Regarding Nathanael's wandering lifestyle, see John Bray, "Christian Missionaries on the Tibetan Border: the Moravian Church in Poo (Kinnaur), 1865-1924," in Ihara & Yamaguchi (eds.) 1992, p. 373. And regarding his erratic Christian walk, caused in great part by his proneness to anger as well as by "a constant internal restlessness" which precluded his remaining very long in any one place, see in *PA* (Mar. 1873):419-22, (June 1873):413, (Dec. 1873):47-8, (Sept. 1881):70-71, (Sept. 1882):303; and see also in G.T. Reichelt, *Die Himalaya Mission der Brüdergemeine* (Gütersloh, 1896), 54-7 (translated for the author by John Bray).

27. This remarkable traveler and prolific authoress was born in Yorkshire, England in 1831, the eldest child of Rev. Edward Bird. William Wilberforce and John Bird Sumner (one of the Archbishops of Canterbury) were both kinsmen of hers. Both of Isabella's parents were strongly religious, she inheriting from them—in the words of one of her biographers (Lucas)—"pronounced evangelical views." Continually suffering throughout life from a spinal complaint, Isabella would live much of her life in the open air, would learn to ride (in time becoming "an expert and fearless horsewoman"), and be trained "to observe objects of country life"—all three conditions of which would serve her well in her many travels throughout the world. Lucas has provided a profile of this most unusual woman:

Mrs. Bishop was small in stature, quiet in speech and manner, and was a traveler of extraordinary courage. Fearless on horseback, she explored alone the most dangerous and barbarous countries. A keen observer with a retentive memory, she was a fluent speaker and had great power of vivid narrative....Her love of travel was stimulated by chronic ill-health, the repeated losses in her family, which produced a sense of loneliness, and above all by her missionary enthusiasm.

After her death in Oct. 1904 at Edinburgh the Royal Geographical Society in its *Journal* praised Mrs. Bishop's life and work by declaring: "She combined with a sympathetic interest in native races love of adventure and zeal for scientific study. Her valuable records of travel and the extent of her wanderings give her a place among the most accomplished travelers of her time." *GJ* (July-Dec. 1904):596. See Charles P. Lucas's article on her life that appeared in the *Dictionary of National Biography* XXIII (1901-11):166-8. The reader should also consult the lengthy section on Mrs. Bishop to be found in Middleton 1982.

28. Bishop, *Among the Tibetans* (New York, 1894), 55, 79-80, 54-5, 96n.

29. As reported by Dr. Ernest F. Neve (CMS Kashmir Medical Mission at Srinagar), *A Crusader in Kashmir; Being the Life of Dr. Arthur Neve, with an Account of the Medical Missionary Work of Two Brothers...* (London, 1928), 188-9.

As a further example of just how respected and beloved Br. Redslob was among the Lamas, monks and others, Mrs. Bishop had ample opportunity to observe this fact when she and the missionary visited the monasteries in Nubra: "in the latter indeed their welcome was often deafening, for the lamas would go to the top of the highest tower and blow their 6-ft. silver horns, which can be heard three miles off. So noisy in its heartiness was their reception that they had occasionally to request a cessation....Between Leh and Kyelang she traveled over the desert plateau of Rupchu with only one or two attendants. Though the region is traversed by wild Tartar nomads, she was not afraid, for she bore a letter of introduction from Br. Redslob, and its fame preceded her. For his sake she had the wildest welcome. Now and then horsemen would come dashing up to inquire about their friend. How is he? When is he coming? His name seemed a talisman far and wide..." Taken from "Mrs. Bishop's Visit to Leh and Kyelang," *PA* (June 1891):285.

30. As reported by the Anglican minister-missionary-traveler Dr. Henry Lansdell, who has already been mentioned in earlier notes for this chapter. Lansdell, no longer at Leh where he first met Redslob but now at Bombay, received a letter from the Moravian (written either in late 1889 or early 1890, more likely the latter) in which Br. Redslob had indicated he would be unable, after all, to accompany Lansdell on the latter's proposed trip to Lhasa inasmuch as "he was suffering from an infirmity in his legs." Lansdell 1893, p. 402. This was not the first instance of such a physical ailment; in fact, he apparently suffered from an infirmity in his lower extremities off and on during his entire missionary career, as would seem to be evidenced by what he said in one of his earlier mission letters, from Poo in Feb. 1884, where Redslob is found writing as follows: "My school activity was not this year of long duration, for when once the time for field-work sets in, the scholars all absent themselves....I was, however, thankful for the rest which I thus obtained, for I had long been suffering from my foot, and the evil increased to such an extent that I was at length obliged to lie by for a time." Quoted in *PA* (June 1884):70.

30a. Redslob had himself provided the background as to how this had all come about. For in a retrospective letter he had written back to Europe sometime during the summer of 1889, Br. Redslob had informed the recipients of his letter that while on a gospel tour he had conducted into the Nubra Valley in the autumn of 1888 he had once again met there with the "intelligent man named Gergan" whom the missionary had right then "engaged for the winter" at Leh "to help" in his "literary labours." See Editor of article, "The Literary Work of the Last Decade in Tibetan," *PA* (Sept. 1889):560. And for a brief account of this autumn 1888 tour, see in *ibid.* (June 1889):516-8.

31. These quotations of the declarations made by Gergan are the result of bringing together into a composite whole what is recorded of this extraordinary conversation between the dying Tibetan and the Moravian as published in two slightly variant forms by Canon Biscoe in the following two works of his: *Kashmir in Sunlight and Shade* (London, 1922), 220-1; and *Tyndale-Biscoe of Kashmir; an Autobiography* (posthumously published, London, 1951), 219.

32. *Missionsblatt*, Issue No. 8 (Aug. 1890):231, trans. from the German for the author by Dr. Elizabeth Marx. See also *PA* (Sept. 1890):133, where is stated the following: "Our school...[at Leh] has been going on well, though the missionaries have felt the loss of their faithful native schoolmaster Gergan, who died some time ago [i.e., earlier in 1890]. Lately an epidemic of influenza seriously interfered with the school, but it has resumed its prosperous course..."

33. What most likely accounts for the urgency of this plea to become a Christian was the inward spiritual experience he had most likely just had with his God and which was told long afterwards by Rev. Kunick, the West Himalaya Mission Superintendent in the 1920s. At the time of Joseph's homegoing in 1946, Kunick told of an incident which Joseph himself revealed to the Superintendent while the latter was still on the field. Concerning this young Tibetan, Kunick writes: "Our Lord and God himself was to be his guide. To make quite sure of God's will [as to whether he should become a Christian or not] he asked for a sign. The sign was given—his prayer was answered. From that day onward his course was set; and he never deviated from it for the rest of his life. Truly there was a call! And fruitful endeavor followed the call." Kunick 1946, p. 39.

34. His decision had not been without stiff opposition from his family. "My mother, elder brother and sister did everything they could," Joseph long afterwards explained, "to prevent my conversion to Christianity, but the more they tried to obstruct me, like a horse urged forward by a whip, the more did my faith and strength increase. So, reaching the limit of their influence to hinder me, they went their way." Gergan 1935, p. 1.

35. An excerpt from page 20 of Y. Gergan's, "Spectacle...." a typescript translated from the Tibetan by Walter Asboe and numbered among the documents of the Tibet Reports that are part of the MCHA. Quoted in Bray 1991, p. 41.

36. See Gergan 1935, p. 1 and Bray 1991, p. 41. Br. Gergan's investigations of the Tibetan religion, literature and history resulted over the years in his collecting or else copying for both A.H. Francke and the Archaeological Survey in New Delhi various historical documents and folktales, as well as resulted in his own published works of (a) "A Thousand Proverbs and Wise Sayings," *JASB* 8, pp. 157-276; and (b) a history of Ladakh edited by his son S.S. Gergan, *La dvags rgyal rabs chi med gter* (Srinagar, 1976). Moreover, Joseph translated from the Tibetan the following works: "The Seventy Stanzas of Kharagspa" (an 11th-century Buddhist monk); "The Biography of Lotsawa Rinchen Zangpo"; "The Abridged Teaching of Mahayana"; and "The Fable of Sun Beauty." Bray 1991, pp. 41, 56.

But besides "The Spectacle of the Human Soul" that is mentioned in the Text, Joseph wrote another, even more philosophical paper in 1926 that in English was entitled "Hearable Theory and Practice of Religions" but which when published as a 68-page pamphlet that same year by the Kyelang Mission Press bore the title of *Rna ba'i bcud len gyi rtogs brjod bzhugs so*. Intended for an educated Buddhist laymen readership, this work of Gergan's, notes John Bray, is in contrast with earlier Moravian publications—most of which were translations of Western books and tracts—because it constitutes a piece of "original writing by an indigenous author who was well educated in Buddhist as well as Christian philosophy." In describing Joseph's paper Bray writes: "He draws on quotations from Tibetan literature to show what he regarded as the weakness of Buddhist philosophy before coming to the conclusion that Christianity is the only religion which offers a sure hope of salvation." Bray 1991, pp. 51-2. Doubtless this paper is a reflection of the personal inquiry and comparative religious study he had launched decades before as a means of satisfying his own heart that the Christian faith he had embraced was indeed the true and correct one.

37. Begun in 1880 by Rev. J. Hinton Knowles (translator of the Kashmiri Bible), the pupils of this celebrated mission high school numbered 250 in 1890, five years before Joseph enrolled. Knowles was succeeded in the Principalship of the school by Rev. Biscoe in 1890. By early 1906 the student population had grown to 1500 and at its height would see 1800 pupils enrolled in six schools, one of them a girls' school. The youth who

filled its classes belonged mostly to leading families, about 200 of them being Moslems while the rest were Brahmin Hindus. *CMI* (Feb. 1906):113; *The Bible Society Reporter* (Nov. 1901):247; and George Barne, "Tyndale-Biscoe" article, *Dictionary of National Biography (1941-50)* (London, 1951), 893. "Profoundly influenced by his own experiences at school," the longtime Principal (1890-1947) "held character to be the most important matter in education. All his work was to this end and all he did was founded on the example of Christ. That he made an impression on the youth of Kashmir may be judged from the fact that it was frequently considered a better qualification for an appointment to be a 'Biscoe boy' and all that that meant than to have a university degree." *Ibid.* For more on the school and on its longtime Principal, consult: Eric Dallis Tyndale-Biscoe, *Fifty Years against the Stream; the Story of a School in Kashmir, 1880-1930* (Mysore India, 1930); and the two works by Principal Biscoe himself cited in an earlier note above. During his entire professional educational career, incidentally, Biscoe had been a strong advocate of the ethos of a muscular Christianity; indeed, the motto of his Srinagar school, which still exists today, is: "In All Things Be Men." As a reflection of this in young Joseph's experience there, Principal Biscoe had taken the youth aside and personally trained him in various skills like boxing as a way of providing the shy and diffident Tibetan boy with the means of defending himself against the Kashmiri bullies who were numbered among the school's student body. Joseph became so proficient in these skills, in fact, that no bully ever afterwards attempted to cross him up!

38. There are numerous sources which could be listed for the lengthy discussion just concluded on the lives of the two converted Lamas and the early beginnings in the life of Joseph Gergan. Yet not all sources agree with one another on some of the crucial details where mutually mentioned by them, and the reader must thus approach many of these sources with caution if not skepticism. Nevertheless, based upon thorough investigation and comparison of all the pertinent data by the present author, what has just now been recounted in the Text represents what is felt to be as accurate a re-creation of the events involved as is currently possible to present, given the available sources of information and the at times inaccurate, inconsistent, even contradictory, nature of some of these sources. Now some of the many sources consulted have been mentioned already in the documentation of the discussion to be found in the end-notes which immediately precede this present note; and these already documented sources should be perused again, since one or more of them may have also served as sources for additional details and/or quoted material included elsewhere in the discussion. But besides those sources already cited, the most helpful additional ones proved to be the following: Ray 1960, pp. 3-4; Walter Asboe, "Yoseb Gergan," *MM* (Nov.-Dec. 1946):43; A. W. Heyde, "Account of Journey, Kyelang to Ladakh and Back, 26 June - 31 August 1861," *PA* (Sept. 1862):386; E. Pagell, letter, Poo, 27 Aug. 1871, *ibid.* (Mar. 1872):195; Pagell, letter, Poo, 21 Mar. 1872, *ibid.* (Sept. 1872):301; Heyde, letter, Kyelang, 21 Sept. 1872, *ibid.* (Mar. 1873):422; Th. Rechler, "The Moravian Mission in Tibet," *ibid.* (Dec. 1874):240; Heyde, "Account of a Missionary Tour to Ladakh, Nubra and Spiti, 11 June to 22 August 1879," *ibid.* (Sept. 1880):406 (corrected from 306); F.A. Redslob, letter, Kyelang, 30 Sept. 1880, *ibid.* (Mar. 1881):505; "Tidings from the Stations," *ibid.* (June 1895):513; "Miscellaneous Intelligence: the Special Fund for Leh [Orphans]," *ibid.* (Sept. 1896):147; and "Report of the Leh Station for 1897," *ibid.* (June 1898):493, cf. also with 488.

38a. Bray 1998, p. 5.

39. The recounting of this incident is based on a description of it given in Anon. 1890, Part One, p. 139. The reader should be made aware that the year and place given for this meeting of the three missionaries has been corrected—as shown in the narrative Text—to 10 March 1857 near Kotgarh; it should *not* be shown as 1856 near Simla as is presented in the source just cited for the recounting of this incident. By comparing this source with three others, the present author is confident in stating that the year is indeed 1857 and that the place is in fact Kotgarh. Moreover, it can also be stated with confidence that the month is March and *not* February as was incorrectly indicated in one of the other three sources alluded to. For this comparison, therefore, see—besides the main source already cited—the following: (a) Th. Rechler (former Superintendent of the Himalaya Mission at Kyelang and Poo), "The Moravian Mission in Tibet," *PA* (Dec. 1874):238; (b) "Retrospect of the Missionary Work of the Moravian Church during the Past 150 Years (Part VII: The Mission in Central Asia)," *ibid.* (Sept. 1882):300; and (c) Bray 1983, p. 51. For additional details see also John Barton, "Report of Missionary Work in Tibet," *CMI* (Aug. 1863):185.

40. J.T. Hamilton, "Laying Siege to the Stronghold of the Dalai Lama—the Moravian Mission among the Western Himalaya," *MRW* (May 1891):376. The information on Jaeschke's working knowledge of French,

Bohemian and Hebrew, as well as on his having spent 19 years teaching at Moravian schools, is derived from Gary W. Houston, "Jesus and His Missionaries in Tibet," *TJ* (Winter 1991):22.

41. He was in fact opposed to the building program as conceived by his two colleagues; and the reasons for his opposition can perhaps be best explained by reference back to his childhood. In the words of John Bray, he had "an obsessive sense of economy, not to say stinginess" which apparently was an outgrowth of his childhood experience of poverty in the Jaeschke home. The latter had unfortunately been brought on by his father's over-generosity that led to a financial crisis in the family inasmuch as afterwards Mr. Jaeschke could only find what Bray has described as "poorly-paid work as a night-watchman." All this would leave its mark on the younger Jaeschke's character; for example, when later, on holiday from his teaching duties at school or college, he would often take extensive botanical walking tours, but "thriftily wearing the shabbiest clothes," a practice which would often cause those who witnessed it to take him for a common laborer. "On these occasions," Bray noted, "his luggage was minimal though he did permit himself the luxury of a pocket full of coffee beans and a personal coffee grinder"! It should perhaps come as no surprise, therefore, that Jaeschke's sense of economy was outraged by the building program which was now underway at Kyelang that first summer of 1857; for when he saw the plans which Heyde and Pagell had designed for the main mission house, he considered them far too luxurious. His protests, nevertheless, were overruled by the Herrnhut Mission Board, who approved the original plan. All quotes and information are from Bray 1983, pp. 50-1.

42. With the loss of Ladakhi independence (as a consequence of the Dogra invasion of 1834 and eventual conquest in 1842), the Ladakhi Monarchy was abolished, and the royal family, now deprived of power, withdrew to the palace at Stok which had been built in 1825 on the left or south side of the Indus near Leh. See Finegan 1986, pp. 185, 199-200.

43. Robert Kilgour, comp., *The Bible throughout the World: a Survey of Scripture Translations* (London, 1939), 112.

44. The sources for the information and material quoted in this and the preceding paragraphs concerning the difficulty of learning Tibetan, as well as about Sodnam Stobkyes and Jaeschke's visit to Stok, are as follows: Jaeschke, letter, Kyelang, 22 Sept. 1857, *PA* (Mar. 1858):415; J.W. Davey, "The Buddhism of Tibet—a Sketch," *ibid.* (Mar. 1905):22; Anon. 1890, Part One, p. 141; Bray 1991, p. 30; Hooper 1963, p. 140; Marston 1895?, p.73; and Pallis 1949, p. 237.

Sodnam and Joldan (both later known, respectively, as Nicodemus and Samuel at their joint baptism) present an interesting and unusual father-son relationship, and there is much about their lives that is extremely commendable. At Stok village Sodnam had in his early days been a landed Tibetan aristocrat. But he had first studied in residence for three years at Hemis, the largest and most prestigious Buddhist monastery in all of Ladakh. But his monastic study had been interrupted and ended totally when he had to flee the country at the time of the 1840 invasion of Ladakh. Nevertheless, in his having learned "to read and write" at Hemis. Sodnam would naturally have studied not only the Tibetan language but also the Buddhist faith since both were so inextricably intertwined—a person under the Lamas could not have learned the one without the other. See Bray 1983, p. 52 and A.W. Heyde, "Account of His Journey from Kyelang to Ladakh, 26 June – 31 August 1861," *PA* (Sept. 1862):379.

It should further be noted that the lives of the baptized son Samuel and his closest relatives intersected quite directly with the lives of those who would have the most prominent roles in the translation of the Tibetan Bible. As was learned already, it was Samuel Joldan's father, Sodnam Stobkyes, who in 1857 provided board and lodging for two months in his old homestead at Stok village to Bible translator Jaeschke for the purpose of seriously studying, with Sodnam's assistance, the Tibetan language for the first time. And it was Samuel's daughter Dendsin who in 1899 became the wife of Joseph Gergan, considered to be the greatest Tibetan Bible translator of them all. Furthermore, before his death Nicodemus had himself rendered much assistance as printer in the printing operations at Kyelang, a Press which through the years printed Gospels, other portions of the Scriptures, tracts, books and other Christian literature in the Tibetan language for wide distribution among Tibetans everywhere. Sources: Jaeschke letter from Kyelang, 22 Sept. 1857, *ibid.* (Mar. 1858):415-6; S. Ribbach, "The Orphans, and the 'Leh Special Fund'," *ibid.* (Dec. 1899):209 with Benjamin LaTrobe, "Journey to India," *ibid.* (Sept. 1902):140-1; and Heyde letter from Kyelang, 14 Dec. 1864 [mistakenly printed as 1865], *ibid.* (June 1865):421-2.

Interestingly, both father and son were baptized at Kyelang on the same day, 8 Oct. 1865, by Br. Heyde, with Jaeschke present at the service. They represented the first converts of the West Himalaya Mission to be baptized. Th. Rechler letter from Kyelang, 11 Oct. 1865, *ibid.* (Mar. 1866):583 with F.A. Redslob letter from Kyelang, Nov. 1875, *ibid.* (June 1876):12. And as for Samuel, the highly respected missionary traveler from England, Mrs. Isabella Bishop, spoke very appreciatively of him as one of the most advanced of the Christians among the Tibetans in Indo-Tibet with whom she visited. By all manner of inducements he had been tempted to renounce his faith, but he remained firm. "I do not know anyone anywhere," said Mrs. Bishop, "who follows the Lord Jesus more devotedly than Samuel." Quoted in *ibid.* (June 1891):284.

Moreover, Samuel (whose Tibetan name Joldan meant, appropriately, "the splendid" or "the splendid one") was the kind of person in whom all could repose their trust and confidence. This is more than amply corroborated by Mrs. Bishop's further testimony which she included in the volume she published of her extensive summer of travels through Indo-Tibet. She had come to know Samuel more than casually while visiting Leh in 1889, by which time he had already been serving for a number of years as British Postal Agency Postmaster in Leh for the entire land of Ladakh. In her book, she wrote at the end of Ch. 3 about him as follows, calling him by his Tibetan name:

Joldan, the Tibetan British postmaster in Leh, is a Christian of spotless reputation. Every one places unlimited confidence in his integrity and truthfulness, and his religious sincerity has been attested by many sacrifices. He is a Ladakhi, and the family property was at Stok, a few miles from Leh....He...was for ten years mission schoolmaster in Kyelang, but returned to Leh a few years ago as Postmaster. His "ancestral dwelling" at Stok was destroyed by order of the wazir, and his property confiscated, after many unsuccessful efforts had been made to win him back to Buddhism. Afterwards he was detained by the wazir, and compelled to serve as a sepoy, till Mr. Heyde went to the council and obtained his release. His house in Leh has been more than once burned by incendiaries. But he pursues a quiet even course, brings up his family after the best Christian traditions, refuses Buddhist suitors for his daughters, unobtrusively but capably helps the Moravian missionaries, supports his family by steady industry, although of noble birth, and asks nothing of anyone. His "good morning" and "good night," as he daily passed my tent with clockwork regularity, were full of cheery friendliness... *Among the Tibetans*, pp. 100, 101-3. The source for the meaning of Samuel's Tibetan name is Br. Redslob, "Report of Mission at Leh in Ladakh," *PA* (Mar. 1887):32.

45. This is the same Arithmetic a copy of which had found its way in 1879 into the hands of the Spiritual Prime Minister of the Panchen Lama of that day at Trashilhunpo Monastery near Shigatse and which had also figured centrally in motivating the Panchen to request of Sarat Chandra Das that he bring on his next visit a lithographic press to Shigatse, which he did. See again Vol. II, Ch. 17 for details. In 1894 this same prominent Monastery submitted a special order for one of Jaeschke's other school textbooks: his *Introduction to the Hindi and Urdu Language for Tibetans*. See Bray 1991, p. 51.

46. *PA* (Dec. 1860):539. The press arrived at Kyelang, in fact, on 29 May 1859 and was set up shortly thereafter. John Bray is the source for the use today of the revised version of the hymnbook mentioned. Bray 1983, p. 51.

47. It should be pointed out that a second edition of this work was later published. In about 1880, Dr. Rost, who was the learned librarian of the Office of the Secretary of State for India as well as the Secretary of the Royal Asiatic Society (both in London), "urged Jaeschke" (who long before this had withdrawn from the mission field and was living at Herrnhut in Germany) to revise the *Grammar*. "Prevented by ill-health from undertaking the task, he placed the book with his own additional manuscript notes in the hands of Dr. H. Wenzel, as editor, and the second edition was published by Trubner's, London, 1883." Per Anon. 1890. Part Two, p. 196. Even as late as 1954 Jaeschke's *Grammar* (i.e., the Wenzel second edition) was still being reprinted for the use of students of Tibetan in the West, supplemented as it was by Readings and an accompanying Vocabulary—executed by John L. Mish, the Chief of the Oriental Division of the New York Public Library, and published that year by Frederick Ungar Publishing Co., New York, and entitled simply *Tibetan Grammar*.

48. It will be of interest to the reader to know that the antecedents for this Hungarian's Dictionary and his other accomplishments in Tibetan scholarship go back in time and place some ten or twelve years before to the small town of Kanum that is no more than a day's trekking march (16 miles) down the Sutlej Valley from Gergan Tharchin's home village of Poo. Kanum is forever celebrated in the history of Tibetan studies simply because it was here in one of its modest monasteries that for well over three years—which included four harsh

winters (late 1827-early 1831)—there lived the pioneer in this discipline, Sandor (Alexander) Csoma de Kőrös (1784-1842) from southeastern Europe, the predecessor to Jaeschke in the study and translation of the Tibetan language. Csoma, having left his Transylvanian home in Hungary in 1820 when 36 years old, set out from Bucharest, Romania on January 1st, “lightly clad, as if he merely intended taking a walk,” and thereafter traveled on foot, “alone and penniless,” through a great part of Europe and Asia, arriving in Indian Tibet imbued—in the first instance—with the desire to find in Central Asia the origins of the Hungarian race and its language, believing as he did that many Hungarian names and words were of Eastern origin. Later, however, “his original quest was lost sight of in those Tibetan studies for which he will ever be remembered by scholars.”

Csoma first made his way to the remote monastery of Zangla in the Zanskar region. Here—“cut off from the world by endless ranges of towering mountains, and buried for months by the drifting snow, with no companions but a few silent monks”—he labored for almost a year and a half (late 1822-early 1824), armed only with a “rough Tibetan dictionary” (compiled almost a century before by a Catholic priest) which he had obtained at Leh in the summer of 1822 from the ill-fated traveler William Moorcroft (who was to die of fever in 1825 in the remote regions of Bokhara). But his primary place of study was at Kanum in the Sutlej Valley. There in the small Buddhist temple of Kanum “called Kanghiür lacän, are to be seen, disposed in a disorderly fashion on the shelves of an old library, the huge tomes of the Kanghiür” (or *Kangyur*, and discussed elsewhere in the present narrative) on which “he worked so devotedly in the compilation of his analysis of the Buddhistic canon, which even today stands as a fundamental work.” Studying Lamaist learning as a monk, he sat at his desk in one of the small rooms of the Kanum monastery “wrapped up in woolens from head to foot, and from morning till night, without an interval for recreation or warmth, except that of his frugal meals, which were one universal routine of greasy tea...in the Tibetan fashion, which is indeed more like soup...” Here he worked on thus for four years with his Pandit-Lama, “a man of vast acquirements—a single union of learning, modesty and greasy habits.”

The year 1831 saw Csoma at Calcutta hard at work at the Asiatic Society of Bengal “editing the spoils” he had garnered at Kanum. And thanks to the Government of India Csoma was able to publish in 1834 his *Dictionary, Tibetan and English* and his *Grammar of the Tibetan Language in English*—“admirable works as regards the literary Tibetan of the Buddhist translations, which have never been superseded.” Indeed, regarding Csoma’s *Grammar*, Sarat C. Das had declared in the Preface to his own *Grammar*, published in 1915, that “the scholarship which that Hungarian traveler displayed in it has not, in my humble opinion, been superseded by any subsequent student of Tibetan.” And about the Hungarian’s *Dictionary, Tibetan and English*, Jaeschke himself commented as follows in the Preface to his own *Tibetan-English Dictionary*: “This work deserves all eulogy...The work of Csoma de Kőrös is that of an original investigator and the fruit of almost unparalleled determination and patience.” Jaeschke, “Preface,” *A Tibetan-English Dictionary* (London, 1881), v. Because of his long years in Tibetan Lamaist studies, Csoma above all others “communicated to the scholars of the West the occult mysteries of this religion.”

Ironically, his untimely death occurred at Darjeeling as he was on his way to Tibet proper for the first time, a goal which he was never to achieve in his lifetime. Csoma died of fever on 11 Apr. 1842, presumably of malaria that he probably had contracted weeks earlier when traveling by foot across Bengal’s malarious Terai on his way to Darjeeling to await final permission from Sikkim’s Raja to traverse that frontier region and make his way to Lhasa. His gravesite can still be seen today in a cemetery at the Himalayan hill station. Quotes are from H.G. Rawlinson, “Csoma de Kőrös,” *Indian Arts and Letters* (1945):15-20 (which also quotes Dr. Alexander Gerard of the Indian Medical Service, who visited Csoma at Kanum in late 1827); Rawlinson, “A Forgotten Hero,” *Journal of Indian History* (Madras) 22 (Apr. 1929):18-26; Das, *An Introduction to the Grammar of the Tibetan Language* (Darjeeling, 1915), i; Tucci and Ghersi 1935, p. 201; Sir E. Denison Ross, “The Contribution of Hungary to Our Knowledge of Central Asia,” *JRCAS* (1928):459; and Sven Hedin, *Trans-Himalaya: Discoveries and Adventures in Tibet*, 2 vols. (New York, 1909), II:418.

Repaired in 1910 by Sir Denison Ross, the stone on his gravesite in the Old Darjeeling Cemetery, located a mile from the Chowrasta, reads as follows: “Alex. Cosma de Kőrösi, a native of Hungary, who, to follow out philological researches, resorted to the east, and for years passed under privation, such as seldom has been endured, and patient labor in the cause of science, compiled a Dictionary and Grammar of the Tibetan language, his lasting and real monument. On his road to Lhasa to resume his labors, he died at Darjeeling on the 11th April, 1842. Aged 44 years.” Quoted in E.C. Dozey, *A Concise History of the Darjeeling District Since 1835...*, rev. and enl. ed. (Calcutta, 1922), 146-7. The gravestone inscription was incorrect regarding his age: he had just turned 58 a few days before he died. Throughout his austere life lived in Asia Csoma wore the same dress: “a coarse blue-cloth loose gown extending to his heels, and a small cloth cap of the same materials; he wore a grizzly beard, shunned the society of Europeans, and passed his whole time in study.” Lt. Col. G.W.A. Lloyd,

“Further Notes Respecting the Late Csoma de Körös,” *JRASB* (July 1845):824.

49. Bray 1983, p. 51 and Bray 1991, pp. 29-30.

50. Both the Grammar and the Dictionary were considered to be “models of scientific precision,” with the latter of these two deemed as “not superseded by Chandra Das’s Dictionary” at all. *Encyclopaedia Britannica*. 11th ed. (New York, 1911), 26:919, in conjunction with *National Union Catalogue: Pre-1956 Imprints* (London: Mansell Information/Publishing Limited, 1973), 276:61-2. The quotes of the former French pupil are from the latter’s biographical sketch on which “The First Translator of the Tibetan Bible” is based. These quotes are from the second part of that sketch, and found in Anon. 1890, Part Two, p. 196.

51. Sources for this brief discussion of the Tibetan-English Dictionary, its printing at Berlin, and the creation and use of the Tibetan type face are: *ibid.*, 197; F.A. Redslob, “Report of the Tibetan Mission for the Years 1880 and 1881,” *PA* (Sept. 1882):317; the Title Page and Preface of the Dictionary itself (London, 1881); the *National Union Catalogue...*, 276:61-2; Bray 1990, p. 69; Bray 1991, p. 35; and Hooper 1963, p. 141.

52. Asboe 1946, pp. 5-6. Although both works have continued to be reprinted, the Grammar is not deemed to be as great a masterpiece as the Dictionary.

53. Marx, “Medical Mission Work at Leh,” letter, Leh, 12 Feb. 1887, quoted in *PA* (Dec. 1887):201-2. He would not remain faithful, though, to the first principle enunciated, as will be seen a few Text pages later in the present chapter.

54. Ribbach, “The Tibetan Bible,” *MM* (May 1931):39. It should be added that at about this same time Joseph Gergan was expressing a similar viewpoint. Writing in the early 1930s, he declared:

From the beginning our translators took much care not to translate this Holy Book into a provincial dialect. It is not easy for the translators to render it for all Tibet, because even most of the priests cannot understand high classical book language; and if it be translated into colloquial dialect, then it will be more difficult to be understood than the classical. So up to this time all our translators took care to render the Holy Bible into a simple semi-classical tongue, which can be understood easily by all classes and readers. Without the classical tongue the Bible could not be translated, because in vulgar dialect it could not be expressed fully by lack of sufficient words.

Quoted in Hutton 1935, pp. 173-4.

55. Bray 1998, p. 5 and Bray 1983, p. 53.

56. The sources for Jaeschke’s visit to Calcutta and Darjeeling and for the Redslob quote are: Letters of Jaeschke, from Calcutta, 21 Feb. 1865 and from Darjeeling, 9 and 12 Mar. 1865, found in *PA* (June 1865):416-8; Theodore Rechler, letter, Kotgarh, 10 June 1865, *ibid.* (Mar. 1866):580-2; and Redslob (Supt.), “Report of the Tibetan Mission for the Years 1880 and 1881” (written in early 1882), *ibid.* (Sept. 1882):317.

57. Ribbach, “The Tibetan Bible,” *MM* (May 1931):39; and Weber, letter, Poo, Oct. 1884, *PA* (Sept. 1885):351.

58. McGovern 1924, pp. 279-81.

59. For the fuller statement by Joseph Gergan from which these two quoted phrases of his have been extracted, see five notes earlier.

60. Bray 1990, p. 67. In his subsequent, more fully detailed paper (and cited already in the notes of the present chapter), Bray discusses at some length these difficulties and the reasons Jaeschke gave as justification for his choice of the literary Tibetan (*chos-skad*, literally meaning the “language of religion”) rather than the numerous regional variants of the common tongue (*phal-skad*) which, observes Bray, “differed almost as widely as, say, Latin and Modern Italian.” See Bray 1991, pp. 30-34.

61. Indeed, writing in the late 1980s, John Bray has remarked that this concern as to “which variety of

Tibetan is most appropriate for the Christian Scriptures" is a basic matter which even today "still plagues Tibetan Bible translators." Bray 1990, p. 67.

62. Jaeschke. *A Tibetan-English Dictionary*.... iii.

63. Bray 1994, I: 69.

63a. Bray 1991, p. 30.

64. New York, 1911, 26:919.

65. Hutton 1923, p. 361.

66. Bray 1991, p. 36.

67. Jaeschke, *A Tibetan-English Dictionary*.... iii.

68. The quote of the former French pupil is from Anon. 1890, Part Two, p. 198; that of Asboe is from Asboe 1946, p. 6; and that of Vittoz is from his letter to Norman Driver, Leh, 16 June 1954, and quoted by Bray 1991, p. 45. Other than those already cited, the sources for much of the foregoing discussion of Jaeschke's life and work are: Anon. 1890, Parts One and Two, pp. 139-42 and 195-8, respectively; "The Literary Work of the Last Decade in Tibetan," *PA* (Sept. 1889):560; Hutton 1923, pp. 360-1; Hooper 1963, pp. 140-1; John T. Hamilton, *A History of the Missions of the Moravian Church during the 18th and 19th Centuries* (Bethlehem PA USA, 1901), 135, 184; Marston 1895?, p. 73; and Bray 1983, pp. 50-5.

69. The source for Redslob as successor is: Anon. 1890, Part Two, p. 198.

70. The Moravians at Herrnhut had been in communication with the Bible Society as early as 1859—only a few years after the founding by them of their West Himalaya Mission—for the purpose of discussing the possible future printing of a Tibetan Bible. Bray 1990, p. 67. "The Bible Society was founded by a group of laymen in 1804 and in the course of the nineteenth century rapidly expanded to found auxiliary societies across the world. Its sole purpose was to facilitate the translation and distribution of the Scriptures and from the beginning it was interdenominational both in outlook and in composition. The Society insisted on high standards of linguistic accuracy so that individual translations could not be accused of betraying the theological biases of the translators.... Similarly, neither paraphrases nor annotations were acceptable because they too might reflect the theological preoccupations of the translator." *Ibid.*

With regard to this latter insistence by the Society, incidentally, Jaeschke himself was concerned that his own Tibetan New Testament translations might fail to be accepted because in some respects they were indeed a paraphrase. According to Bray, Jaeschke had addressed this problem in two of the Moravian translator's private papers now in the possession of others: one, a letter he had sent from Kyalang via Herrnhut to the London Society in 1863; the other, some notes attached to his translation of St. John's Epistles that were eventually published in Germany in 1875. "In both documents," Bray noted, Jaeschke "expressed the fear that his work might be criticized for being a paraphrase but insisted that a direct verbal translation was subjectively impossible, because of his own linguistic shortcomings, and objectively impossible because of the inherent differences between Greek and Tibetan." *Ibid.* 68.

71. Sources for the additional information in this and the preceding paragraph are: Anon. 1890, Part Two, p. 198; Bray 1990, p. 69; Bray 1991, pp. 50, 51; and "The Literary Work of the Last Decade in Tibetan," *PA* (Sept. 1889):560.

72. See again Bray 1990, p. 71. It was Nathanael, in fact, who upon Redslob's arrival on the field in 1872 began immediately to assist the missionary in learning further the Tibetan language. And when less than two years later Redslob commenced his first attempts at Tibetan translation of one or two psalms, it was Nathanael who, according to Redslob, would be the one to "readily give it the poetical dress." The missionary added that Nathanael "continues to give us great satisfaction and is an able and willing helper in our work of every kind." Furthermore, it reached the point when it was no longer unusual for this ex-Lama to spend the whole of a

winter at Kyelang faithfully helping Redslob and Br. Heyde in their translation work, making it possible for these two missionary-translators “to go through carefully with him all that required a revision, or had to be translated.” In short, wrote Br. Redslob in 1882, because Nathanael had been a Christian for eleven years already, had “penetrated more deeply into the spirit of the gospel than any of the other converts” and had a “thorough acquaintance with the Tibetan language and a general good education,” this former Lama from Lhasa “has been able to render us most valuable services.” Sources: Redslob, letter, Kyelang, 23 Nov. 1872, *PA* (Mar. 1873):423; “Circular Letter...signed 14 August 1873 at Berthelsdorf,” *ibid.* (Dec. 1873):47; Redslob, letter, Kyelang, 22 Sept. 1874, *ibid.* (Dec. 1874):226; Redslob and Heyde, “Report of the Congregation at Kyelang for the Year 1882,” *ibid.* (Mar. 1883):405; and Redslob (Supt.), “Report of the Tibetan Mission for the Years 1880 and 1881,” *ibid.* (Sept. 1882):317.

What were probably the last three tasks of Bible translation which Nathanael rendered before his death was assisting the eminent Moravian missionary, scholar and Tibetan Bible translator, A.H. Francke, in preparing St. Mark’s Gospel in three different dialects spoken in the region of Indian Tibet known as Lahul (where Kyelang was located): the Bunan, the Manchad and the Tinan. These efforts were performed, as best as can be determined, between late 1905 and 1913 or 1914, Nathanael sending his revisions to Francke in Europe after 1908 when the missionary was no longer at Kyelang or even in Indian Tibet except briefly in 1909. See Hooper 1963, pp. 145-6; Kilgour 1931, pp. 181-2; Benjamin LaTrobe, “Notes,” *MM* (July 1913):132; and the record of Francke’s movements during these years as documented in *Periodical Accounts* and *Moravian Missions*.

73. For several years Redslob had been the “faithful, conscientious, hardworking superintendent” of the Leh mission station of the Moravians; but shortly before his death he had resigned from that post “with deep regret” because of “failing health”; nevertheless, he had “cherished the hope that in his retirement he would still be able to serve his beloved field by continuing the great work of translating the Scriptures into Tibetan”—which service he did indeed continue doing until typhus struck him down in an epidemic which swept through the mission station and that took not only Br. Redslob on 7 June but also a few days earlier Dr. Karl Marx, the Moravian medical missionary at Leh, and his newborn son. Both father and son were buried together in the same grave on 31 May. The funeral service for Br. Redslob on 9 June, incidentally, was undertaken by the beloved indigenous Christian and Leh postmaster, Samuel Joldan, son of Sodnam Stobkyes (Nicodemus). Editor, “Tidings from Leh,” *PA* (Sept. 1891):338.

74. *Ibid.* (Dec. 1907):765-6.

75. Marx to Dr. Gustaf Dalman, of Leipzig, from Leh, 1891, paraphrased in *ibid.* (Sept. 1891):342; Redslob (Supt.), “Report of the Tibetan Mission for the Years 1880 and 1881,” *ibid.* (Sept. 1882):317.

76. “...the Tibetan language...studies under Br. Jaeschke, in Europe, proved of much service.” Per “Circular Letter...signed 14 August 1873 at Berthelsdorf,” *ibid.* (Dec. 1873):47.

77. Bray 1990, p. 68. To the very end of his life, writes Bray, Jaeschke had insisted that “his translation was at best a tentative version.” *Ibid.*, 69. The sources Bray cites for his paraphrastic summary of Jaeschke’s observations on the need for a revision are two: (a) translation of letter, Jaeschke to Rev. P. LaTrobe, Kyelang, 2 June 1863; and (b) notes of Jaeschke’s attached to his translation of St. John’s New Testament Epistles that was published in 1875 by R. and A. Zacharias in Germany. *Ibid.*, 68 and 78.

78. See Bray 1991, p. 35.

79. So reported Sir Basil Gould, the Political Officer for Sikkim, Bhutan and Tibet, who, while trekking to Lhasa in 1936 on a diplomatic Mission there, had been accompanied out of the Chumbi Valley a few days’ marches by the retired British Trade Agent. It was on this occasion that Macdonald had evidently shared with Sir Basil from his life on various subjects. “As a translator of parts of the Bible,” wrote Gould in his autobiography, Macdonald had “struck out a new line by employing such language as an average Tibetan would be able to understand.” Gould 1957, p. 204.

80. Besides this task, he was also asked—but by the British Government of India—to thoroughly revise, and have published for and by that Government, Jaeschke’s celebrated dictionary of the Tibetan language.

which he indeed accomplished before returning on retirement to Germany in May 1903. *PA* (Sept. 1903):332. The description of Heyde's hoary head is quoted in Kilgour, comp., *The Bible throughout the World*, 112.

81. Of this period in Macdonald's life, Cecil Polhill writes: "Mr. David Macdonald of Ghoom has done yeoman service among the Tibetans, helping alike all the Tibet- and Hindi-speaking Missions. He can speak six languages." Polhill 1907, p. 332. Actually, he could speak eight languages: English, Tibetan, Bengali, Bhutanese, Sikkimese, Lepcha, Hindi and Nepali. Macdonald had joined the Animal Vaccination Department of the Bengal government in about 1892, a Department with which he was connected for the next 12 years. "When not on tour of the villages in the Darjeeling District I passed most of my time at the Vaccine Depot Headquarters at Ghoom... My regular tours of the villages... gave me a comprehensive insight into the manners and customs, and everyday lives, of the peasantry of this part of the Himalayas." In 1904 Macdonald was tapped by Colonel Laurence A. Waddell—who had established the first Animal Vaccine Depot for Bengal, at Darjeeling, and who was chosen to be the Chief Medical Officer of the Younghusband Mission to Lhasa—to serve as his assistant in collecting literary Tibetiana during the 1904 Mission; Macdonald served as an interpreter for the Mission as well. "It was on account of my work in this connection that I was selected for the appointment of British Trade Agent in 1905, a post which I continued to hold until my retirement in 1925." He was married at Ghoom in 1893, which would be his family's place of abode till called to Tibet as Trade Agent. "In the course of five years at Ghoom [1898-1903] I completed [along with others] a revision of the Tibetan translation of the New Testament." Macdonald 1932, pp. 12-13; see also p. 42.

82. For the Protestant Christian work among Europeans in Darjeeling the British Government of India always supplied a Chaplain. He was in charge not only of the Cantonment but also of the two Anglican Churches at Jallapahar (St. Luke's) and Darjeeling itself (St. Andrew's). This latter Church had been established in 1843 (just eight years after the British had acquired the hill station area) and rebuilt in 1870. Bomwetsch 1899, p. 51.

83. Sandberg and Rev. Heyde were to collaborate in another undertaking while they were together in this same time period. Sandberg made two notable contributions to Tibetan philology: (a) his *Manual of Colloquial Tibetan* (Calcutta, 1894); and (b) his most significant work in this field, a collaboration with Heyde in *A Tibetan-English Dictionary* (Calcutta, 1902), an endeavor Sandberg was commissioned by the Bengal government in 1899 to prepare, in conjunction with Rev. Heyde, from the materials collected from Tibet and elsewhere by famed British Indian Pundit, Sarat Chandra Das. "The work was not final or faultless, but was far more complete than any other." F.W.T., "Sandberg" article, *Dictionary of National Biography* 23 (1901-11):261.

84. Bray 1991, p. 39 (emphasis Francke's).

85. Per Driver 1951, p. 199.

86. Other than those already cited, the sources for the foregoing discussion on the Tibetan linguistic controversy and the work of the Ghoom New Testament Revision Committee are as follows: A.W. Young, "The Bible in the Eastern Himalayas," *Bible Society Reporter* (Feb. 1902):37-8; Benjamin LaTrobe, "On the Threshold of Tibet," *ibid.* (Mar. 1904):68; James Johnston, "On the Frontiers of Tibet," *MRW* (Apr. 1903):264; LaTrobe, "Tibetan Missions and the British Advance towards Lhasa," *ibid.* (Apr. 1904):291; Claude Bald, "The Gospel for Tibet," *ibid.*, 292; *MM* (Nov. 1903):159; Yoseb Gergan, "Letter, Kyelang, May 1926," *ibid.* (Aug. 1926):58; Gergan, "Letter, Kyelang, June 1926," *ibid.* (Sept. 1926):66; "Language Problems in Tibet," *BW* (June 1905):169; E.F., "Tibetan Saga," *ibid.* (May-June 1949):36; *PA* (Sept. 1903):332, (Sep. 1904):573, and (Dec. 1907):765; British and Foreign Bible Society, *Annual Report for the Year Ending March 1903* (London, 1903), 203, 265; B.F.B.S., *In Search of Man: The Bible Society Report for 1948* (London, 1949), 31; Hooper 1963, p. 142; Macdonald 1932, pp. 12-13; Kilgour 1931, p. 183; Polhill 1907, p. 329; P. Klafkowski, "Towards the Complete History of the Tibetan Bible..." in Steinkellner & Tauscher (eds.) 1983, p. 154; for the sources of Francke's views on the Ghoom revision, together with additional information cited in the present discussion, see Bray 1990, pp. 70-1; and Bray 1991, pp. 36-8.

87. For the sources of this information on the Committee, and a fairly detailed account of its work during this period, especially that of Francke, see Bray 1990, pp. 71-4.

88. Indeed, a leading modern Tibetan historian has declared that between 1891 and 1931 Francke, together with his missionary colleague Karl Marx, were able to produce "a corpus of historical and ethnological studies on Ladakh which remain unsurpassed." Tsering W. Shakya, "The Development of Modern Tibetan Studies," in Barnett & Akiner (eds.) 1994, p. 3.

89. Sources for the Francke profile and his comparison to Jaeschke are: Bray 1990, pp. 66, 72-3; Bray 1991, pp. 39-40; Bray 1999, pp. 18-19, 36; Heber to Edith Whitney, Leh, 28 Oct. 1914, MCHA, quoted in Bray 1999, p. 56 note 39; Hooper 1963, p. 143; Kilgour 1931, p. 183; *PA* (Mar. 1896):56, (Mar. 1905):5, (Sept. 1905):199, (Dec. 1907):759, (June 1908):113, (Mar. 1909):286, and (Sept. 1916):520; Houston, "Jesus and His Missionaries in Tibet," *TJ* (Winter 1991):21-2; and Jaeschke, *A Tibetan-English Dictionary...*, iii.

90. Per Bray 1999, p. 26.

91. This per Bray 1990, p. 72.

92. Per Bray 1999, pp. 24, 26.

93. For the quote of Bray and the information about Amundsen, see Bray 1990, p. 72.

94. The quotation of the Calcutta agent and that of Francke's response can be found in *ibid.*, 73. See also Bray 1991, p. 42.

95. Bray 1990, p. 73; and Bray 1991, p. 11.

96. Bray 1990, p. 73; and ESC Minutes BFBS, 4 Apr. 1928, p. 2. In a subsequent ESC Minutes summary it was learned from an interview of Macdonald by A. W. Young of the Calcutta Auxiliary in Apr. 1929 that "with regard to remuneration, Mr. Young says, for Rs. 50 per mensem [per month], Mr. Macdonald would be prepared to give two hours a day on an average until the O.T. is completed. Tharchin would act as consultant and copyist, and as he is employed by the C.S.M., and is doing other literary work, Mr. Young and Mr. Macdonald suggest he should be given Rs. 10 per mensem. Mr. Young found there was a little dissatisfaction that no recognition had been made to Mr. Tharchin for the work he has been doing. Suggests, therefore, that we pay him a small honorarium on that account.... *Resolved* to recommend that a sum up to Rs. 150 be put at the Edit. Supt.'s disposal for an honorarium to Mr. Tharchin and that the Edit. Supt. correspond." ESC Minutes BFBS, 6 Aug. 1930, p. 17. And in the following month's summary it was noted that "it will be necessary for new arrangements to be made for the completion of the O.T. in Tibetan. Bishop Peter of the Moravian Mission, Leh [who replaced Francke, upon the latter's death, as supervisor of the translation project], will require a Tibetan assistant for writing out the work. Mr. Macdonald and Mr. Tharchin, who are to read the draft, will require to have some remuneration. The Edit. Supt. suggests that £400 be set aside for this work.... *Resolved* to recommend that, subject to the sanction of the F.S.C., the sum of £400 be budgeted for completing the version of the O.T. in Tibetan." *Ibid.*, 3 Sept. 1930, p. 22.

96a. See under Bible translation heading in the Minutes (handwritten in ink) of this Kirk Session, signed by Graham: ThPaK. The Calcutta Auxiliary of the London-based Bible Society approved Tharchin as replacement and no doubt forwarded the information to London.

97. ESC Minutes BFBS, 2 Apr. 1930, p. 2 and 6 Aug. 1930, p. 17.

98. One of them being, of course, the Berlin-based Dr. Francke. Francke, incidentally, was reported as having declared before he died in 1930 that when the Tibetan Bible on which he and others were then laboring to finish, would finally be published, it would provide the Tibetan language "with a classic worthy to be compared with the English Bible, or with Luther's great version." So reported the Editor of *MM* (Nov. 1931):82.

99. He and the other Ladakhi Tibetan, Br. Dewazung, were ordained to the Christian ministry together on

the same date, Sunday 18 July 1920, by Moravian Bishop Arthur Ward at a special ordination service held at the Leh Mission and attended, among others, by the British Joint Commissioner for Ladakh and his wife. "Their presence undoubtedly lent particular weight to the significance of the occasion." Almost immediately thereafter, Rev. Gergan left Leh to assume "sole charge" of the indigenous Tibetan congregation at Kyelang, arriving there in Oct. of 1920. He returned to Ladakh some six years later where he "was placed in charge of the Leh congregation" in late 1926. *PA* (Dec. 1922):173; *ibid.* (June 1927):136, 138.

On the other hand, the distinction of having been the first ethnic Tibetan ever to be ordained a minister, whether Protestant or Catholic, lay with a Tibetan who hailed from Derge in East Tibet. This ordination had occurred some thirty years before the Moravian ordination in Ladakh. The present author is indebted to John Bray for alerting him to the fact that on 15 Aug. 1891 this Tibetan from Derge had been ordained a Roman Catholic priest by the well-known French Catholic missionary society, the Société des Missions Étrangères (for more on this Mission and its missionary activities in regard to Tibet, see again the present narrative's first volume, pp. 266-71). This Tibetan's name, sounding more Chinese than Tibetan, was Téléspore Hiong (Chion) Telong, which, when identified in the various French sources mentioning this event, may have been a French version of a Chinese version of his Tibetan name. See Adrien Launay, *Histoire de la Mission du Thibet*, 2 vols (Paris, ca. 1905), 1:301-2; Jacques Bacot, *Le Tibet révolté*, 1st ed. (Paris, 1913), 52; and Laurent Deshayes, *Tibet (1846-1952): Les missionnaires de l'impossible* (Paris, 2008), 110.

100. Gergan 1935, p. 1.

101. The sources for the data on Joseph Gergan's endeavors until 1926 are Bray 1990, p. 73 and Bray 1994, 1:69-70.

102. It is fairly certain that these two Christians met at least once prior to Gergan Tharchin's relocation to Ghoom in 1912. It is doubtful, however, that they ever met again afterwards. This per a statement by Tharchin's son Sherab Gyamtsho to the author of the present narrative while the latter was on a visit to Kalimpong in Nov. 1987.

103. Quoted in Tyndale-Biscoe, *Tyndale-Biscoe of Kashmir*. 221.

104. Quoting Y. Gergan in *MM* (Feb. 1934):16.

105. Hooper 1963, pp. 143-4. The revised Urdu Bible which Joseph used, and which was issued by the British and Foreign Bible Society in cooperation with its Auxiliaries in India, would, in its component parts when they were first published, have been: (a) for the Old Testament, a revision that was completed in 1927 and published in 1930; and (b) for the New Testament, a revision which in 1906 and 1908, respectively, appeared in two versions: one in Roman published at London and one in Persian characters published at Lahore. James M. Roe, *A History of the British and Foreign Bible Society. 1905-1954* (London, 1965), 366, 162. Cf. with "Revised Urdu New Testament," *CMI* (Aug. 1906):633 and Rev. Dr. H.U. Weitbrecht, "The Bible in India," *MRW* (Apr. 1908):258-66.

106. Quoted in Hutton 1935, pp. 172-3.

107. Excerpted from one of the "Letters from Overseas," *MM* (Sept. 1934):66.

108. See Bray 1990, p. 74.

109. *Ibid.*

110. The forwarding to Macdonald and Mackenzie is per Bray, in *ibid.*, 72-3.

111. All the information in this paragraph was derived from *ibid.*, 74; TLSC Minutes BFBS, 1943, p. 14; and Bray 1991, p. 12.

112. TLSC Minutes BFBS, 1944, p. 7.

113. Revelation 22:20-1 (AV), the very last words of the Christian Bible.

114. Other than what has been documented in those sources already cited, the information and quotations in all the foregoing paragraphs touching upon the Tibetan Bible manuscript during the time from when it had been sent to London in 1934 till the death in 1946 of Joseph Gergan are from the following sources: E.F., "Tibetan Saga," *BW* (May-June 1949):37; Chandu Ray, "Therefore Let Us Praise God," *ibid.* (July-Aug. 1949):53; Ray 1960, pp. 4-5; Driver 1951, p. 202; *MM* (May 1931):35; "Letters from Overseas: Tibet," *ibid.* (Sept. 1934):66; Y. Gergan, "Letter, Leh, late 1936," *MQ* (Jan. 1937):13-14; Walter Asboe in Asboe 1946, p. 6; F.E. Peter, "Annual Report of the West Himalaya Mission for 1929-30," *PA* (June 1931):4; Peter, "Annual Report of the West Himalaya Mission for 1932-33," *ibid.* (June 1934):7; Y. Gergan, "Annual Report of Leh for 1932-33," *ibid.*: 9; Gergan, "Annual Report from Leh, 1933-34," *ibid.* (June 1935):6; Gergan, "Annual Report of Leh, 1940-41," *ibid.* (June 1942):8-9; Bray 1991, pp. 43-4; Sinker 1953, p. 42; and Maberly 1971, pp. 94-8.

115. Of like mind with Joseph (and for that matter with Pallis) on this point was Gergan's son-in-law and co-laborer in the Christian gospel, E.T. Phuntsog. Writing in his latter years his own testimony of faith in Christ, Br. Phuntsog gently offered some justified criticism of his own Moravian missionary brethren from Europe, and at the same time stressed the need of drawing upon not only Western but also Tibetan traditions when attempting to propagate the Christian faith in Ladakh:

Looking back, I believe that some of the hostility among Tibetans to the gospel of Jesus Christ has been the foreign flavor so often attached to it. In our Moravian churches we sang Ladakhi hymns to German tunes. Christianity was unnecessarily marked as a foreign religion. We Tibetans need a Tibetan theology which takes the unchangeable truths about God and places emphasis on what is most easily understood by Tibetans. For example, they are much attracted to the teaching of the indwelling Christ, that "it is not I but Christ who lives in me" [Galatians 2:20]. E.T. Phuntsog, "How I, a Tibetan, Became a Christian" (in typescript form), quoted in Bray 1991, p. 52.

116. As was indicated, Marco Pallis's book, from which this lengthy passage has been extracted, saw a number of different editions—both reprint and revised—since its initial publication in 1939. The latest one consulted by the present author was the third revised edition, published in 1949. In that edition much of the original passage was deleted and a few words changed here and there for the better in what remained. What therefore appears here is a bringing together in one composite whole what Pallis had written about the Bible translator in the first, and in the third revised, editions of his work. Consult *Peaks and Lamas* (London: Cassell and Co., 1939), 291-2 and compare with the Third Revised Edition (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1949), 255.

117. Psalm 136:1, 4 AV. The following sources were consulted for providing the information and quoted material in presenting that part of the story of the Tibetan Bible covering the years 1946-48 after the death in Aug. 1946 of Rev. Gergan: "A Christian Scholar in Tibet," *MQ* (Apr. 1947):3-4; Walter Asboe, "The Bible in Tibetan—Complete," *ibid.* (Jan. 1948):1-3; Pierre Vittoz, "The Church of Ladak," *ibid.* (Oct. 1954):3 (in re: Gospel); Herbert Connor, "Report on a Visit to Leh, 1956" (Sub-section: "Gospel, the Scribe"), *ibid.* (Oct. 1956):8; E.F., "Tibetan Saga," *BW* (May-June 1949):37-8; Asboe, "Annual Report of West Himalaya for the Year 1948-49," *PA* (1950):6; Ray 1960, pp. 5-7; Bray 1991, p. 44; Hooper 1963, p. 144; Maberly 1971, pp. 99-131; and Sinker 1953, p. 43. With regard to Chandu Ray's "The Story of the Bible in Tibetan," cited as one of the many sources above (Ray 1960), it needs to be mentioned here that John Bray has asserted, in the Notes for his extremely helpful paper cited many times in this present chapter and entitled "A History of the Moravian Church's Tibetan Bible Translations," that Ray's article "contains several historical inaccuracies." See Bray 1990, p. 79. The present author has therefore exercised some caution with respect to the Ray material in the present chapter.

118. The information and quoted material found in this and the preceding two paragraphs have been derived from *ibid.*: 75; TLSC Minutes BFBS, 1954, p. 26; and Bray 1991, pp. 44-5, with 57 (notes 56 and 57).

119. TLSC Minutes BFBS, 1954, p. 26 and Bray 1990, p. 75.

120. Y. Gergan, "Annual Report of Leh, 1940-41," *PA* (June 1942):9.

120a. D.M. Barker, Secretary, to "Dear Committee," Kalimpong ("Yule" House, Dr. Graham's Homes), 29 Feb. 1956, ThPaK.

121. The creation and composition of this Revision Committee, and all quoted material, are per TLSC Minutes BFBS, 1955, p. 32; 1956, p. 34; and 1959, p. 24.

122. Landour, like its nearby sister resort community of Mussoorie, is situated along a sharp ridge that rises among the Himalayan foothills north of New Delhi and Dehra Dun. At about this time it had increasingly become the center for the work of the Tibetan Frontier Mission of TEAM (The Evangelical Alliance Mission) inasmuch as the Indian government had placed no restrictions upon foreigners within this particular resort area. And it was for this reason that Rev. Vittoz could be granted a temporary visa by the Government to reenter India if the missionary were based here and not in the more sensitive border region of Ladakh farther to the north. It ought to be added that Landour was the site for other activities by Christian organizations in India: e.g., TEAM had also its language school here, to where, incidentally, the second Mrs. Tharchin (Margaret Vitants) would go for her own language training in the late 1930s—see Ch. 26 again for the details; a Bible correspondence school had by this time begun a rapid development, sending lessons out all across India; and just a short distance away (at Sunny Bank) was also situated the Deodars, a Christian conference center that would periodically be used by the Tibetan Fellowship of WEC (Worldwide Evangelization Crusade), as well as by WEC itself, to hold its annual conferences. See Woodward 1975, pp. 106, 119-20, 140 and E.T. Phuntsog, "Report on a Trip to Landour, Kalimpong and Calcutta." *MQ* (Apr. 1954):7-8. It was more than likely at the Deodars that the Vittoz family and Rev. Phuntsog took lodging and conducted their working sessions on the revision of the New Testament, along with other members of the team. It was doubtless here also that the Tharchins stayed for a fortnight while in the area for a longer period during the spring of 1960 (see again the previous chapter).

123. Bray 1994, 1:75 and Bray, "A.H. Francke's *La Dvags Kyi Akhbar*...." *TJ* (Autumn 1988):61-2. For additional details surrounding E.T. Phuntsog's proposal to simplify written Ladakhi, see N.T. Shakspe, "The Life and Times of Geshe Ye-shes-don-grup," in John Bray, ed., *Ladakhi Histories* (Leyden/Boston, 2005), 346, where is indicated, among other things, that at an official government hearing on the controversial proposal by Br. Phuntsog, this particular learned Ladakhi Buddhist Geshe had "made a statement [in opposition] which helped defeat the proposal."

In a subsequent scholarly paper, Bray indicated that as early as 1919 Joseph Gergan had himself promoted a simplified Ladakhi spelling with the publication that year at Lahore of his revision of the Ladakhi Gospel of Mark. But according to Bray this version of Mark by Gergan "was never popular among the literate Buddhists of Ladakh who regarded the reformed spelling as an unacceptable tampering with the spelling rules of classical Tibetan which was, after all, the language of the Buddhist texts." Added Bray, "Because of the association with the Buddhist scriptures it is unlikely that anyone but a Christian would have proposed a simplified spelling of Ladakhi, at least in 1919." Though E.T. Phuntsog's proposals for a simplified Ladakhi spelling in the 1950s, as has been noted, provoked fierce hostility from many Buddhists in Ladakh and were never widely accepted, he nonetheless did write a Christian play that employed his reformed spelling; even so, there is no evidence which would indicate any attempt by him to use it in any formal Bible translation. See Bray 1990, p. 79.

124. This 80-stanza poem was even published in its Tibetan in far-off Europe by the Swiss Bible Society, under its fuller title: *Phyag 'tshal brgyad cu ma zhes bya ba skyabs mgon ye shu ma shi ka'i mdzad rgya mdo tsam bzhugs so* [The 80 Prostrations, Being 100 Events of the Savior Jesus Christ] (Basserdorf: Swiss Bible Society, 1958). See Bray 1990, p. 87. Apparently, Br. Phuntsog felt its publication in Switzerland, perhaps encouraged by the Vittoz family, could be used in spreading the gospel in that area among an increasing Tibetan refugee population coming into Europe.

125. Per Pierre Vittoz, "Annual Report...for 1952-3," *PA* (1954):20.

126. See later in these notes for this chapter for the sources consulted for the biographical sketch of Rev. Phuntsog and his involvement in the New Testament revision at both Landour and Kalimpong. Following his years of work on the revision of the New Testament conducted at these two places, Rev. Phuntsog would be greatly used to meet the needs of Tibetan children which were created in the wake of the huge influx of refugees

who fled from their homeland in the late 1950s and throughout the 1960s to the hill communities of North India. One immense contribution he made in this regard was to purchase land in the late 1950s and develop a school and hostel in Rajpur near Dehra Dun (with his brother-in-law S.S. Gergan, son of the major translator of the Tibetan Bible, serving as Principal). He also went on to be elected as the first executive secretary of the Tibetan Workers' Council, an organization created by evangelical missionaries to coordinate their work and witness with the many Tibetans now in India. Because of ill health, however, Rev. Phuntsog turned this responsibility over to S.S. Gergan. In Feb. 1973 Br. Phuntsog had gone to Chandigarh to attend his son's graduation from medical school. While there he suffered what would be his final heart attack and died about 24 hours later. David B. Woodward has described those final moments in this great Tibetan's life: "fully conscious, his family around him, and with a vision of beauty before his eyes as he lay dying. His last words were, 'Flowers! Flowers!'" The funeral took place at nearby Dehra Dun, the body later being interred "on the beautiful hillside of Zhanphanling"—the name of the School/Hostel he had founded at Rajpur, and meaning in Tibetan, "Place of Good or Benefit to Others." Needless to say, E.T. Phuntsog was widely respected by all and sundry, including the Dalai Lama himself, who had visited Rev. Phuntsog's commendable work at "Zhanphanling." (Even as recently as 1994 there were as many as 200 children, mostly boarders, at this Christian school that meanwhile had evolved into the Moravian Institute, and a small congregation of Tibetan Christians.) Especially did he gain the respect of many Tibetans for the aid he rendered to the colonies of Amdo refugees who had settled in Rajpur, and in Clementown some 14 miles farther away. Sources for this end-note are: Tharchin and Woodward, 1975, pp. 644-6; Prince Peter 1963, p. 344; Woodward 1975, pp. 145, 157-8; J.H. Foy, "Rajpur," *MQ* (Jan. 1970):4-8; Bray 1994, 1:74; Carlson 1988a, pp. 11-12; and Bray, "A.H. Francke's *La Dvags Kyi Akhbar...*," *TJ* (Autumn 1988):61.

127. The details of the dramatic story surrounding the preparation in Britain of this unusual typewriter for delivery to India is told in Norman Driver, "The Tibetan Typewriter: a Thrilling Story," *MQ* (Jan. 1957):6-8 and *ibid.* (Apr. 1960):4-5.

128. TLSC Minutes BFBS, 1959, p. 24.

129. *Ibid.*, 1960, p. 27.

130. *Ibid.*

131. At this UCNI General Assembly Br. Phuntsog was welcomed as a fraternal delegate representing the Moravian Church in India. One of the main concerns of the (Moravian) Ladakh Church at that time had been its "isolated position." Br. Vittoz also noted in his Annual Report of the Mission for 1953 that "no active cooperation with any other Mission is possible." And hence, the purpose of Br. Phuntsog's attendance at the UCNI Assembly had been to express the desire of the Ladakh Church "to have a solid link with the Indian Church" as a whole. His request was welcomed, and sometime thereafter the possibility for the Ladakh Church to join the UCNI became a reality. It should also be noted that the UCNI was the precursor to the later and still currently existing Church of North India (CNI): a much larger amalgamation (begun in 1970) of affiliated Churches in the northern areas of India than was its predecessor (for details on the CNI merger, see again end-note 8 for Ch. 16 of the present narrative's Vol. II).

See Pierre Vittoz, "Tibet" (a paraphrase of his Annual Report for 1953), *MQ* (Apr. 1954):5; *ibid.* (Oct. 1971):4-5; and Vittoz, "Report of West Himalaya for January 1955-March 1956" (dated 10 Apr. 1956), *PA* (1956):4-5.

132. The time frame for his Kalimpong visit was between the 22nd of Sept. and the 5th or so of Oct. 1953. Phuntsog, "Report on a Trip to Landour, Kalimpong and Calcutta," *MQ* (Apr. 1954):7-9. While at Kalimpong the Ladakhi Tibetan was asked by Rev. Tharchin to preach on two consecutive Sundays at the services of the Tibetan Church, which met, as did the Nepali service, at the Macfarlane Memorial Church building. These two Sundays would have been the 27th of Sept. and the 4th of Oct. In the subsequent report of his trip, Br. Phuntsog gave further details of his visit to Kalimpong:

On the 22nd of September I left Darjeeling for Kalimpong. Rev. G. Tharchin—an old Christian from Poo now living in Bengal—the pastor of the Tibetan congregation, received me at his house, and I was his guest during my stay there. They have prayers every Wednesday besides the usual Sunday

services. On Wednesday, 23rd of September, there were gathered brethren of eight nationalities: Swedish, Indian, Nepali, Sherpa, Khampa, Lhasan, Khunu [i.e., Kunawari—specifically, Rev. Tharchin], and Ladakhi. It was wonderful, all of us praying in the name of the same one Savior and Lord Jesus Christ in our different dialects and tongues.

...the Tibetan congregation at Kalimpong...are about sixty members, including children. I attended the Nepali service in the same church [building]: the attendance was about 300. On the 1st of October, I went to Pedong, the last village and post on the Indian border, with the Rev. Carlsson of Kalimpong. It was a market day there. We held an open-air preaching in the market. Mr. T. Pratten of the Pedong Brethren and I preached in Tibetan, and a Swedish lady preached in Nepali. We sang hymns and distributed tracts. *Ibid.*, 8-9.

While at Darjeeling Br. Phuntsog, besides attending gatherings of the Youth for Christ and the Revival Prayer Meeting, also visited with the Tibetan Mission. At the Tibetan Mission House, he wrote in his report, "I gave a message and my testimony...in Lhasan Tibetan." *Ibid.*, 8.

132a. Phuntsog to Tharchin (in Tibetan), Leh, postmarked Kalimpong 13 June 1953, ThPaK; translated for the author by Phurbu Tsering. Tharchin indicated on the letter that he had replied on 15 June.

133. Many sources were available for the discussion of the New Testament revision efforts at both Landour and Kalimpong:

A. Other than those already cited, the several additional sources for the information and quotations to be found in the foregoing summary of the Landour efforts in revising the Tibetan New Testament, including the biographical sketch of Rev. Vittoz, are as follows: Tharchin himself; *MQ* (Oct. 1951):5, (Jan. 1957):6-8, (Apr. 1957):4, (Apr. 1958):4-5, (Oct. 1959):5, (Apr. 1960):4-5, (Oct. 1960):7, (Jan. 1961):4, (Apr. 1961):4, (Oct. 1961):5, (Apr. 1962):5, (Apr. 1972):3, (Apr. 1978):2; Wilson, "The West Himalaya Mission of the Moravian Church: a Difficult Situation," *Moravian* (Nov. 1962):37-8; Vittoz, "Report of West Himalaya for January 1955-March 1956," *PA* (1956):6-7, *ibid.* (1951):3, and *ibid.* (1952):4; Bray 1990, p. 75; Bray 1991, pp. 45-6; and Vittoz, "West Himalayan Notes, No. 63," 20 Apr. 1955, MCHA, quoted from, paraphrastically, in Bray, *ibid.*, 45.

B. The sources for the biographical sketch of Rev. Phuntsog and his involvement in the New Testament revision at both Landour and Kalimpong are: Tharchin himself; Asboe, "The Outlook for Our Work in Tibet," *MM* (Sept. 1937):67; Asboe, "A Tibetan Convert's Maiden Sermon," *ibid.* (Mar. 1938):19-20; "A Christian Scholar in Tibet," *MQ* (Apr. 1947):3-4; Vittoz, "Tibet" (a recent Annual Report), *ibid.* (Apr. 1954):4-5; "The Church in Western Tibet," together with Rev. Phuntsog's "Report on a Trip to Landour, Kalimpong and Calcutta," *ibid.*, 7-9; Connor, "Report on a Visit to Leh, 1956," *ibid.* (Oct. 1956):6-7; Bray 1994, 1:73-8; and Bray 1991, pp. 46, 52.

134. As indicated elsewhere, Tharchin's wife, Karma Dechhen, was the aunt of Ringzin Wangpo. It will be of some interest to know how this appointment of Ringzin Wangpo to London had come about. For originally it was Hisao Kimura, the ex-Japanese spy in Mongolia and Tibet, who was to have been the one to go. Tharchin had recommended Kimura to Hopkinson—partly in appreciation for the success of the spy mission the newspaper publisher had himself personally commissioned him to undertake in East Tibet a year earlier on behalf of the British Indian government, and partly in recognition of his fluency in Tibetan. At the instruction of Tharchin, therefore, Kimura went to Gangtok for the required interview with the Political Officer, who was handling the selection process. Whereupon Hopkinson agreed to forward Kimura's application to London; in the end, however, Tharchin's Japanese intelligence agent learned "that London was holding out for a native Lhasan." Though disappointed, Kimura, who had meanwhile become well acquainted with the Tibetan publisher's nephew in Kalimpong, turned around and recommended Ringzin Wangpo for the London post himself! "I've often wondered," mused the Japanese long after the event, "how different my life might have been had my application been successful." Kimura 1990, pp. 185, 190.

It will be of further interest to know that Marco Pallis had himself had a hand in advancing the cause of Tharchin's nephew *vis-à-vis* the London University School teaching and research post. For in a letter to the Babu which Pallis wrote from Gyantse in Tibet on 14 July 1948 (and signed as Thubten Tendzin), he mentioned that "the letters of introduction for Rindzin Wangpo can be given him when we meet. I hope that he has had definite news of that [London research] job by now." ThPaK. He indeed had.

Furthermore, it so happened, writes Dr. R. K. Sprigg in his obituary of Ringzin Wangpo, the Oriental and African Studies School had itself "originally sought the help of Marco Pallis...to try and find a suitable

speaker of the Lhasa dialect of a Tibetan for the research program” that was created “to supply material for a phonological study of the form of Tibetan spoken by him.” Sprigg was himself to then use this material in preparation for the writing of his own Ph.D. thesis at the London University School, which he did indeed accomplish. See Sprigg 1988, p. 77. One could say, therefore, that all three—Kimura, Pallis and Sprigg—had a hand in the recruitment of Ringzin Wangpo for the London University post!

Dr. Sprigg, who befriended Tharchin’s nephew during the latter’s difficult year-long stay in England, has provided a sketch of Tharchin’s nephew, especially his educational and scholarly background. In his obituary of the Tibetan, Sprigg indicates that he had been born at Lhasa in 1920, his father, hailing from northern Tibet, having died before Ringzin’s birth. Brought up in the Tibetan capital by both his Lhasan mother and grandmother, he was educated in special schools—both lay and monastic—till the age of 17, after which, leaving Lhasa in 1938, he went on a pilgrimage through Tsang Province and on to Kalimpong to visit his relatives there for a year (and no doubt residing with Tharchin his uncle).

Upon returning to Lhasa he taught in the Chinese Government School there for a month before gaining employment for nearly a year as a clerk in the Treasury at the Dalai Lama’s summer palace, Norbu Lingka. But in early 1943 Ringzin commenced a five-year study course at the Tibetan capital as pupil of Tharchin’s friend and colleague in Tibetan language work for Sir Basil Gould at Lhasa, the esteemed scholar, Tshatrul Rimpoche, with whom, it will be recalled, the Babu had worked closely during the latter’s lengthy stay at the Tibetan capital in 1940 (see again Ch. 21’s Text). Ringzin’s course of study, which he completed in 1947, had included the Tibetan grammatical works known as the *sum-rtags*. He then traveled to Kalimpong once more; and until he departed for Britain in late 1948, the young man would remain there “helping his uncle, Rev. G. Tharchin, with publishing the Tibetan newspaper...”

During the Tibetan’s stay in England he informally taught Dr. Sprigg Tibetan phonetics and calligraphy (“Wangpo was a skilled calligrapher,” writes the Englishman); and the association between these two continued for six months more in Kalimpong to where both Ringzin and Sprigg traveled in the autumn of 1949. Upon the latter’s return to England, Tharchin’s nephew began to teach spoken and/or written Tibetan to foreigners at the hill station, including a very close acquaintance of Babu Tharchin’s, Prince Peter of Greece and Denmark. But then, between 1951 and 1953, the Lhasan Tibetan served as Instructor in (Tibetan) Phonetics in the Far Eastern Studies Department of Ceylon University at Colombo. Again back in Kalimpong the following year, Ringzin Wangpo resumed his teaching of foreigners the Tibetan language. He even filled a temporary post in the office of the Political Officer for Sikkim as Tibetan Translator during 1955, after which he served another close acquaintance of the Babu’s, Austrian Baron Nebesky-Wojkowitz, by successfully translating what the young Baron identified later as “a rare Tibetan blockprint describing technical details as well as the mystic background of the Tibetan Black-Hat Dance” which, due to the text’s difficult terminology, several learned Tibetan Lamas whom the Baron had initially consulted “had to confess their ignorance in this matter.”

Dr. Sprigg has pointed out that Ringzin Wangpo’s period in Ceylon (now known as Sri Lanka) had apparently inspired in him an interest in Hinayana Buddhism, which resulted in his becoming a Hinayana Buddhist Lama. Ordained in 1958 as a *samanera* at the Triyana Vardhana Vihara in Kalimpong, “his yellow robe,” Sprigg remarks, “made him a conspicuous figure...as the town’s only Tibetan Hinayana Buddhist.” Sprigg concluded his obituary by noting that by the mid-1960s and on through the ’70s he would occasionally see the Tibetan while on visits to Kalimpong, during which period the Theravada Buddhist “was staying with his uncle, the Rev. Mr. G. Tharchin and his son Elder S.G. Tharchin.” However, by the time Sprigg settled down in the hill station’s Tirpai village in 1980, Ringzin had assumed the incumbency “of a small but richly furnished shrine in the village, Pragyā Chaitya Mahā Vihār.” Far from well in health at this time, the Hinayanist Lama never quite recovered and eventually died in Feb. 1985. See *ibid.*, 77-82.

It should be pointed out that at his ordination Ringzin had taken the Lama name of Sherap Nangwa by which he ever afterwards was known. And during the twilight years of his uncle’s life this nephew-monk assisted him greatly at the Tibet Mirror Press in proofreading, editing, etc. Sherap Nangwa even authored a small book (40 pages) entitled, *The Five Hygienic Paths of Morality*, which Tharchin printed and published for him at the Press in 1965.

Interestingly, Sherap Nangwa’s guru in Kalimpong, and the one who actually ordained him there, was none other than the Ven: Shangarok Shita (or, as Sprigg has referred to him, Bhikshu Sangharakshita), who was in reality a Britisher from London. This guru of Ringzin Wangpo’s, before becoming an Indian Buddhist monk, had developed a keen interest in Buddhism during his schooldays in London. Later, as a member of the Royal Air Force in World War Two on active duty in the Far East, he came into contact with the Buddhist faith. Breaking all ties with the West upon his release from the armed forces, this young Englishman went completely over to Buddhism and became a monk; and in the words of Baron Nebesky-Wojkowitz, he “tramped the dusty

roads of India dressed in a yellow robe, with a shaven head and a begging-bowl in his hand." He even underwent "the severe tests to which a novice is subjected, to try the sincerity of his decision—poverty and mortification of the flesh, wearisome pilgrimages and protracted meditational exercises," passing them all. Ultimately, upon receiving initiation of the lower degree, this former English airman became a *bhikshu*—i.e., a full-ordained Buddhist priest of the Hinayana branch, the form of Buddhism predominant in the lands of South Asia, including India and Sri Lanka.

Most Indian Buddhists, writes the Baron, "reject Lamaism out of hand, without any close knowledge of its essential nature, as a primitive demon cult, which, in their opinion, has scarcely anything in common with Buddha's philosophic teaching." Ringzin Wangpo's guru resolved, therefore, to make inquiry as to the facts for himself; and the conclusions he came to led him to try to effect a *rapprochement* between these two schools of Buddhism: the Hinayana, and the Mahayana that prevails in Tibet. As his journalistic mouthpiece for this attempt at reconciliation he co-published with another ex-British airman, Colonel John Swale-Ryan—who likewise became a convert to Buddhism—a monthly magazine called *Stepping Stones*. Like Bhikshu Shangarok Shita, Swale-Ryan, too, had become a Buddhist priest of the Hinayana school, taking on the name of Anagarika Sasana Ratana. According to *Time* magazine, however, this endeavor at *rapprochement* "infuriated" another Kalimpongian from the West, Tharchin's close friend and benefactor, Marco Pallis, whose book *Peaks and Lamas* has been quoted extensively in the present biography. Said a *Time* article on Kalimpong in Dec. of 1950, Pallis "wants Tibetans to stick to Mahayana," and "recently wrote a book warning Tibetans against... infidels with strange ideas," he "quietly sending copies of it across the border." (Pallis, incidentally, though never becoming a monk, did adopt a Tibetan name for himself—Thubten Tendzin—and ever afterwards signed his many letters to Tharchin by that name!)

Both ex-British airmen-turned-Buddhist priests mounted another co-venture in Kalimpong when they founded together the Young Men's Buddhist Association (YMBA), modeled after its Christian counterpart, the well-known Young Men's Christian Association. During their stay in Kalimpong these two priests noticed with alarm that many young Buddhist Nepalese and Tibetans, in the words of Nebesky-Wojkowitz, "wasted a great deal of time in idleness or allowed themselves to be enlisted for dubious causes by political agitators. To set the young men's minds on more productive paths," they united in founding the YMBA. Sources: Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1955?, pp. 79-80; and "'Haven't We Met?'" *Time* (4 Dec. 1950):31.

135. Except for the one quotation about Tharchin's son, all other quoted material in this and the preceding paragraph is from Margaret Urban, in her book, Urban 1967, pp. 12-13. These quotations represent statements Tharchin made to the authoress when she visited in the Kalimpong pastor's home for two weeks in the spring of 1964. The quotation relating to his son, as well as some additional information to be found in these two paragraphs, were all gleaned from Tharchin's end-of-life "memoirs" (see GTUM TwMs, Ch. 26, p. 1 and Ch. 28, p.2) and from conversations with S.G. Tharchin by the present author at Kalimpong in Nov. 1987.

136. These words of Tharchin are quoted by the young priest and reported by Urban in Urban 1967, p. 19.

137. TLSC Minutes BFBS, 1962, p. 34.

138. Phuntsog, "India," *MQ* (Oct. 1969):4.

139. Per Bray 1990, p. 75.

140. The most recent reissue, again published by the Bible Society at its Bangalore office, occurred in 1982 in a paperback edition under the title of *The New Testament: Tibetan—Revised Edition*. The run that year, subsidized by India Bible Literature of Madras, was 30,000 copies, demonstrating once again the anticipated eagerness among the general Tibetan populace on both sides of the border to have available to them the Christian Scriptures in their own language. The source for the date and place of release and publication of the original 1971 printing of the Revised Edition, as well as of the presentation to His Holiness, is per E.T. Phuntsog's recounting of the events of 1971 which appeared in *MQ* (Apr. 1972):3.

141. More should be said about the late Rev. Hishey with respect to his background, Christian walk, and his work on behalf of the gospel among and for Tibetans. These various aspects of his life he shared one day in a wide-ranging interview he gave in 1989 to Tsering W. Shakya, social anthropologist and Tibetan historian. As indicated in the Text, he had been born at Kalimpong in 1953 and brought up as a child in India's West

Bengal state by his Amdowa father—an ex-monk from the famed Kumbum Monastery there—and his mother who had hailed from Amdo's adjacent sister province of Kham. Young Stephen, at the age of five, had been chosen by his monk-father to become a Buddhist priest. He had to rise daily at four in the morning to learn the Tibetan scriptures. Moreover, recalled Rev. Hishey, “How fearful I was of the fierce-looking idols,” but “how joyful I was [later] when, as a school student, I learned about this Jesus who is the revelation of our just and loving Father-God.” A product of a Christian hostel experience at Dehra Dun where he and his brothers and only sister (all of whom eventually became Christians themselves) had been placed because “of the change in the educational concept that Tibetans need to be given a proper education,” it was here in 1965 at the age of 12 that he first heard about Christ. Like his wife's grandfather Joseph Gergan before him, Rev. Hishey felt impelled to make a comparative study of religions to discover for himself which way was the truth. This he did prior to his receiving Christian baptism in Aug. 1973 at a church in Dehra Dun when 20 years old. “It was an age,” he explained, “when you could decide for yourself and could distinguish between what Buddhism has to offer in terms of life after death and what Christianity has to offer, the meaning of salvation, prayers, and relationship with God. I think that in the Christian Bible those [things] made more practical sense to me than [did] the Buddhist scriptures and understanding.”

Upon completion of his education at the Dehra Dun Christian hostel, young Hishey went on to graduate from Simla University, from whence he went to North America to study theology on a scholarship he had received from an American institution; but because he was late in registering, he was sent to the Canadian Theological Seminary where he secured an M.A. in Theology and Christian Education. He eventually assumed the principalship of the well-known Moravian Mission School at Leh, the largest school in the whole of Ladakh with more than 850 students then currently enrolled. But he would also in time become the pastor of the Moravian Church congregation there, whose activities even today include various social services, education, medicine and agriculture, though he would later relinquish that position of responsibility. Nor would he any longer even be located in Ladakh, which development needs to be explained in some detail and has to do with one final matter about which Rev. Hishey was asked in the interview with Tsering Shakya. The latter had inquired about the reactions and attitudes taken towards him by other Tibetans upon his having become a Christian. His reply revealed what he had had to endure on account of his faith, but indicated nonetheless that the situation ended up being far better then than before. Said Pastor Hishey of his experience:

On the outside they were very hostile. They had a sense of hate and felt that I had deceived them. They said that I sold out for a certain amount of money. That was the general feeling, of course. Over the years, seeing that I have stuck to Christianity and that it has not been a materialistic conversion but a genuine conversion from my own heart, I guess people have gradually accepted this.

As it turned out, however, Pastor Hishey had spoken too sanguinely in his 1989 interview. For it was just about that time that the trouble surrounding his Christian testimony really intensified.

He had not been Leh pastor for very long when virulent opposition arose against him, especially for his having published a book called *The Savior* that besides presenting the Christian gospel in its pages also took a clear stand against Buddhism. For when the local Buddhist leaders learned of it, they vowed and passed a decree among themselves to the effect that Rev. Hishey “should either be eliminated or removed from Ladakh.” Soon, and for four months thereafter, a hundred or more Buddhist monks daily surrounded the Hishey family home. The situation grew so menacing that the Government ordered 17 policemen to protect Pastor Hishey. The news of the trouble even made headlines in the Indian newsmagazine *India Today*. In the end, the Leh pastor, feeling the situation would not likely change for the better, had decided to relocate himself and his family elsewhere in India outside Ladakh but still among the Himalayas not far from the Tibetan border. As a consequence, though, the door opened for Rev. Hishey to commence a radio ministry beaming the message of Christ by that means all across Tibet. As far as this writer is aware, he remained in this ministry until his death in 2006. This ministry, incidentally, is further described in Chapter 30's End-Notes.

Sources for all the information and quoted material in this note on Rev. Hishey are: (1) T. Shakya, “A Conversation with a Tibetan Christian” (summer 1989 at Leh), the text of which appeared in *TR* (Mar. 1990):14-17; (2) “The Sponsor,” *Voices in the Wilderness*, Newsletter of Advancing Native Missions (Charlottesville VA USA), (Dec. 1995):4; (3) “Soldiers of Mercy: Freeing the Prisoners,” *ADNAMIS Magazine* (Charlottesville VA), (Summer 1997):5, 10-11; (4) “The Rev. Stephen Hishey,” *MQ* (Oct. 1976):5; and (5) for the place of his birth, this was communicated in an email of 22 June 2008 to the author from John Bray, then at Leh, who had obtained this fact through a relative of the Hishey family who had just then confirmed it by phone with Rev. Hishey's surviving wife Sungzin.

142. The information in this paragraph is per interviews with Rev. Rapgey, Dec. 1992, early Dec. 1993, and Jan. 1995; and letter, S.G. Tharchin to the author, Kalimpong, May 1995.

143. All quoted material in this and the preceding four paragraphs are from Bray 1990, pp. 75, 77. See also p. 67 for Bray's discussion of the differences between *chos-skad* and *phal-skad* and the problems associated with each. See also Bray 1991, pp. 52-4.

143a. See CAM (Charlottesville VA USA), "Pioneer Churches Growing in Tibet," *Praise Report* (Apr. 2004):2; also, cf. "Tibetan Believers [in Nepal] Prepare for Leadership [in Tibet]," *ibid.* (Jan. 2004):2.

144. The *lingua franca* quote is from Pallis 1949, p. 104; the other quote is from McGovern 1924, p. 63.

145. From an interview, cited many times already in the present biography, which Tharchin Babu gave at his Kalimpong home to Dawa Norbu, the then editor-in-chief of the *Tibetan Review*, and published therein. See Norbu 1975, p. 20.

145a. See Bray 1994, I:78, where the author indicates that the basis for his comments were informal conversations he had conducted with education officials in Bhutan's capital of Thimphu, Nov. 1992.

145b. See telegram, Koch to Tharchin, 23 Jan. 1968: "Arrival Thursday January 25—Koch" ; with an inked note by the Babu on the copy of the telegram: "Arrived on 25/1/68 at 5:30 p.m."; ThPaK.

146. See Koch's introduction, entitled "Er Heisst Wunderbar" ["His Name Is Wonderful"] in Urban 1967, pp. 1-3. Here he tells how his path crossed with that of Miss Urban again and again when on his extensive speaking tours that took him to California in the U.S., Mexico, Germany and Canada. These encounters with Miss Urban had predated her visit with Gergan and Margaret Tharchin in 1964 and Dr. Koch's own visit to Kalimpong later.

146a. About this matter, see the exchange of letters between these two men found among the ThPaK: Koch to Tharchin, as from Karlsruhe Gmy (he was then in South America), 10 Jan. 1969, in which he enclosed a contribution of \$125 for a Gospel printing of Tharchin's choice, with another \$125 promised later for another Gospel; and Tharchin to Koch, Kalimpong, 21 Mar. 1969, in which, with Koch's approval, the Babu proposed producing "John's Gospel in Tibetan along with its English version side by side, as there are many enquiries and demands for it." For the other information given in the Text paragraph about the thousands of copies of this Gospel which were distributed free-of-charge among the refugee centers and schools in India, see GTUM TwMs, Ch. 26, p. 3.

147. Sources used for the brief profile of Trijang Rimpoche are: Goodman 1986, pp. 107, 202; Phuntsok Tsering, "Trijang Rimpoche Passes Away," *TR* (Nov. 1981):7; Tsering, "Kyabje Ling Rimpoche—In Memoriam," *ibid.* (Jan. 1984):8, 10; Rato 1977, p. 150; Dalai Lama XIV 1990, p. 61; *TJ* (Winter 1982):3; and Dzemay Rimpoche, "A Short Biography of Trijang Rimpoche," *ibid.* (Spring/Summer 1982):27.

148. Steiner, letters, Dharchula, 23 Dec. 1938 and 7 Feb. 1939, summarized and quoted in TLSC Minutes BFBS, 1939-41, p. 22.

149. The general's story is recounted in Maberly 1971, pp. 143-4. Moravian Bishop Herbert Connor is the other clergyman mentioned, whose words are found in *MQ* (Oct. 1956):9-10. He visited Leh, Ladakh in 1956 and briefly commented on this way of learning Tibetan by the Chinese Communists in Tibet. The quote of Sinker's is from her book, Sinker 1953, p. 43.

150. See in the New Testament the Apostle Paul's Second Letter to Timothy, 3:16a.

Chapter 29

GTUM TwMs, Ch. 27, pp. 1-3; quotes: 2.

1. The information to be found in these first two paragraphs of the chapter on the visit of the Dalai Lama in the Darjeeling-Kalimpong area has been gleaned from: (a) "Dalai Lama to Lead Buddhist Restoration," *TR* (July-Aug. 1975):7 and (b) Dawa Norbu, "Focus on the Dalai Lama," *ibid.*, 3.

2. In this connection, one of the current Dalai Lama's biographers, Michael Goodman, took special note of the fact that "Tharchin enjoyed cordial relations with the Thirteenth and, later, the Fourteenth Dalai Lama." Goodman 1986, p. 341.

3. See again Ch. 22 for a discussion on the meaning of this term.

4. For more information about this visitor, friend and benefactor of Tharchin's, see towards the end of the preceding chapter. A worldwide traveler and prolific writer, Dr. Koch had written numerous Christian books on a variety of themes, from among the following titles of which his elderly Tibetan admirer had selected several to present to His Holiness:

Occult Bondage and Deliverance: Advice for Counseling the Sick, the Troubled and the Occultly Oppressed

The Revival in Indonesia

Between Christ and Satan

Christian Counseling and Occultism

The Coming One: Israel in the Last Days

Demonism: Past and Present

The Devil's Alphabet

The Strife of Tongues

Day X: the World Situation in the Light of the Second Coming of Christ

World Without Chance?

Revival Fires in Canada

Victory through Persecution (in Korea)

God among the Zulus

Now as indicated earlier, it was most likely through Dr. Koch's close friendship with missionary Margaret Urban, who visited in the Tharchin home for two weeks in 1964 before Dr. Koch himself had done so, that the Tibetan pastor became acquainted with the prolific output of Christian books by Dr. Koch. That Rev. Tharchin appreciated the Christian literary ministry of Dr. Koch is made further evident by the fact that when the present author paid one particular visit to the Kalimpong home of Gergan Tharchin's son Sherab Gyamtsho, he noticed many of the above-listed titles by the German Christian author scattered among the numerous volumes of what had previously been the personal library of Babu Tharchin.

5. Yet this paucity of visits to the locale of his early years was most assuredly not to be interpreted as demonstrating any lack of interest in the cultural and religious developments there. Indeed, Tharchin had a keen interest in that area all his life. One indication of this fact is reflected in a brief reference that is made to the man from Poo which appeared in a 1931 issue of a Moravian publication, as follows: "...we received the other day a letter from a former missionary, enclosing a letter in English from Tharchin, a Christian from Poo, who is working as an evangelist among his own people in Sikkim. He also publishes" a newspaper, "of which he sends a copy," he also "requesting to be supplied regularly with copies of *Moravian Missions*, as he regards it as a means of keeping in touch with the work in Ladakh and Lahul." *MM* (May 1931):35.

6. The Valley is just north of the east-to-west flow of the mighty Sutlej River in an area highly familiar to Tharchin, since along this stretch of the River lie the towns and villages that figured so significantly in the early years of his life and which served as the locale for the initial encounters between him and Sundar Singh. For more on this Valley and its interesting environs, see again Vol. II, Ch. 20, end-note 75. The journey of His Holiness to the region of Tharchin's early upbringing had occurred during a one-week visit to Kunawar and Spiti, 21 to 27 Oct. 1974. It will be recalled that Bashahr Province of Upper Kunawar is where Poo is located,

with Spiti situated immediately to the north of Poo. See *TR* (Oct.-Nov. 1974):15.

7. It ought to be pointed out that the expression “Dalai” (the Mongolian for “ocean”) corresponds to Gyamtsho (*Rgya mtsho*) in Tibetan. And “Sherab” in Tibetan has a precise meaning: “She” signifies knowledge or knowing, and “rab” means ultimate; hence primary first knowledge or the higher knowledge. Of course, Gyamtsho is one of the names of the current Dalai Lama himself; see again Ch. 22.

8. The Dalai Lama’s understanding and recollection were faulty on two counts here, if Tharchin, when giving to a close acquaintance of his an account of the audience within hours after its conclusion, was altogether accurate in quoting His Holiness. Actually, the newspaper had commenced with a four-page mimeograph format in 1925, a copy of which had been sent the Fourteenth Dalai Lama’s predecessor that same year, with a grateful response having been sent Tharchin the following year accompanied by a small gift for the publishing venture to continue; see again Vol. II, Ch. 17 for the details. What His Holiness probably had in mind here was the later *printed* version of the *Tibet Mirror* that began being produced from the Treadle Brown printing press which Tharchin had obtained in 1947 at Calcutta; see once more the latter part of Ch. 23. Yet even if this was what His Holiness had reference to, that would make him a 12-year-old boy, not one of 7-8 years of age as he thought.

9. Copies of these letters can be found in the Appendices at the end of the present volume. As a still further mark of appreciation, His Holiness sent to Sherab Tharchin a thank-you gift in the form of a three-piece set of beautifully woven Tibetan carpets which continue to grace the main house of the Tharchin compound today.

10. Besides the GTUM TwMs source already indicated at the beginning of this Chapter’s End-Notes, the other valuable source for some of the details and other quoted material to be found in the account of this audience with the Dalai Lama is an interview which the present author had with S.G. Tharchin, Dec. 1993.

11. Interview with Nini (Mrs. S.G.) Tharchin, Dec. 1994.

12. Quoted in “Tharchin Passes Away,” *TR* (Apr. 1976):13. Interestingly, Achu Tsering, son of Tharchin’s close friend and Intelligence superior, Lha Tsering, has reported that not long before the Babu died, the Dalai Lama had sent the publisher a personal letter of sympathy, which had said, in effect, that His Holiness was praying for him and expressing sorrow over his ill-health and wishing him recovery. Achu Tsering used to visit Tharchin frequently during the closing months of the Babu’s life when he was ill, and it was on one of these visits that the Babu had shared with his visitor the Dalai Lama’s kind letter. Per interview with Achu, Jan. 1998.

13. Quoted in article, “Tharchin Anniversary,” in the local Kalimpong weekly, *Himalayan Observer*: 10 May 1980, p. 2.

14. Letter, G. Tshering to S.G. Tharchin, LTWA, Dharamsala, 17 Oct. 1979. A copy of the entire text of the letter is included among the Appendices at the end of the present volume.

15. Tsering 1987, p. 9. In his treatment of Tharchin, the author had erred with respect to this Kinnauri’s birth year, he having stated on p. 7 that Tharchin had been born on 18 April 1888 and not the correct year, 1890.

16. Interview with Dawa Babu (retired State Intelligence Bureau officer), Nov. 1992.

17. The full text of the Citation can be found in the Appendices at the end of this volume. This Citation, though read out by the Babu’s son S.G. Tharchin, had been prepared for delivery at the funeral service by a close acquaintance of the elder Tharchin.

18. It would not be long, however, before events would compel the members of the Tibetan congregation to meet elsewhere, as later explained by both S.G. Tharchin (who succeeded his father to the pastorate) and Peter Rapgey (the then Chairman of the congregation’s Executive Committee). This they did in a printed handbill authorized by the congregation for distribution and entitled, “Tibetan Church, Kalimpong: A Prayerful

Appeal.” Signed by both of these brethren, this Spring 1984 Appeal (which was issued for funds to be contributed towards the purchase of land to build a worship center and provide for a cemetery) candidly described the situation in part as follows:

The Tibetan church in Kalimpong was started more than seven decades ago as part of the Macfarlane Memorial Church under the banner of the Church of Scotland which later on was affiliated with the Church of North India [CNI]. The first national pastor of the Tibetan church was the late Rev. G. Tharchin who with dedication served the Tibetan church as its pastor till the end of his life. During the time of his pastoral service, some leading members of the then Executive Committee of the Macfarlane Memorial Church had several times brought out the proposal that the Tibetan church be amalgamated with the local Nepalese congregation of the M.M. Church. But the late Rev. G. Tharchin always disliked any such idea or proposal that would harm the identity or the character of the Tibetan church....

When Rev. G. Tharchin passed away in 1976, the Executive Committee of the Tibetan church (which the [CNI] Darjeeling Diocesan Council does not recognize) appointed his son Mr. S.G. Tharchin as the new pastor of the Tibetan church, although he was not trained or ordained and yet he spoke the Tibetan language and had ample experience because of working together with his late father for a number of years. On the other hand, the D.D.C. appointed one of their non-Tibetan ministers as the pastoral caretaker of the Tibetan church. Naturally, it was hard for the members of the Tibetan church to accept the appointment of the non-Tibetan minister as their pastor inasmuch as he could not speak the Tibetan language to minister to the Tibetan congregation. The appointment of a dual pastorship in a small church created an atmosphere of tension and friction.

In the meantime our pastor [S.G. Tharchin] and some of the members of our church had the conviction of some biblical truth which inspired them to follow our Lord's example as recorded in Matthew 3:15,16. This decision was not constitutionally acceptable to the CNI leaders, and as a result there was much opposition from them—in addition to the tense situation already existing.

Under the above circumstances, we the members of the Tibetan church, sensing the guidance of the Lord, decided to have a separate venue of our worship and other services. At the moment we are meeting in a small room [within Polhill Hall] near a busy street with a lot of traffic noise. Ever since we changed our worship place, we have even been deprived of the use of the cemetery [the Scottish Mission's so-called God's Acre] where many of our relatives have been buried in the years past [including, e.g., the elder Tharchins].

So our current primary need is to have a piece of land and a worship center along with a cemetery of our own. Keeping in view this need, a general congregational meeting of the Tibetan church was convened on the 23rd of March 1984, and it was resolved to send out a prayerful appeal to all the friends and well-wishers who have a common burden for the Tibetan people to help the Tibetan church....

...we earnestly request you all to uphold the Tibetan church in Kalimpong in your valued prayers and to share the burden of the Tibetan church by generously donating for a piece of land for the construction of the worship place and for a cemetery....

As this volume goes to press, however, the Tibetan church of Kalimpong is still without its own cemetery and still continues to meet in the small room on the said busy street. In addition, a few members, under the pastoral leadership of brother Peter Rapgey (who, unfortunately, has since died, having passed away in 1995), had left the congregation to begin a new church fellowship elsewhere in Kalimpong, calling themselves the Tibetan Believers Assembly. This occurred in late 1987, three years after the above Appeal had been issued.

19. The original typewritten copy of “In Memoriam.” from which these excerpts have been taken, with some minor editing having been added by the present author, can be found among the ThPaK.

20. The significance of the year 1924 in the inscription is, that it was in that year, it may be recalled, that Gergan Tharchin succeeded Rev. Mackenzie in shepherding the growing Tibetan flock in Kalimpong. Not until 1952, of course, was Gergan Tharchin ordained as the pastor. Nevertheless, as this biography has made abundantly clear, all through those years prior to his ordination, he in fact if not in title had served in so many ways in that capacity.

Chapter 29a

1. The following is a list of those individuals cited who had offered testimonials concerning Babu Tharchin's character and/or other observations regarding his life accomplishments; with a few biographical details provided for each individual as a way of identifying each's ability to give such testimonials. They are listed below in the order in which each was first mentioned in the presentation of their testimonials. The reader should note that the initials, GT, signify Gergan Tharchin.

D. K. Khaling—An intelligent, educated, articulate Nepali Christian; was GT's Advocate who knew him up close. Later realizing that his Advocate profession might cause him to compromise his Christian faith, he became a school principal, even subsequently competing, unsuccessfully, in the late 1980s for the post of SUMI Principal.

Victor Subba—He rose to become an Elder of the Macfarlane Memorial Church (MMC); a Nepali. He and GT first met in the mid-1920s at a religious service at MMC and became very close friends and co-workers together in Christian evangelism everywhere around Kalimpong, as well as served together for decades in the Combined Service at MMC.

Gyamtsho Shempa—Born in Amdo Tibet in the 1920s. He fled Tibet with his family to Kalimpong during the Uprising of 1958-59; he and wife became Christians, and at times attended Christian meetings in GT's home. They lived in Kalimpong 1959-86 before relocating to New Delhi.

B.C. Simick Jr—Son of GT's very close friend and teacher, B.C. Simick Sr. GT treated Jr like a son, the two of them interacting a great deal through the years at Kalimpong. He became Lecturer in Tibetan at Kalimpong College. Was inspired by GT to have a burden for Tibet and Tibetans with the Christian gospel.

Ven. Kusho Wangchuk—Born 1919, he was enrolled at Shigatse's Trashilhunpo Monastery in 1931 at age 12; in 1947 at age 28 he shifted to Yatung Monastery; and in 1949, arrived at Tharpa Chholing Monastery in Kalimpong. In 1950 GT became Secretary of Tharpa's Management Committee. When much later he became the Monastery's Abbot, the Ven. would greatly interact with GT at the latter's home, seeking advice often from him, and thus he got to know GT very well.

"Dr." N. Tshering—A self-made "Dr." but not medically certified. Having learned Tibetan on his own, he worked five years (1959-64) at Kalimpong's Tenth-Mile Tibetan Dispensary, sharing the Christian gospel and rendering medical service. Thus he interacted a great deal with GT, who also visited the Dispensary often.

Gauri Shankar Prasad—He and his Nepali family became permanent residents in Kalimpong from 1938. For a 10-year period sometime between 1950 and 1965, he served as a member of Kalimpong's Municipality Committee, and at one point during that tenure GT served with him on that Committee; and thus G.S. was able to get to know and observe GT up close, as well as observe him at public meetings, social gatherings, etc.

Gyan Jyoti—A son of a prominent Kalimpong commercial family, who grew up getting to know GT and being treated like a son. His father was a great friend of GT's. Gyan got to know GT quite well, interacting with him in several organizations at Kalimpong. Later, Gyan relocated to Nepal.

Rev. Tshering Wangdi—Became Supt., Worldwide Faith Mission Children's Home, Mangan, North Sikkim. He and his wife resided with GT in the latter's Main House five years (1970-75), and thus closely observed GT constantly.

Dr. Sonam B. Wangyal—He "has a vast and probably unparalleled knowledge about the culture, traditions and history of ... [the Darjeeling] region including languages, customs, religion and personalities." So states an Internet website, www.Kalimpong.info, which in January of 2008 welcomed Dr. Wangyal as a new contributor in providing articles and essays for the website. And most recently there was posted at the website on 22 March 2008 a brief essay about Gergan Tharchin by Dr. Wangyal that is entitled, "Kalimpong's Lonely Warrior." Currently a weekly columnist for a Sikkim daily titled *Now*, and for a Kalimpong fortnightly.

Himalayan Times, Wangyal is an Indian doctor who operates a medical clinic at the southern Bhutanese border town of Jaigaon, but found the time to publish two books about the Darjeeling Hills: *Sikkim and Darjeeling: Division and Deception* and *Footprints in the Himalayas: People, Places and Practices* (both published in Bhutan by the KMT Press in 2002 and 2006, respectively). But he has also contributed many articles in such publications as *Himal*, *The Statesman* and *Himalayan Magazine* (Kathmandu).

C. Wangdi—A Tibetan, former Circle Police Inspector of Checkposts, Darjeeling Dt. Came to know GT from the early 1960s till GT's death, 1976. He only visited or met with GT two or three times yearly, but this provided sufficient opportunity, he said, to gauge GT's demeanor and his short temper.

Pandey Hishey—Born 1928 at Gangtok, he is a Tibetan-speaking Lepcha Buddhist who learned Tibetan under GT's nephew Ringzin Wangpo at Lhasa, starting in 1945. First met GT through Ringzin at the Mirror Press in 1951, and was working for the Sikkim Durbar Press as a Tibetan clerk during the early 1950s and thus gained Tibetan compositor experience. He simultaneously taught Tibetan in a Tibetan Night School which GT and others had established in Kalimpong and also served at the Mirror Press as a daytime Tibetan compositor 1956-60. He got to know GT very well and became like a son to GT. His father died 1960, thus was compelled to return to Gangtok, where he regained employment at the Durbar Press.

Sonam T. Kazi—Born 1925, son of a wealthy Sikkimese aristocrat; spent his earliest schooling years at both Gangtok and Kalimpong, 1938-46. In 1946 he enrolled at New Delhi's St. Stephens College. In 1949 he joined the Indian Mission staff at Lhasa and remained in that position till March 1956. GT was his surrogate father during Sonam's years at Kalimpong. At Lhasa, the Kazi became one of GT's most important informants.

Rev. Peter Rapgey—Born of Tibetan parents in presumably 1942 in the Darjeeling area. He eventually became a teen-aged novice monk at Tharpa Chholing Monastery near the Tharchin compound. When his Tutorial Monk died in 1958, he was taken into the Tharchin household, GT having promised the gravely-ill Tutorial Monk that he would do so when he died. Peter would not become a Christian till many years later, but meanwhile he married and would continue to live within the Tharchin compound for many years, and thus he could observe GT on a daily basis. He would eventually be appointed by the Babu as his Mirror Press Manager.

Dawa Babu—At time of interview, Dawa was a retired Officer in the State Intelligence Bureau (SIB). A Tibetan, born in mid-1930s; in 1948, when in Class 7 at SUMI, he began to live with GT's extremely close friend, Atuk Tshering, who at the time was Circle Inspector of Police. He stayed with Atuk till 1950. Dawa first met GT in 1948 when he accompanied Atuk to the Babu's home. In 1958 he joined the SIB; which thus meant he would frequently have to visit GT and thus got to know him very well.

Shanti K. Pradhan—An older son of GT's old friend of yesteryears, K.D. Pradhan. For 35 years S.K. was Manager of various Cinchona Estates in Dt Darjeeling, retiring in 1980. He grew up getting to know GT; for when 12 or 13 years old, his father would send him to GT to deliver messages. He recalls listening to GT preach at the Tibetan service at MMC.

S. Jain—His father, great friend of GT's, had founded in 1947 the weekly newspaper in Kalimpong, *The Himalayan Times*. When his father died in 1956, he became the editor/publisher of the *Times* at age 24. GT took S. Jain under his wing, as it were, treating him as a son, and helping him with some of the *Times* news stories and gave advice regarding the publishing world.

Twan Yang—A Sino-Tibetan, born Kalimpong 1919. He, his father, foster mother and sister lived in rented quarters opposite GT's Polhill Hall home during Twan's childhood, and GT was very kind to him, treating him as a son. The two of them interacted off and on during GT's lifetime, Twanyan even living at Mackenzie Cottage for a while during the mid-1940s.

Mrs. Tashi Panlook—Both Mr. Panlook and his wife were Nepalis. Her husband was an MMC Elder, and thus he and GT would interact quite often, serving together through the years at MMC in the Combined Nepali- and Tibetan-speaking worship service. The two families were close. Elder Panlook died in 1982. Mrs. Panlook's home is very near the Tharchin compound.

Drasho Rigzin Dorje—A Bhutanese who as a teen-ager lived in the Tharchin household for four years and became thereafter a constant friend of GT's till the latter's death. Highly educated, he rose to become a member of the Bhutanese King's Cabinet, serving as the Secretary of Religious and Cultural Affairs, and also became the King's Roving Ambassador to other nations. At one time strongly anti-Christian, the Drasho greatly softened his stance, in large part due to GT's life testimony.

Rev. B.K. Biswas—Born 1933 of Bengali Hindu parents at Dacca in what is now Bangladesh. In his late teen-age years he became a Christian and was rejected by his parents. At age 19 he became a Christian evangelist, and settled at Algarah near Kalimpong in 1952. He met GT in 1956, and the latter thereafter treated him as a son in Christ, the two of them becoming very close friends and colleagues in Christian evangelism. B.K. would subsequently become affiliated with the Swedish Mission and remained so till 1991. Later he became Chairman of the Free Baptist Churches in West Bengal and Sikkim.

Tashi Pempa Hishey—A most prominent citizen of Kalimpong, who held many civic offices and interacted closely with GT for many years. They served together, in fact, for several years as members of Kalimpong's most prestigious Committee, its Municipality Committee. He was a very good friend of GT and his family.

Achu Namgyal Tsering—Born 1933, son of Lha Tsering, the Babu's Intelligence Chief. He lived at Lha's Fairview home situated just opposite Babula's Mirror Press building along Kalimpong's main street, Rishi Road. Achu could thus observe those who visited the Press as well as the Mackenzie Cottage Press office just up the hill from the Press building. Achu would often visit the Babu at his home along K.D. Pradhan Road, and thus noticed on many occasions numerous visitors at the Tharchin home. He became very close to the Babu.

P.R. Pradhan—Born 1923, he was another son of GT's esteemed friend of yesteryears, K.D. Pradhan. Served with GT on several civic and educational Committees, and thus he got to know the Babu quite well. He would become Principal of SUMI in 1965 and served in that capacity for many years thereafter.

1a. Sir Richard summarized his various interviews he had had with the Prime Minister in the following manner. "Nehru had read the script [of the film] before he died [in 1964].... I spent quite a bit of time with him, and he gave me valuable advice. I suppose Nehru was closer to Gandhi than anyone else. He willingly said, 'Look, he had all the frailties, and the shortcomings. Give us that. That's the measure, the greatness of a man.' On one occasion in 1963 or '64, I don't remember which, I had gone to tea to say goodbye to Nehru. I didn't know that it would be the last time I would see him. As I was leaving—looking for a taxi, I think—Nehru came down the stairs and said: 'Richard, one last thing. In your film, do not deify him. He was too great a man to be turned into a god.'" The filming of the movie finally began in Dec. 1980 in India and concluded in late spring of 1981. See Barbara Crossette, "'Gandhi': Filming Gandhi's Life Stirs Passion in India," *New York Times*, 25 Jan. 1981.

2. Email, David Tharchin to the author, Kalimpong, 13 Feb. 2008.

3. Interview, Nov. 1992.

4. Psalm 23:4, 6 TEV (Today's English Version).

5. See in the New Testament the Gospel of Mark, 16:15; interview with Nini (Mrs. S.G.) Tharchin, 16 Dec. 1992.

6. Source for both Pema Paul and Simon, and their relationship with GT, is Perry 1997, pp. 140, 161, 168.

7. Interview with Rev. Biswas, Nov. 1992.

8. *Ibid.*

9. Interview, 14 Dec. 1992.

10. Interview, Nov. 1992.
11. Interview, Dec. 1992.
12. Interview with Nini (Mrs. S.G.) Tharchin, 12 Dec. 1992.
- 12a. See the Wangyal Internet website essay, "Kalimpong's Lonely Warrior," posted 22 Mar. 2008 at: www.Kalimpong.info.
13. Interview, Nov. 1992.
14. Interview, Jan. 1995.
15. This and the preceding quoted phrase in this paragraph are per interview with Rev. Biswas, Nov. 1992.
16. Interview, Nov. 1992.
17. Norbu 1975, p. 20.
18. Email letter, T. Shakya to the author, Vancouver BC, 4 Mar. 2006.
19. Urban 1967, pp. 35-6. The earlier quotation from friend Urban can be found on p. 36.
20. Quoted from Shakya 1990, p. 17.
21. See the text of Miller's paper in Ramble & Brauen (eds.) 1993, pp. 223-8.

22. The word Tirpai (or more correctly, Tripai) is merely a term for the local Tirpai Hill area at the far end of K.D. Pradhan Road in Kalimpong where the temple is located, which is at or near where the road leads to Deolo Hill. The actual Tibetan name of this Buddhist sanctuary is Tharpa Chholing Monastery, meaning "Place of Religious Salvation." Established in 1922 by the Gelugpa Yellow (Hat) Sect (to which the Dalai Lama belongs), it is much older than the most recently built Tibetan Buddhist sanctuary that now stands atop the hill known as Durpin Dara (meaning "Binoculars Hill" in both Nepali and Hindi) located at the far end of Kalimpong in the opposite direction from Tirpai Hill. As mentioned at the beginning of the previous Text chapter, the name of this quite large monastery is Zhang Dog Phelri Phodrang, which in Tibetan literally translates as the "Realm of Guru Rimpoche" (i.e., of Padma Sambhava) but which in general has the meaning of the "Heavenly Mountain of Good Fortune." Padma Sambhava was of course the celebrated Indian teacher who brought Mahayana Buddhism to Tibet in the eighth century. As was learned in the previous chapter, Dalai Lama XIV visited both these monasteries in 1975, but had also paid an earlier visit to the older Tharpa Chholing in 1957. See Lang-Sims 1963, p. 216. This latter monastery is larger than Ghoom Monastery of Maitreya fame, and in 1950 housed a larger community of monks than did Ghoom—some 40 inmates as opposed to only 20 at Ghoom. *Ibid.*; cf. also Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1955?, pp. 18, 77.

The oldest monastery in the Kalimpong Dt is Thongsa Gompa, the Bhutanese Temple, founded in 1692, and located not far lower down from Tharpa Chholing. This gompa was established for the Bhutanese, not Tibetan, Buddhists (though the latter are of course most welcome). All Kalimpong Bhutanese Buddhists therefore usually worship here rather than at the Tirpai and Durpin Dara religious centers. In the 1950s this small Bhutanese sanctuary was tended by only two watchmen, its priests only assembling there for the great festivals. Thongsa Gompa, incidentally, belongs to the Kagyupa Sect, the ruling Buddhist Church in Bhutan, which like the Nyingma Sect permits its monks to marry if they so wish. Many of them have in fact opted for marriage and have large families, the residences for which are situated immediately adjacent to the gompa itself. Sources: *ibid.*, 77, verbal explanations given the present author by members of the Tharchin family, and his own eyewitness observations while visiting Kalimpong.

23. Khenchung or Khenchen was a high rank bestowed upon important Tibetan personages. The Gyantse Khenchung mentioned here was probably the same high official who was serving as Tibet's Trade Agent and official representative of the Thirteenth Dalai Lama at Gyantse at the time when Tharchin had served as

interpreter for Mrs. Henrietta (Sands) Merrick in her interview she had had at Gyantse with the Khenchung in 1931; see again Vol. II, Ch. 19 for the details. If in fact he was the same personage, then he now enjoyed the confidence of the 14th Dalai Lama even as he had enjoyed that of the 13th. On this occasion at the Tirpai Monastery he would have been 70 or 71 years old. He was well-versed in Buddhism, having studied it for 15 years at a Peking monastery during the early part of the 20th century.

24. Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1955?, pp. 113-4.

25. It has been said of this late scholar: "Dawa Norbu is a Tibetan and knows his own society—both before and after the Chinese invasion—as he has experienced both. His *Red Star over Tibet* won international acclaim precisely because of his respect for truth and willingness to take a hard look at the defects of his own society. He is not a member of the ruling elite and is known for his independent views." Pema T. Rabgay and K. Dhondup, "Tibet Issue and the 'Concerned Asian Scholars,'" *TR* (Dec. 1977):23. Another and even more striking remark has been made in reference to this particular younger-generation Tibetan, which the only agents the CIA had in Lhasa who attempted to make some kind of connection with the in this instance was spoken by the Dalai Lama of Tibet himself. In a concise, sharp and quite vivid response to those of the ruling elite around him who had taken strong exception to a controversial editorial (critical of the Tibetan leadership in exile and exposing Indian hypocrisy) which young Dawa had written for the *Tibetan Review* of August 1972, His Holiness was heard to declare: "You want me to cut down the flower that blooms; I refuse to do it!" (This rough translation of the reaction tendered by the Dalai Lama, together with a retailing of the incident, were provided this author at the latter's request in March 1992 by a Tibetan who had been very close to Professor Norbu.) Moreover, the Dalai Lama is believed by some to have also expressed on this same occasion another exceptional statement which, according to K. Dhondup, sent a shock-wave through the Tibetan exile community. Declared the Dalai Lama: "I need more young Tibetans like Dawa Norbu, who can think on their own, who can talk to me with original ideas." Quoted in Dhondup, "The Case for Intellectual Freedom," in Vyvyan Cayley, *Children of Tibet* (Balmain, 1994), 92. If the reporting of these statements can be accepted as in the main true and accurate, then His Holiness—whose personal intervention saved Dawa Norbu's life, though he still had to go into hiding for months afterwards—is to be greatly commended for not having succumbed to the wishes of those advisers around him who had sought to silence within the Tibetan community itself the voices of legitimate criticism of that society and its culture. (See the preface to Norbu's *Red Star* volume, pp. 10-11, for a detailed account of the grave consequences which befell this courageous Tibetan for having criticized both Tibetan and Indian leadership in his frank editorial.)

Indeed, this episode reminds this writer of the apt remarks made by Jonathan Mirsky, China specialist for the London *Observer*, in his review of what he called Melvyn C. Goldstein's "magnificent study of modern Tibet," published in 1989. Wrote Mirsky of Goldstein's "marvelous book," *A History of Modern Tibet*: "While compassionate it is also clear-sighted, and will doubtless attract the indignation of those who need Tibet—as Peter Bishop has shown in *The Myth of Shangri-La* (1990)—to be a perfect place, not for its sake, but for theirs.... People have long wanted Tibet to be Shangri-La. But Tibet deserves the critical attention we give other countries, which would reveal Tibet's own grievous shortcomings ..." Mirsky 1990. p. 60. That Dawa Norbu did not skirt around these "grievous shortcomings" of Tibetan society in his own book (published just two years after his "hard-hitting" controversial editorial) was no better demonstrated than what he wrote in his *Red Star* volume as to who was to blame for the disaster which befell Tibet in the 1950s. (See again in Ch. 24 of the present work where this has been explained in some detail already.)

Himself an exile from the famed monastic district of Sakya in Tibet, Dawa Norbu fled to India at a tender age during the turbulent year 1959-60 and settled in the Darjeeling Dt for his secondary education before going on to St. Stephen's College, Delhi University for his B.A. (Hons.) and M.A. in history and to the United States in 1976 for his doctorate (obtained in 1982) at the University of California (Berkeley). In his own right he had become a respected university professor, writer and scholar, having become especially well known in the West for his highly applauded semi-autobiographical account (referenced above) of his and his peasant family's life in and around the Tibetan monastic town of Sakya just before, during and after the Chinese invasion of Tibet in the period of that land's greatest upheaval in modern times: the decade of the 1950s. In recognition of his talents as a writer and budding scholar, he was made editor-in-chief of the unofficial monthly *Tibetan Review*, which post he held from June 1972 through September 1976, and was therefore editor at the time he interviewed Tharchin Babu. It was only a few months after he had been privileged to address the Royal Society for Asian Affairs in London (7 May 1975) and a similar number of months subsequent to Tharchin's last audience with

the Fourteenth Dalai Lama that Dawa Norbu was granted the interview with the elderly Tibetan from Poo at his Kalimpong residence when the much younger Dawa revisited there.

It was a privilege for the present writer to have had the opportunity in January 1992 to spend a most engaging week of talks with Professor Norbu at the JNU campus in India's capital, where the writer was accorded every kindness and consideration by his Tibetan host.

26. Norbu 1975, p. 18.
27. Pallis 1949, p. 50.
28. Letters, all among the ThPaK: (a) son of Sikkimese Tibetan aristocrat to Tharchin, 16 June 1945; (b) N. Norboo to Tharchin, Darjeeling, 26 Aug. 1954; and (c) Mrs. L.S. Adhikari to the Tharchins, Alipore Calcutta, 4 Sept. 1945, inked longhand.
29. Interview, Nov. 1992.
30. Interview, Nov. 1992.
31. Interview, Feb. 1993.
32. *Ibid.*; interview with the Kazi, Oct. 1991.
33. Interview, Dec. 1992.
34. Such practice by the Babu is well documented in the ThPaK.
35. Interview with Nini (Mrs. S.G.) Tharchin, Dec. 1994.
36. Interview, Nov. 1992.
37. Interview, Nov. 1992.
38. Interview, Feb. 1993.
39. Interview, Nov. 1992.
40. The words of Jesus quoted by Christ's apostle, Paul, and recorded in the New Testament book of The Acts of the Apostles, Ch. 20, verse 35.
41. The first two stories are per interview with Nini (Mrs. S.G.) Tharchin, 16 Dec. 1992; the last one concerning the royal couple is per interview with her, 14 Dec. 1992.
42. Woodward 1991, pp. 68-9.
43. Other than what was provided by David Woodward (see the preceding end-note), all information and quoted material about the relationship between Tharchin-la and Peter Rapgey are per the author's interview with the latter, 14 Dec. 1992.
44. Tharchin to Joseph Nunes, Kalimpong, 21 Sept. 1949, ThPaK.
45. Note, Private Secretary to H.H. the Maharaja to Tharchin, Gangtok, 12 Aug. 1943, ThPaK, translated for the author by Phurbu Tsering.
46. Letter, Tharchin to Joseph Nunes, Kalimpong, 21 Sept. 1949, ThPaK.
47. Champ Kusho to Tharchin, Gangtok, 11 June 1945, ThPaK.

48. Ali to Tharchin, Kotgarh, 23 Nov. 1946, ThPaK, written in Urdu, translated for the author by a friend of the Tharchin family.

49. Unknown correspondent (because of part of letter torn away) to Tharchin, Kanum, 30 June 1947, ThPaK.

50. Tharchin to Nunes, Kalimpong, 21 Sept. 1949, ThPaK.

51. Three sources: interview with the Kazi, Oct. 1991; letter, the Kazi to the author, Montclair NJ USA, 6 Jan. 1992, in which the identity of the Marwari was provided; and interview with S.G. Tharchin, early Feb. 1992.

51a. Dr. Sinha would publish a considerable number of scholarly volumes on Tibetan history and culture as well as on other aspects of Inner Asian affairs. The following are representative of his various publications over the years of his professional career:

Studies in Indo-British Economy [a] Hundred Years Ago (Calcutta, 1946)

Tibet: Considerations on Inner Asian History, Foreword by Franz Michael (Calcutta, 1967)

Prolegomena to Lamaist Polity, Foreword by Hugh Richardson (Calcutta, 1969)

An Introduction to the History and Religion of Tibet, Foreword by K.P.S. Menon (Calcutta, 1975; Gangtok, 1991)

How Chinese Was China's Tibet Region?: Essays and Notes on Tibet and the Neighbouring Countries (Calcutta, 1981)

Sangs-rgyas stong: an Introduction to Mahayana Iconography [Expository Text with Sanskrit-Tibetan Extracts by N.C.S.] (Gangtok, 1988)

Tales the Thankas Tell: an Introduction to Tibetan Scroll Portraits [Text by N.C.S.] (Gangtok, 1989)

51b. This figure of 24 founders is according to the printed program booklet on the occasion of the Institute's 50th Anniversary Commemorative Conference held at Gangtok in early Oct. 2008, and was sent to this writer by e-mail from John Bray, 13 Oct. 2008.

52. Both letters, ThPaK.

53. Here is a list of many publications by Professor Rahul, all published at New Delhi:

The Government of Tibet 1912-1933 (1962)

The Government and Politics of Tibet (Foreword by the Dalai Lama) (1969)

Social Work in the Himalaya. Proceedings of the Seminar on Social Work in the Himalaya. University of Delhi, 1967, edited by Ram Rahul (1969)

Himalaya Borderland (1970)

Modern Bhutan (1971)

Politics of Central Asia (1973)

The Himalaya as a Frontier (1978)

Modern Central Asia (1979)

Struggle for Central Asia (1982)

Royal Bhutan: a Political History (1983, 1997)

Afghanistan. Mongolia and the USSR (1987)

Mongolia between China and the USSR (1989)

Afghanistan. the USSR and the USA (1991)

Afghanistan. Mongolia and China (1992)

Modern Tibet (1992)

The Dalai Lama, the Institution (1995)

Central Asia: a Historical Survey (1996)

China. Russia and Central Asia (1996)

Royal Nepal: a Political History (1996)

The March of Central Asia (2000)

54. See letters, Rahul to Tharchin, Delhi, 25 Aug. 1949, ThPaK; and Rahul to Tharchin, Delhi's Mahabodhi Society, 13 May 1950, ThPaK, with Tharchin having noted on the letter that he received it on 15 May and gave reply on 16 May.

55. See letters, Rahul to Tharchin, Delhi's Mahabodhi Society, 15 Apr. 1950; and Tharchin to "My Dear Pandit Rahul Ji," Kalimpong, 19 Apr. 1950, ThPaK.

55a. In her biography of Gedun Chopel, Stoddard had written the following observations concerning Rev. Tharchin:

In the entire region of Darjeeling and Kalimpong, and well beyond, among the Bhotia population of the Himalayas, this Christian missionary...was affectionately surnamed Tharchin Babula ("Papa Tharchin")....[He] was a cultivated and energetic man, speaking fluently Tibetan, Hindi, English and no doubt two or three Indian languages. He was totally devoted to the Tibetans, and dominated the scene of Kalimpong for half a century. Every Sunday he preached in the church, and on weekdays taught in the [Scottish] Mission's school. He further managed, together with his Russian wife who assisted him admirably, an orphanage for...children linked to the school, which resembled rather a large family.

The pilgrims, traders and high dignitaries arriving from the "Land of Snows" to cross the threshold of the British Empire were [constantly] visiting him. He participated actively in the political life of the region, which was well known for being a privileged place for political intrigue and spy contacts. A Christian speaking English fluently, he...had tight relations with the British. Furthermore, by knowing the complexities of the Indian world, the administrative and police formalities, which were enigmatic to the peoples of Central Asia, he was sought by those who wished to go down to the plains. At ease in both worlds, he nevertheless dedicated his life to the Tibetans. Stoddard 1985, pp. 160-161.

56. Interview with Nini (Mrs. S.G.) Tharchin, 12 Dec. 1992, she having been given a report of what had occurred in this Council meeting from both her husband and father.

57. The preceding discussion re: Tharchin's and his fellow Council members' conduct is per *ibid*.

58. Long afterwards Rev. Tharchin was to relate the Council incident among his family members, Nini and S.G. Tharchin being present on several occasions when he told the story. Hence, for all information and quoted material relative to this episode demonstrating the Christian pastor's candor, forthrightness, faithfulness and loyalty, there were three sources: the author's interview with Nini (Mrs. S.G.) Tharchin, 12 Dec. 1992; interview with S.G. Tharchin, mid-Dec. 1992; and what these two were themselves able to observe in the situation separate from Gergan Tharchin's own reporting of the facts, events and quoted material and which was reported to the author in his interviews with them just now indicated.

59. The entire foregoing discussion of the Tharchin-Craig controversies is per the author's interview with Nini (Mrs. S.G.) Tharchin, 14 Dec. 1992, and confirmed by S.G. Tharchin in his interview he gave the author, mid-Dec. 1992.

60. All information and quoted material appearing in this discussion of the re-ordination controversy are per interviews with both Nini (Mrs. S.G.) Tharchin, 12 Dec. 1992 and Rev. Rapgey, 14 Dec. 1992.

61. All the information and quoted material re: the MMC's dissident split and its aftermath, and involving Rev. Tharchin, are per the following sources and documents: interviews with Nini (Mrs. S.G.) Tharchin, 16 Dec. 1992 and S.G. Tharchin, mid-Dec. 1992; DDC Executive Committee Meeting minutes (Section 87B), Darjeeling, 15 Mar. 1973; letter, Wallace to Tharchin, Darjeeling, 24 Mar. 1973; letter, Tharchin to Secretary, DDC CNI, Kalimpong, 24 Apr. 1973; and DDC Plenary Meeting minutes (Sections 141.(f) and 145), Kalimpong, 25 Apr. 1973; all minutes and letters, ThPaK.

62. Sources, all a part of the ThPaK, for the narration of this incident re: the Cottage, the DDC's Executive Committee and Tharchin are as follows: DDC Exec. C'tee Meeting minutes [Section No. 121D (a) & (b)], Darjeeling, 21 July 1973; letter, Tharchin to Secretary, Exec. C'tee DDC, Kalimpong, 1 Aug. 1973; letter,

Tharchin to H. Lama at Kalimpong's Diocesan House, Kalimpong, 2 Aug. 1973; and letter, Lama to Tharchin, Kalimpong's Diocesan House, Kalimpong, 3 Aug. 1973.

63. Per email, David Tharchin to the author, reporting on behalf of his mother Nini, Kalimpong, 13 Feb. 2008.

64. Quoted from Paul, the apostle of Christ, in his Letter to the Ephesians, 5:26.

Chapter 30

GTUM TwMs, Ch. 28, pp. 1-2; quotes: 1, 2; Ch. 26, p. 2; quotes: 2.

1. Perhaps this Tibetan proverb, or at least its pithy thought, was what Jay Mathews himself had in mind when writing a review in early 1981 of a photo-and-text volume on Tibet which had only recently appeared (*The Splendors of Tibet* by Audrey Topping, New York, 1980). In portraying Topping's book as having brought out "both the bright colors and the foul odors" of the country, this former correspondent in China for the *Washington Post* wrote the following concluding statement to his review: "If the Tibetans ever recapture their own destiny, they may still be better off for having had the Chinese to dispose of some of the worst of their past." *New York Times Book Review*, 4 Jan. 1981, VII, p. 7.

2. The method, of course, by which the Chinese had "disbanded" the monasteries was to reduce them literally to rubble and ash. "Of more than 3000 monasteries, nunneries, and temples," reported Lobsang Lhalungpa in the 1980s, "only 12 remain, and they, like Drepung, Sera, Trashilhunpo, the Jokhang, and the Potala, have been made into museums. The others were destroyed by the Red Guards in the late 1960s and early 1970s during the Chinese Cultural Revolution. The Potala would have been destroyed also had it not been for the personal intervention of Chinese Premier Chou En-lai." Lhalungpa, "Chronicle," in Anon. 1983, p. 43.

3. The source for the quoted authorities in these last four paragraphs of the Text are: (a) Bonavia and Bartlett 1981, p. 13; (b) Bernard 1939, p. 68; (c) Macdonald 1943, p. 13; (d) Nehru is quoted in Radhu 1997, p. 284; (e) the Panchen Lama's statements are quoted in Enders, *Nowhere Else in the World* (New York, 1942), 273-4; (f) Wangyal 2004, p. 87; (g) Norbu 1987, pp. 20, 22-3; (h) letter of retrospection, Ali to John Snelling, 19 Mar. 1981, quoted in Snelling, *The Sacred Mountain* (London/The Hague, 1983), 46 with 184; (i) the Dalai Lama's "purifying" quote is from Hicks 1988, p. 91; and (j) the Dalai Lama's further quote about "too much religion" is from Dixit and Tseten 1991, p. 12.

4. See Norbu 1987, p. 270 and Stoddard, "Tibetan Publications and National Identity," in Barnett & Akiner (eds.) 1994, p. 131.

5. Feigon 1996, pp. 181, 177.

6. Craig 1997, pp. 271-2, with the two bracketed sets of statistics having been derived from Ingram 1990, pp. 78-9; and for further information re: China's measures taken to wipe out Tibet's religious culture, see Ingram again, pp. 10-11, 36-7, 294, 301, 315.

7. Dalai Lama XIV 1990, p. 99; see also Steele 1993, pp. 101, 102; Sen Gupta 1988, p. 100; and Knaus 1999, p. 126.

8. Tharchin had not realized, of course, that in recent times—as his guest, missionary Margaret Urban, told him at this very moment—the Protestant Church in Germany and France, among other places, now had monasteries.

9. See 2 Thessalonians 3:10, in one of the letters of the Apostle Paul to the local church at Thessalonica.

10. As quoted in Urban 1967, p. 14. During missionary Urban's visit in Tharchin's Kalimpong home for two weeks in the spring of 1964 she had engaged in lengthy talks with the Tibetan pastor and publisher on a variety of subjects, of which this had been one.

11. Tharchin was quite correct in what he has asserted here. In commenting about the invasion of Tibet by Colonel Younghusband in 1904, Paul Brunton, an Englishman who spent some years in lonely exile among the Tibetan Himalayas, and one who knew the Expedition leader personally and had learned a great deal from him about the event, devoted considerable space in a book he authored to explain "the real reason for the Tibetan army's opposition in the face of a force with such superior weapons." It lay, Brunton said, "in its superstition."

The Tibetan army's soldiers, he further explained, "had trusted to [in] the sorcery of their reputed magicians and to [in] the spells of their famous priests. They had been told that, with the aid of specially-prepared amulets and talismans which were freely distributed in their camp, they would be rendered supernaturally invulnerable against the shots of the enemy. And such was their unthinking faith and blind superstition, that these poor ill-fated men did attack the British army with complete and complacent confidence that no British bullet would be able to penetrate their bodies! But the laws of nature will not be suspended, even for any lama!"

Lest one might think Brunton a typical Westerner who assumed a superior attitude towards Tibet and things Tibetan, including its religion, it should be pointed out that he had a great deal of respect for and even belief in what he termed a "residue of truth behind Tibetan claims (and Indian claims) for the existence of psychic powers and forces, otherwise inexplicable," and "the tradition of high spiritual wisdom in the bleak plateau" (Tibet). "Let it not be thought," he went on to say, "that the superstition of the Tibetans is all arrant nonsense. It is not. There is fire behind the smoke. Truth continues amid the distortions in which we find her engulfed. The lamas cannot suspend Nature's laws but they can take advantage of laws which to us are unknown, to them long known." The Younghusband episode, added Brunton, illustrated "the habitual mixture of ridiculous superstition and profound wisdom which one finds in Oriental races. Yet no people can afford to go on believing in arrant untruths." Else, he might well have concluded, as did Tharchin decades later, "their false beliefs will not bring any comforting fruits." See Brunton, *A Hermit in the Himalayas; the Journal of a Lonely Exile* (Madras, 1936), 115-7.

Even the great Thirteenth Dalai Lama himself acknowledged with sadness the superstitious nature of many of his subjects. At one point in his rule, for example, some Tibetans had objected to the renovation of several of Tibet's oldest temples and monasteries. These had included the Jo-khang, Ramoche and Samye. The ground for their complaint was that it would require removing the old paint, thus meaning the temporary destruction of the consecrated images. On several occasions in his public addresses at the Great Prayer Festival, therefore, the Dalai Lama felt compelled to counter this criticism, and scolded his people for harboring such a superstitious view. Commenting on this very matter one year, he lamented in his address as follows: "It is rather sad that, when Buddha himself so strongly advocated the use of reason and the logical mind, so many of our people seem to still be stuck in the mire of superstition and primitive thinking." Quoted in Mullin 1988, p. 88.

12. Lang-Sims 1963, pp. 69-70. The comments and quote on her religious affiliations are from *ibid.*, 28, 29.

13. The Soskin quote is found in Dawa Norbu, "Tibetan Refugees and Tibetan Culture," *TR* (Apr. 1978):15.

14. Norbu 1987, pp. 22-3, 221.

15. Extracted from Tharchin's "Tibetan Congregation," a two-page typewritten article which was found by the present author in a file of the ThPaK, marked "Tibetan Mission 1965." From internal evidence it is clear the article was prepared by the pastor during the latter part of 1965, and was no doubt intended to appear, and most likely did so, in an issue of the *Eastern Himalayan Church News* by the end of 1965.

16. The essence of the Dalai Lama's Strasbourg Proposals has never been far from his mind during the intervening years since his withdrawal of them in 1991. For instance, in 1996, in an interview he gave with an Indian daily, *The Asian Age*, he again put forth feelers towards Beijing which consisted of strikingly similar proposals to those he had made eight years earlier at Strasbourg: he would not insist on independence for his people, he was ready to discuss the Tibet issue with the Chinese anywhere and without preconditions, and that "though historically" Tibetans "are a separate nation," he believed "the six million Tibetans may get greater benefit if we join a big nation like China." Added His Holiness, "What I am trying to regain for Tibet is genuine self-rule and autonomy. Let the Chinese government retain defense and foreign affairs and leave the rest to us."

Like Strasbourg, however, nothing came of these feelers with the Chinese, either. Nevertheless, His Holiness continues to firmly retain the belief that his so-called middle-way stance in his people's relations with China is the best hope for a resolution of the "Tibet issue." For in his Foreword to Mary Craig's 1997 biography of the 14th Dalai Lama's family, Tibet's Priest-King opined as follows (p. xvi):

Historically and according to international law Tibet is an independent country under illegal Chinese occupation. However, although we have the right to reclaim our independence, I have adopted a "middle-way" approach of reconciliation and compromise. While it is the overwhelming desire of the Tibetan people to regain their national independence, I have repeatedly and publicly stated that I am willing to enter into negotiations on the basis of an agenda that does not include independence. The continued occupation of Tibet poses an increasing threat to the very existence of a distinct Tibetan national and cultural identity. Therefore, I consider that my primary responsibility is to take whatever steps I must to save my people and our unique cultural heritage from total annihilation.

To this day, the absence of any potentially meaningful Beijing-Dalai Lama dialogue has continued unabated. In the words of historian Shakya, it has become clear that so far as the Chinese are concerned, whatever talks might be held in future, such "would be concerned solely with the Dalai Lama's return and there would be no question of discussing the issue of the status of Tibet."

On the other hand, there are quite a few in the Tibetan exile community, such as Jamyang Norbu, who still strongly disagree with the Dalai Lama's "Middle-Way" approach to Chinese intransigence on "the Tibet issue" and seriously "question the wisdom of this path." Explained this well-known Tibetan critic further in late 2002:

Tibetans most wish to witness two events: a free Tibet and the Dalai Lama once again seated on his golden throne in the Potala Palace. There is no doubt—at least to this observer—that given half a chance, they are prepared to do whatever necessary to realize this dream. Unfortunately, there seems to be an underlying conceptual dissonance between the leader and his people.

Take, for example, the annual March 10th rally in Dharamsala commemorating the 1959 Tibetan Uprising. In his last few speeches on this occasion the Dalai Lama carefully explained why relinquishing independence and accepting autonomy within China was the best hope for preserving Tibetan culture. The Tibetans in the crowd listened respectfully. But after His Holiness concluded, they marched away waving national flags and lustily shouting, "Independence for Tibet"—as if they hadn't heard a word he said. It is worth recalling that in March 1959 Tibetans respectfully disobeyed the Dalai Lama's many appeals not to take up arms against the Chinese occupation army.

Sources for this discussion in both Text and end-note: see Shakya 1999, pp. 422-8; for articles of exile community criticism, see *TR* (Sept. 1988):9-11, (Aug. 1989):13-17, and (Feb. 1989):14-17; for articles discussing the Dalai Lama's withdrawal of his Strasbourg Proposals, see *TR* (Nov 1990):7 and (Oct. 1991):4; for the source of quotes from the *Asian Age* interview, see *Kathmandu Post*, 16 Dec. 1996, p. 3; and for J. Norbu's criticism, see his article, "After the Dalai Lama," in *Newsweek's* International Special Edition on China (Fall/Winter 2002).

17. This last sentence is an insert here, and is extracted from sentiments expressed by Tharchin some ten years earlier to the missionary visitor in his home in the spring of 1964 already mentioned in these notes, Miss Margaret Urban from Canada, and quoted in Urban 1967, p. 14.

18. As but one example of the Dalai Lama's more recent expression of his admiration for the Christian Church, when speaking in 1989 before the Buddhist Sangha Council in Los Angeles CA USA, His Holiness remarked as follows: "Our Christian brothers and sisters are very active in social work, education, and health. In Buddhist tradition, something is lacking, isn't it?" Urging Buddhists to become engaged, like the Christians, in the service of humanity, the Dalai Lama added meaningfully, in a spirit of tolerance and acceptance: "Whether these people are [Buddhist] believers or not doesn't matter." Quoted from the *Los Angeles Times* in Woodward 1991, p. 61.

And in another setting two years later, His Holiness would repeat these two themes in even stronger terms. Addressing the Indo-Tibetan Art and Culture Study Group at Tibet House, New Delhi, on 15 August 1991, the Dalai Lama recounted a personal experience to underscore the importance of tolerance and the need for social activism on the part of Tibetan Buddhists:

When I was in Tibet, in the Potala Palace, I used to think that Buddhism is the best religion in the world: all others are something low. Then I came to India as a refugee, [where I] have done away with all the formalities, protocols and other unnecessary things. This gave me the opportunity to meet people of all religions. So through personal contacts—and not through lectures—I realized that all religions, despite tremendous fundamental differences, have the potential to produce good men.

The Dalai Lama then added this: "...what matters is the everyday practice. For instance, Tibetan Buddhists talk a lot about compassion and charity but do little in practice." Calling this "hypocritical," he contrasted this attitude "with the tremendous work put in by Christians in the field of education and health." See "Close Contact Key to Religious Harmony: Dalai Lama," *TR* (Sept. 1991):8.

18a. Probably the most dramatic involvement by Gergan Tharchin in introducing Christ and the Christian faith to a Lama from Tibet was what happened in the life of David Lobsang Tenzing. The latter had been an Incarnate High Priest or Abbot of the Odser Monastery in the vicinity of Markham in East Tibet who had been greatly helped by Rev. Tharchin to come to know Christ in a profound way and had even been baptized by the Kalimpong pastor. The story of David (the name he received at his baptism), which is told in great detail in Margaret Urban's little volume, *Jesus unter Tibetern* (Jesus among Tibetans), is extremely fascinating and most poignant—especially at its conclusion. The story is certainly worth recounting, for it reveals how significant the Christian Scriptures in the Tibetan tongue can be in bringing a staunchly Tibetan Buddhist to the foot of the Cross of Christ. It at the same time illustrates afresh the vital role Tharchin the Christian pastor and scholar continued to play in meeting the spiritual needs of the refugees from Tibet, of whom David was a notable example.

The present author is greatly indebted to missionary Urban for having taken the time, while a guest in the Tharchin home for two weeks during the Easter period of 1964, to acquaint herself with young David and for ferreting out this remarkable biography of his short but most meaningful life. By the time Miss Urban had first met him, David had already renounced his Buddhist identity sometime before at his baptism. But just as he had been doing for several years, he was still attending, along with other young men, daily Bible studies and prayer times with Rev. Tharchin at the latter's home; and by this means he was growing rapidly in the grace and knowledge of his Lord Jesus Christ. A gentle and kind person, David by this time was able to speak English, which, though "simple" in its construction, observed the missionary lady, made it "easier" for her "to understand him." And so, the young man conversed at some length on several occasions with Miss Urban about his unusual Christian experience. Prior to all this, however, David had known nothing but the Doctrine of Buddha in its Tibetan Buddhist form, as the following account—based on both Urban's book as well as several additional sources—will detail.

Born the son of a hunter in East Tibet in 1942, David, at the tender age of six, was visited one day by high-ranking Lamas who proceeded to test him in the usual manner and subsequently declared him to be the fourteenth incarnation of the High Priest (that is to say, Abbot or Superior) of the Lamastery at Odser. In fact, said David to Miss Urban, "some 21 sister monasteries belonged to it." These Lamas took the boy with them to Odser (meaning "the bright shining light") where he was soon enthroned and immediately regarded as deity by the people inasmuch as his deceased predecessor in the Abbot's Chair had in his own lifetime attained to Buddhahood. "It was believed," explained Miss Urban, "that [the soul of] the latter had come into David for the well being of the people" and that therefore "all his possessions (lands, monasteries, treasures, etc.) were now David's by inheritance." Henceforth, he would be known more commonly among the Tibetan people as the Odser (Odzar or Wöser) Trulku.

Just here it may be helpful to the reader to be reminded of what it means within Tibetan Buddhism for a person to be discovered and designated as the reincarnation of a spiritual leader; and further, what the implications are for that one. As two authors of a book about Tibet have explained:

Tibetans as Buddhists, adhere to the view that all sentient beings are part of a process of repeated reincarnation that spans eons and eons, but they go further than other Buddhists in believing that it is possible to identify the specific person who is the reincarnation of a great spiritual leader. They maintain that after the death of an incumbent incarnation, his "essence" selects a fetus to emanate or reincarnate into, this child being the new incarnate lama. The incumbent's followers search for this individual, guided by signs, portents, prophecies, as well as by tests that certify authenticity. Once a spiritual leader is designated as an incarnation, his incarnation line continues over time—the current Dalai Lama, for example, is the fourteenth in his line of incarnations, and the Panchen Lama who died in 1989 was tenth in his. The property of incarnate lamas is passed down from incumbent to incumbent and accumulates over the centuries, the most famous incarnations becoming extremely wealthy and powerful. Melvyn Goldstein and Cynthia Beall, *Nomads of Western Tibet* (Berkeley/Los Angeles, 1990), 52.

Now soon after his assumption of the Abbot's Throne at Odser, little David found himself being transported "in a basket carrier on the back of a strong pony" as part of a two-month-long caravan procession to the Tibetan capital. There at the famed Sera Monastery, second largest in Tibet, with its nearly 6000

monkish inmates, he was to be educated. At age twelve and still enrolled at Sera, David was taken on pilgrimage to the sacred Buddhist sites of India. This would have been, of course, sometime into the third full year of the Communist Chinese takeover of Tibet. Among other things, this young High Lama was afforded the opportunity to have his sins washed away by bathing in—and even drinking of—what Buddhists (and Hindus, too) believe are holy waters of certain so-called sacred rivers like the Ganges. In narrating to Miss Urban at Tharchin's home this first of several journeys he would in time make to India, David remarked: "Each Tibetan, who comes over here from Lhasa through Sikkim to India, arrives first at the city of Kalimpong. Here he sees what he has never before seen: Christian churches and the Cross of Christians. In my lodging place someone told me that here in Kalimpong a knowledgeable Pastor Tharchin has... the book of the Christians in Tibetan and that one can purchase it from him. Because I had never seen such a book I dispatched a servant to [Tharchin] to procure a Bible for me." "With a discreet smile" to Miss Urban, David added by way of explanation: "I possessed too high a rank to be going personally to him. Furthermore, I was traveling with a large group of followers" who would never have understood.

After concluding the Indian pilgrimage, David and his entourage returned to Sera where, reported David, "I showed the Bible to my teacher-monks and was rebuked because of what they found in it. They had paged through it, read it, and then said to me that 'the whole of it makes no sense' and that 'you should no longer touch it.'" So, for the time being, added David, "I let the Bible go." Moreover, his superficial interest in the Christian Book had to compete with his regular Tibetan Buddhist studies at Sera which, he declared, "I loved...—and above all, the Study of Meditation in which I achieved what would be equivalent to a Doctorate of Theology." At the same time, ironically, he confided that he "was constantly dreaming of India: particularly of Calcutta, which captivated me."

Some two or three year later David undertook a second trip to India on his own and went almost directly to Calcutta; only this time he simply took with him one servant and an interpreter, the latter whom he recruited at Kalimpong. At age fifteen now, he was to stay two whole years in the Bengal capital, where he could travel freely after purchasing some "laymen's clothes." One of his main objectives, he admitted, was "to find out what Christianity was actually all about." Two or three times a week he would visit Christian evening services; however, he understood nothing. Beginning to learn English from an instructor, David purchased an English Bible, but it, too, he said, "remained beyond my comprehension." Once, he noted, "I sought out a Canadian Baptist preacher in order to question him about the Bible," but, he added, "we couldn't understand each other. I did not go, of course, to *these* places and to *this* person with my [Buddhist] interpreter!" Nevertheless, the God of the Christians, who—he would learn afterwards—will not be limited, was now to use films about the Bible to reveal to this young man's unenlightened soul some glimpses into who Jesus is. At this particular season a number of these films were being screened at several Calcutta cinema halls, where normally, David remarked, American "monster-films" were shown! The several biblical epics on film which David viewed were: *The Ten Commandments*—"Overwhelming!" he exclaimed; *Ben-Hur*—"Jesus was shown there, so full of light and kindness"; and *King of Kings*. "From then on," the Tibetan declared, "I could only pray to Jesus."

In the flush of this enthusiasm he exuded about Jesus, David immediately purchased a portrait of the Savior and hung it in his Calcutta room; and though Buddhist friends who saw it "were irritated," he explained, "this did not bother me." Not wishing to keep his Buddha images any longer, this Incarnate High Priest began to sell them off. In particular, one ancient statuette of Buddhism's founder went for Rs. 4000/- (at the time, equivalent to about 4000 Swiss francs), purchased by the British Museum of London. David's heart had been so affected by the love he now had for Jesus that when, as he later explained, people would as usual prostrate before him "waiting for my blessing, I lifted them up from the ground."

This statement, quoted from David himself, is in sharp contrast to what Jamyang Norbu, the distinguished Tibetan historian, critic and novelist, has reported. In an editorial he wrote by way of an introduction to the Winter 1998 issue of the journal he edits called *Lungta* that was devoted to the topic, "Christian Missionaries and Tibet," the historian wrote thus on page 3: "The biggest catch the missionaries made was Wöser Trulku, a famous lama from Markham. He was well known in Darjeeling as David L. Tenzin [*sic*], for he was a champion bodybuilder and is still remembered as one of the great Mr. Darjeelings. But faithful disciples from Markham would still go to receive his blessing, and he would give it to them, without in any way perturbed by the incongruity of it all."

The time-frame in this historian's brief discussion about David would appear to have been during the period when he had first dwelt in Darjeeling Town, which was well prior to his baptism. This latter event would occur sometime later over in Kalimpong where he thereafter would begin to reside for several years within the Tharchin compound and where, as learned earlier, he was engaged in daily group Bible study and

prayer with Rev. Tharchin on a regular basis. It is therefore doubtful—in the light of what is hereafter further described about David—that *after* his baptism, David would have any longer granted *Buddhist*-oriented blessings. The same was most likely true with respect to those blessings he might have bestowed *before* his baptism but subsequent to the beginning of his deepening attraction towards Christ.

These two latter observations are based on the entire tenor of David Tenzing's conversion experience as well as on a response which he gave to one of Miss Urban's questions: a response which would appear to belie the Buddhist interpretation Jamyang Norbu has assigned to David's blessings that in the course of his spiritual odyssey he had now and then given to his former Markham disciples. Urban had inquired of David as follows: "Did you really accept the notion that the deceased High Priest lives in you as a Buddha?" To which he had responded: "No, I never had the feeling that someone else is in me. From a young age I got used to letting myself be worshiped and was taught that my blessing was good for the people. So, I did not have any second thoughts. It was only through the movie, *The Ten Commandments*, that my eyes opened up as to who alone should be worshiped." See Urban 1967, pp. 23-4. From this candid acknowledgment one learns that very early on in the process of David's Christian conversion (he had viewed this movie, be it recalled, during his two-years-stay in Calcutta, years before his ultimate conversion and the decision to be baptized), this Incarnate High Priest of Tibetan Buddhism had come to the realization that he himself should not be worshiped but only the God and Father of his Lord Jesus Christ. One can therefore assume from this that whatever blessings he may thereafter have given were not Buddhist in character and were consequently not something incongruous at all—at least in *his* mind, if not in that of his erstwhile Buddhist disciples.

Indeed, in the opinion of Tharchin's son and daughter-in-law, who came to know the heart and mind of David Tenzing quite well, whatever blessings he might have bestowed upon his former disciples in Darjeeling or elsewhere before or after his baptism "was not associated with Buddhism." Added the younger Tharchin and his wife, "It is a common practice in these Asian regions for spiritual elders to give blessings to the younger ones." "In our view," they concluded, David Tenzing "was a true Christian till his very last breath." Per email, Tharchins to the author, Kalimpong, 23 March 2005.

David now "strove to return to Lhasa," where he had a caravan prepared by which he who barely knew Jesus himself now intended to return to his monks and lamas in East Tibet for the express purpose of telling them of Jesus—if, he said, "they had not yet heard anything about Him." But the results of his visit turned out quite differently from what he had expected. Because the Chinese Communists by this time (mid- to latter 1950s) had already occupied the area where his monastery lay, he found himself "cut off" from his Religious House at Odser and the 21 sister monastic centers under his oversight, never able to return to their precincts again. Instead, he and his party turned southward towards India once more, but "this time," he observed, "as refugees; and even before the Dalai Lama had himself left Tibet as one." "So we came to Kalimpong," continued David with his story, where at his place of lodging, who should "suddenly join" him but "the man who sold Bibles": Rev. Tharchin himself! "Now, though, I was no longer too high and proud to see and learn from him personally," the converted Trulku acknowledged with a smile.

By God's divine appointment, noted Miss Urban, this young man had found in Pastor Tharchin a Christian with whom for the first time he could converse about Jesus and the Bible in his own tongue and ask the many questions which had been mounting up in his seeking heart for many years. In fact, the Tibetan pastor had been praying specifically for him and for others to whom over the years he had given or sold Christian tracts and Bibles printed in the Tibetan language. But as the Kalimpong preacher had had to confess to his guest Miss Urban, he "could count on his fingers the few Tibetans who had so far let themselves be converted to Jesus." Here, however, was one of God's answers to his many prayers: and what an answer it was! How "happy" Rev. Tharchin was, Urban could report, "to be able to press into the hands of this seeker the New Testament scriptures."

Henceforth, David began to submerge himself deep in the words of life that had for so long been a closed Book to him. How truly meaningful in this young Tibetan's spiritual experience were these words of the Christian Bible with which he was to become most familiar: "the sacred scriptures . . . are able to make thee wise unto salvation through faith which is in Christ Jesus." So meaningful, in fact, that two years later he "begs" Rev. Tharchin that he be baptized. Tharchin's involvement in such a prospect had all come about as follows. It so happened that David, as intimated earlier, had lived for a time in Darjeeling Town; and while there he came to know an American missionary lady, Hester Withey of the Worldwide Evangelization Crusade. She had formerly been based at Dartsedo (Kangting/Tachienlu) in the ethnic Tibetan Khampa area of western China's Szechuan Province but who at this time was now laboring on behalf of the Christian gospel among Tibetans in a small village situated between Ghoom and Darjeeling. And at a certain point in his spiritual quest, he inquired

of her about the matter of baptism. Miss Withey immediately suggested he contact Rev. Tharchin for this purpose, the result of which was that a correspondence on the subject soon afterwards developed between Tharchin in Kalimpong and this young Christian convert in Darjeeling.

Upon first learning of David's desire for baptism, however, the Tibetan pastor's reaction became one of amazement mixed with great caution. Wrote Miss Urban, "Tharchin was startled, but also frightened, even hesitant! Never before had an Incarnate High Priest wanted to be baptized. Immediately he made David aware of the dangers of persecution, that he would never again be able to live securely. Nevertheless, the young man would not give up, and was prepared for any sacrifice." As a matter of fact, David would be sacrificing much by becoming a Christian and, in particular, being baptized. For at that time he was considered by the Tibetans throughout District Darjeeling to be a very important Lama, inasmuch as he still had oversight not only over his own East Tibet monastery but over the 21 others there as well. Moreover, it must be noted that had he been able to remain in Tibet and had he maintained his adherence to the Buddhist *dharma*, David would have assumed the position of a minor king over his own kingdom in eastern Tibet. In short, the consequences for this well-placed Tibetan in taking this momentous step of baptism would be enormous. To borrow Urban's stark description here, gone instantly would be Wöser Trulku's profession, rank, title, and whatever wealth still remained to him back in his homeland. Whereas in contrast to his former life as a very high Lama who was always at the center of things and always determining everything, he would now be reduced to the position of a nobody wielding neither power nor influence and possessing absolutely nothing. Unquestionably, therefore, this individual would be giving up a great deal were he to subject himself to the public rite of Christian baptism; but with each passing day David grew increasingly firm in his conscientious resolve to follow his new Lord and Master, Jesus, in obeying the command to be baptized in His name. Accordingly, because his conversion to Christ was so indisputably genuine, this young man now eagerly shifted his dwelling place over to Kalimpong to be near to Rev. Tharchin who could assist him in fulfilling this highly significant Christian ordinance.

It thus came about in Kalimpong, then, that by the summer of 1963, this former Incarnate Superior of Odser Lamasery, who had by now become convinced that Jesus is the true, bright and shining light, was ready to take his public stand with the Lowly One from Nazareth and gladly submit himself to the simple but meaningful rite of Christian baptism that signifies to a watching world the believer's identification with Jesus in His death, burial and resurrection. The service was held at Macfarlane Memorial Church on the 25th of August and was very well attended by members of the Kalimpong Tibetan church as well as by many others in the wider community. At his baptism, writes Urban, the twenty-one-year-old convert chose for himself the Old Testament name of David, "perhaps because young David [of old] had by faith defeated the heretofore unconquerable [Philistine] giant."

At the reception which followed at Pastor Tharchin's home, reported Urban, there were "hundreds of guests" who gathered and heard the newly-baptized man bear testimony concerning his newfound faith. Among other things, David on this occasion offered the following words:

I have studied high philosophy and logic, and all the teachings of Buddhism, but peace and happiness have only come into my heart through Jesus. I have recognized that He alone has the power to take away sins and grant eternal life. Since I have come to Him, something has changed within me. Whenever I now want to do injustice, as I used to do before, I feel hesitation and fear overtaking me. And if nonetheless I still do it, then I am very unhappy after that. This has convinced me that Jesus can change our heart. Above all, the 86th Psalm has meant much to me these days, verses 11 and 13-15 especially:

Teach me your way, O Lord; [and] I will walk in your truth....Great is your lovingkindness towards me, and you have delivered my soul from the lowest Sheol [Hell]. O God, the proud are risen up against me, and the [band] of violent men have sought after my soul....But you, O Lord, are a God merciful and gracious, slow to anger, and abundant in lovingkindness and truth.

Here, incidentally, David appeared to have been intimating—by the choice of verses he included in his testimony—that he had already encountered opposition from those who would seek to do him harm. For had he not hinted at something of the sort in response to a question which Miss Urban would put to him less than eight months following his baptism? She was to inquire of him at that subsequent time if he "now continually [felt] threatened." To which David would "calmly" reply: "I must always be prepared for anything." Undeniably he had "counted the cost" and had opted to be baptized anyway, regardless the consequences, and to become a disciple of Jesus Christ (see the Gospel of Luke 14:28, 33).

Those present at the reception, in response to David's stirring testimony, now uttered aloud to him the

following wishes: "May you be a bright light! The name of your former monastery can become true in you through Jesus!"

Interestingly enough, for two or three years following his shift from Darjeeling to Kalimpong and before his baptism, David, at the invitation of the Tibetan pastor, would establish his place of residence within the Tharchin compound itself. As his living space there, he was given what is now the large front sitting room of the compound's main house. Of further interest is the fact that during this very period when residing in the Tharchin home, and even before his Christian conversion, this young man had taken up the very physical sport of bodybuilding, and had even sought to become one of the champion bodybuilders of India, as was pointed out earlier by Jamyang Norbu. He had begun these exercises, reported Tharchin's wife to Margaret Urban, because he "needed this after his long years of passivity" that had been his lot as Odser Lamasery's Incarnate High Priest. And by these strenuous exercises, she added, David had been able to "quite systematically strengthen his [heretofore sedentary] body..." Indeed, in the room he once occupied within the Tharchin main house there could still be seen until a few years ago the holes on its walls where hooks had been positioned and to which had been attached David's bodybuilding equipment. Here after his baptism he had faithfully continued to carry on these physical exertions which he had first begun to do back in Darjeeling. Furthermore, sometime later, during this same lengthy stay at the Tharchin home, David, at his own expense, had even mounted a bodybuilding sport event in the hill station. To it he had invited a Bengali from Kalimpong who at the time was living in Calcutta and who had come to be recognized as one of the Mr. Universes of India. But besides this particular Mr. Universe as the event's centerpiece, David, who in the meantime had himself become one of the great Mr. Darjeelings, was one of the show's other performers. It was at some point thereafter, however, that he ceased his pursuit of bodybuilding and turned his energies and attention full-time to various Christian endeavors.

Meanwhile, in a true spirit of Christian discipleship, David had been lavishing upon the many needy Tibetan refugees and other indigent folk either substance or funds derived from the many treasures and riches he had been able to carry out from Tibet: 47 cases of gold and silver jewelry and gems, rich tapestries, carpets, and costly religious instruments. It had required two immense Chinese wagons fitted with ten to twelve wheels each to bear this incredible cache that had then to be transferred onto the backs of numerous pack animals for negotiating the high mountain passes leading down into Sikkim and from there carried by motorized transport the rest of the distance to Kalimpong! Likewise, some of David's wealth, as he himself explained to Miss Urban, was lent out to other needy Tibetans or else was "stolen by a false friend and dishonest servant" of his. *Almost totally penniless but happy in Jesus when Miss Urban first met him in the spring of 1964*, David was asked by her: "What do you do, then, when you need money?" To which he in child-like faith answered: "I ask Jesus for help, and then someone comes to whom I had lent something, and he gives it back to me." Later, Urban learned that the only faithful servant David still had in his employ had secretly hired himself out in the Kalimpong bazaar as a coolie so that both David and he could have something to eat!

Clearly, it could be said of this young Christian disciple that he had effectively demonstrated a renunciation of his former religion on the one hand and the acceptance of Christ on the other by his having let go of all the treasures and trappings of Tibetan Buddhism so that by grace he might gain for himself the true riches of the heavenly kingdom. Indeed, David's gladsome relinquishing of all these earthly possessions to the point of his having become totally penniless exemplified in a most excellent way the taking quite literally the lesson to be learned from his newfound Lord's parable about the shrewd steward that is recorded in the New Testament Gospels (see Luke 16:1-13 NIV). In the telling of the parable, Jesus related to his disciples how a rich man's ungodly steward had so cleverly managed this world's goods as to have gained for himself a secure place in this life. And the moral which Jesus drew from the story for the first-century disciples is precisely what His modern-day disciple David Tenzing had unhesitatingly put into practice. For at the end of the parable Jesus had declared, in so many words, this pearl of wisdom: "Expend your earthly wealth on others in need, so that when it is all gone, you will be welcomed into your eternal home and obtain everlasting heavenly treasures. If you would be My disciples, you cannot serve both God and Riches." In short, therefore, the authenticity of young David's saving faith in Jesus as his Lord was powerfully confirmed by his total obedience to his Master's teaching.

By the time missionary Urban had arrived as guest in the Tharchin home David had begun to set his sights on going to America for college. It so happened, wrote the missionary, that "the daughter of an American missionary murdered by Tibetans would sponsor him." This was a reference to the well-known American medical missionary, Dr. Albert L. Shelton, who was ambushed in Kham (East Tibet) in 1922 by a gang of roving Tibetan bandits who robbed and then killed Dr. Shelton. The daughter referenced here was Mrs. Dorris [*sic*]

Shelton Still, who became a very good friend of the Tharchins and of David himself, and who had been a guest in the Tharchin home for a week in 1964 shortly before Miss Urban had visited with the Tharchins herself. In a letter David wrote to the American Consul-General at Calcutta on 10 August 1964, he explained as follows: "Herewith I am enclosing a true copy of [a] letter received from Mrs. D. Shelton Still, who is a friend of mine in America. I have [a] great desire to go to America for study. I shall be grateful if you kindly help me...[on] how to get [a visa] for my journey to America...as speedily as possible." But by 9 December of that year it had become clear to Tharchin Babu, who had been advising David on this matter, that it was going to be difficult to acquire not only the American visa but also an Indian passport which would permit him to leave India. For on that date the Babu wrote a letter to Mrs. Still, explaining that even with her kind letter sent to David, it was going to be "difficult to get the visa and passport as quickly as we thought." ThPaK. (For more details on the Sheltons, see again Volume I of the present biography, pp. 518-9 and Chapters 23 and 27 of the present volume.)

Now because David did not receive from the Office of the exiled Dalai Lama at Dharamsala in NW India the necessary exit authorization to travel to the United States, David could not go there. This and other subsequent details in David's life Urban would learn through an exchange of letters with both him and the Tharchins after she returned home from Kalimpong. Struggling to find employment following this disappointment, David was eventually given to understand (apparently from others in the Tibetan community who had of course remained staunchly Buddhist) that "all doors [of opportunity] would be open to him if [only] he would let go of Christ." Nevertheless, he would not yield to such enticements and remained faithful to Christ despite the economic difficulties he would continually encounter during the next year or so. David was truly on his own now since he had declined Rev. Tharchin's kind invitation to stay once more with the pastor and his family, though he still continued to attend Bible study and prayer times there.

Meanwhile, and most likely through the efforts of Miss Urban, a new opportunity for both education and Christian service presented itself to this Tibetan disciple of Christ. In the account about David in her book, Urban described this new situation in the following terms:

Something was initiated for David in Germany through Pastor Erich Schnepel. The young mission group [known as] "The Gospel"—under the leadership of Wolfgang Heiner—had the religious boldness to invite [to their country] this young Tibetan, who spoke no German. The air ticket was to be sent to him. In a brotherly way they wanted to take him into their midst on the pathway towards Christian evangelism. Even his education in a mission seminary was considered [with the purpose in mind that he could] become for his nationless people a guide to the Eternal Home.

After waiting for some little while in Kalimpong for the necessary exit authorization, David this time was successful in receiving from the Dalai Lama an authorized travel passport that would enable him to take the air flight to Germany. This development Miss Urban learned from a letter David wrote her that arrived in her hands shortly before Christmas 1965. In fact, the letter had been posted from Nepal, to where he had only recently gone and from where, he anticipated, he would be departing for Germany by air "in some two weeks" from that time.

According to Rev. Tharchin's daughter-in-law, David, in anticipation of his forthcoming journey to Europe, had gone to the Nepalese capital of Kathmandu for the purpose of collecting, if he could, some monetary debts owed him from those to whom he had made loans many years before. These debtors to David were numbered among many Tibetan refugees who had ultimately settled there following their escape from their homeland and whom David had come to know when both they and he had dwelt in Kalimpong. Other Tibetan folk whom he would be contacting in Kathmandu were also acquaintances of his whom he had known even before his Kalimpong experience and whom he had likewise befriended with needy assistance. And apparently it was while David was staying at the Nepalese capital that the air ticket finally arrived that would make it possible for him to go to Germany. It never became known, however, what amount of debts, if any, David was actually able to collect for his travel abroad. More than likely it was very little, in view of the fact that during his several-months' stay in Kathmandu he had been engaged in a search of desperately-needed employment (see below).

Now shortly after his arrival in Nepal David began to share the gospel of Christ he so loved. But a tragic circumstance, as men would view it, awaited him in this staunchly Hindu Himalayan kingdom tucked away between Tibet and India. There was also a large Buddhist population in Nepal who dwelt mostly in the northern regions of the country closest to Tibet, although Buddhists—both Nepalese and Tibetan—could be found almost anywhere throughout the land, and especially in Kathmandu, where David now was. He was aware, of course, that in this nation at that time it was against the law (and strictly enforced) to attempt to spread the Christian gospel to individuals or before groups of hearers. Nevertheless, this converted High Lama of Tibetan Buddhism began to do just that, feeling that loyalty and obedience to his Lord's higher calling took

precedence over any earthly human law when it involved the spiritual welfare of the souls of men and women. For David had taken literally and quite seriously the example of Jesus' disciples in the Early Christian Church who when by circumstance of life "were scattered abroad" to foreign lands "went about preaching the word" of the gospel (see in the New Testament the Acts of the Apostles 8:4).

But some of the Tibetan Buddhists among whom he labored on behalf of the gospel took radical exception to this fellow Tibetan of theirs espousing for himself and for other Tibetans a foreign religion—and the foreign religion of Christianity at that! Fanatically motivated, now, to silence this dear young man for conduct (including his baptism especially) which they probably felt was bringing shame to the traditions of Tibetan Buddhists and their Religion, some of them went to the extreme measure of poisoning David. Indeed, it was the opinion of Margaret Urban that those who had committed the poisoning had "certainly not done it out of personal hatred" for David. On the contrary, "who," she exclaimed, "could have hated this silent, gentle young man!" No, Urban opined, these Buddhists had perpetrated this foul act "so that the religion of their forefathers would not ever suffer any harm through him." She went on to say that "rendered up in [relation to the followers of a religion like] Buddhism, this is what Jesus meant when he said to his disciples: "he who kills you shall think he offers service to God" (see the Gospel of John 16:2). Later, according to Urban, these same Buddhists had falsely "claim[ed] that he had poisoned himself."

Now it so happened that prior to being poisoned David had fallen ill and was admitted into one of Kathmandu's metropolitan hospitals, Shanta Bhawan, a Christian institution. And according to Tharchin Babu as told to Rev. Peter Rappgey, a group of these disgruntled Buddhists soon afterwards visited him in the hospital and, perhaps under the pretext of feigned kindness, were somehow able to administer a deliberate overdose of medicine to David at his bedside. It should be noted here that the Ven. Kusho Wangchuk of Kalimpong's Tibetan Buddhist Tharpa Chholing Gompa, and a very close friend of Gergan Tharchin's, disputes the motivation cited above that lay behind this act of poisoning. In an interview he gave the present writer at the Gompa on 21 November 1992, he asserted that the story which attributed the poisoning of the former Odser Abbot to the fact of his conversion to the Christian faith "was false." The Venerable claims instead that the real reason for this malevolent act was because "debtors to David Tenzing did not wish to pay back the loans of money and/or goods."

In response, however, it must be pointed out (a) that since these debtors must have become privy to the fact that their creditor David was intent on going to Germany for study and that therefore it would be a matter of years before he would return, if at all, then they had nothing to be concerned about for the time being and could thus dismiss from their minds taking the extreme measure of murder by which to solve their problem; and (b), and perhaps far more significant, that all debtors of David's in Kathmandu—and no matter from whence they had found their way to the Nepalese capital—could not have failed, when extended a loan by him, to recognize in this young man a humble, compassionate and generous spirit much like that of his Master, Jesus, as is clearly evinced by the Urban report of his extremely charitable conduct in Kalimpong on numerous occasions. And hence, any debtor must have realized that if he were unable to make good, when due, the loan or debt to David, the latter would have either extended the time of payment or graciously canceled the debt outright if the personal circumstances of the debtor warranted. Indeed, if there be anything that is known with absolute certainty concerning the character of David Tenzing, it was, above all else, the following: that he would most willingly have suffered the loss of all things rather than insist, pressure, or attempt to force, if he could, anyone to make good on any monetary or material recompense to him. In fact, if the truth be fully known, it would not be surprising in the least to learn some day that David, in expectation of going abroad for an indeterminate period, had canceled every debt still owed him in Kathmandu.

In view of these considerations, therefore, it is difficult for the present writer to subscribe to the good Venerable's claim of debt motivation as having been the reason for the poisoning. Instead, the present writer is compelled to attach more credence to what appears to be a far more plausible explanation for the cruel deed inflicted upon this Tibetan Buddhist convert to Christ: namely, that it was committed, as already outlined, out of near-fanatical hatred of the Christian faith by some adherents of Tibetan Buddhism who exhibited an antipathy towards any Tibetan Buddhist who might convert to that foreign faith, especially if the convert were one of high rank. Even as much of the present work on Gergan Tharchin has shown, this kind of intolerant attitude was far too commonly true among Tibetans down through their history than most have been willing to acknowledge. Only in very recent times has there been exhibited a more tolerant attitude; and this, it must be added, has been largely due to the tireless efforts on the part of the current Dalai Lama to foster this new way of thinking among his subjects towards the Christian faith and Christians in their midst.

Now interestingly, reported Urban, David at first "seemed not to have suspected what his [true unhealthy]

condition was” as a result of the intentionally harmful overdose, inasmuch as he had requested the hospital to give him a job there “until he would be able to take the flight to Germany”! But because the overdose had been so large, the hospital staff could neither offer him a job nor help stave off the inevitable. His adverse condition now worsened as a result, and subsequently he would die of the overdose. Before his death, however, a few Christian believers, who had come to know him and who were connected with the fledgling missionary organization headquartered in Kathmandu known as the United Mission to Nepal (UMN), prayed with David for his recovery and encouraged him in his faith.

But from the Christian perspective, it was God’s time to take His beloved servant and precious young son to Himself, for on 8 February 1966, this sweet young believer in Christ, who harbored no bitterness or ill-will towards anyone, finally breathed his last at the hospital yet was surely welcomed immediately into the bosom of his Heavenly Father. Miss Urban has vividly described in her book how and when she received the news from India of David’s heavenly home-going:

Towards mid-February I awoke one night with a strange light heart, and my first thought was: Perhaps today is the day when David takes off [to Germany].

A week later came the brief news: “David went home the 8th of February and was put to rest the same day in the English cemetery.—Poisoned!”

Carried aloft by angels—not by the airplane—and without the weight of the earth!—he was [now] well.

Having finally anticipated his possible death, David had carefully requested the attending hospital physician to make sure the following would be done for him: “If I should die, please do not give my body over to the Buddhists for burial rites, nor to any Hindus for their rites; but do please have me buried under the Christian rites.” And so, in accordance with his wish, the doctor immediately contacted David’s Christian friends at the UMN. One of the missionaries there, who was a friend of the now well-known Kathmandu Christian pastor, Robert Karthak, asked the young pastor to assist them with the funeral service. Back then, of course, the Christian community in the Nepalese capital was very small and, according to Pastor Karthak himself, he was the only Nepalese pastor available who could undertake the funeral. Explained the pastor, who still today shepherds the large Gyaneshwor Church flock in Kathmandu, “We didn’t even have a Christian cemetery there in those days, so our UMN friends had to approach the British Embassy to let us use their cemetery.” Fortunately, added the pastor, the missionaries at the UMN were able to make all the arrangements necessary and thus “we had the burial service with just a handful of Christians in attendance.” Nevertheless, the pastor and these few Christian friends were able to fulfill David’s dying wish by giving his body a Christian funeral. In fact, on the same day on which he died in Christ he was interred and laid to rest by Pastor Karthak on the grounds of the British Embassy cemetery situated in the heart of the Nepalese capital. (Elsewhere in the present work are shown photographs pertaining to the life of David Tenzing. Among them is one taken at David’s gravesite in the British cemetery when the author took the occasion in January 1995 to visit it and pay his respects to the memory of this dear disciple of Christ.)

It should be added that to the very last days of his earthly walk David, despite his weakened condition, could be seen in the hospital ward going from patient to patient bearing a winsome testimony of the love and kindness of Jesus. It could well be said without any gainsaying of the statement that this young man, like his Master, was truly a servant of all, and one who, again like his Master, “loved not his life even unto death” (see in the New Testament the Book of Revelation, 12:11c).

Sources: The narrative about David Tenzing, including nearly all quoted material, has generally been derived from Urban 1967, pp. 16-27, 37-8. Additional sources for the narrative’s general information are as follows: (a) interview with Nini (Mrs. S.G.) Tharchin, Mar. 2003, and (b) interview with Rev. Peter Rapgey, Dec. 1992.

More specific details of David’s life needing particular documentation are as follows: (a) the identity of Hester Withey and her involvement in the story, David’s minor kingship in East Tibet, the place of his baptism, the fact and length of stay in the Tharchin compound, the bodybuilding details, and the nature of the poison as well as time, method and place of the act of poisoning: all are per the same interview with Rev. Rapgey cited above; (b) the date of birth is per the tombstone dates at David’s gravesite visited by the author; (c) the precise date of David’s baptism, his formal name and title when enthroned at Odser, and the identity of Markham as being the vicinity of his birth: all were provided the present author by S.G. Tharchin’s son, David Tharchin, after the latter’s careful research; (d) the identity of the Kathmandu hospital and David’s words to the hospital physician: all are per the same interview with Mrs. Tharchin cited above; (e) the purpose of David’s visit to Kathmandu and the identity of his debtors there: all are per information provided by Mrs. S.G. Tharchin as conveyed by her son David Tharchin in an email sent from the latter to the author, Kalimpong.

12 Aug. 2005; and (f) all information and quoted statements about and by Pastor Karthak dealing with the UMN, British Embassy cemetery, funeral and burial service: all are per Pastor Karthak's email to the author, Kathmandu, 24 Aug. 2005.

19. This brief discussion, including quoted material, relative to David Tenzing's conversion and baptism, together with the Dalai Lama's opinions on such conversions and the more conservative reaction of the Lamas, are again per Urban 1967, pp. 23, 36. The current Dalai Lama has made it clear on a number of occasions, in fact, that he has no objection whatsoever to such Christian conversions, provided they stem from a genuine motion of the heart and not done purely to obtain some tangible recompense (the so-called "rice-Christian" concept so prevalent until recently in many Asian and African lands: conversion to Christ in exchange for an immediate handout of food, clothing and/or temporary shelter). As reported to the present writer by Gergan Tharchin's son, His Holiness has been heard to say more than once that "if a Tibetan wishes to accept Christ it should be a desire from the heart—a sincere action—and not motivated by hope of some material gain." Interview with S.G. Tharchin, Dec. 1992.

20. Woodward 1991, p. 60; the words of His Holiness are quoted by this author from Sidney Piburn, ed., *The Dalai Lama: a Policy of Kindness* (Ithaca, 1990).

21. Dalai Lama XIV 1990, pp. 200, 204.

22. See elsewhere in the present biography for additional details on this episode of Christianity's presence in Tibet during the early 18th century. Moreover, the Jesuits in the early to mid-17th century had established mission stations at Tsaparang (Chabrang) and Rudok in West Tibet and had nearly converted a Tibetan king (actually a governor) of that area known as Guge. See again end-note 10 of Ch. 18 in Vol. II of the present work for more information on this aspect of Catholic missionary activity that had occurred a century earlier than the Lhasan venture.

Yet it must be stated that this permissiveness towards this foreign faith was not always true in *all* places and at *all* times in Tibetan history, as the reader has clearly seen, for instance, with respect to the Moravians—to mention but one of many examples. As was observed editorially in the *Church Missionary Intelligencer* (New York) in 1904: "Arabia, the holy land of Mohammedans, and Tibet, the sacred territory of northern Buddhism, are alike in excluding the Christian missionary. Yet, as has been well remarked by the Rev. Dr. Dwight, Secretary of the Bureau of Missions, New York, 'a Buddhist is free to enter the cities of Arabia, and Mohammedans, Hindus, fetish-worshippers, and what not can roam at will through Tibet.' It is only Christians who are proscribed—a testimony doubtless to the power of the Gospel, but not a condition with which Christians can rightly acquiesce." *CMI* (Oct. 1904):787. In the particular case of Lhasa and the Catholics, Tharchin was wise here—and most accurate as well—to make the distinction that the *secular* authorities at the Tibetan capital had indeed been tolerant towards this Western faith; but this certainly was not true on the part of the ecclesiastical authorities there. As Alex McKay has aptly pointed out in his discussion of the various 17th- and 18th-century Catholic attempts at establishing a more permanent witness in Tibet, "What was characteristic of all these missionaries was that they apparently enjoyed good relations with the Tibetan aristocracy, but that their presence was strongly opposed by the Buddhist establishment whose faith they disputed." No particular opposition, he went on to observe, came "from the Lhasa authorities towards the entry of foreign travelers up to the mid-18th century. But as those who entered Tibet were proponents of a new religion, they attracted growing opposition from the Buddhist authorities which prevented them establishing a permanent presence. These early missionary endeavors convinced the Tibetans that Europeans posed a threat to their Buddhist religion." McKay, "Tibet: the Myth of Isolation," in Paul van der Velde and Alex McKay, eds., *New Developments in Asian Studies* (London/New York, 1998), 303.

Sir Charles Bell, in his volume, *The Religion of Tibet* (Oxford, 1931), 140-53, provides an excellent summary of what happened when effort after effort by the Catholics at Lhasa (and elsewhere in Tibet as well) was systematically thwarted by the Tibetan priesthood from maintaining an effective witness to their faith. Bell summed up the situation well in these words (p. 151): "There is a marked sameness in the history of all these devoted bands of Christian priests. First a welcome, or half-welcome, by the secular rulers, later to be followed by opposition from the Tibetan priesthood, growing in violence as the time passes. The [Tibetan] priests are by far the stronger power; the secular government must either abandon the Christians or go under. So it was at Tsaparang, so it was, time and again, at Lhasa. Capuchins, Jesuits and Lazarists, all fared alike."

Citing this very pattern described by Bell, the Tibetan scholar in America, Schuyler Cammann, went on to state that "this same pattern was to recur again and again in the history of attempts to open Christian Missions in Tibet." "In fact," he added, "it might be said to have been the typical course of events." See the introductory chapter, "Historical Background," in his volume, *Trade through the Himalayas: the Early British Attempts to Open Tibet* (Princeton, 1951), 19.

23. A case in point was the informal policy of the British to discourage missionaries from attempting to evangelize Greater Tibet (i.e., Tibet proper). But by 1922 it had become the fixed policy of the British Government of India not to allow such attempts. See again Vol. I, p. 449 note 76 of the present narrative, quoting there John Bray from Bray 1993, pp. 182-3; and see also, Friedrich Heiler, *The Gospel of Sadhu Sundar Singh*, trans. Olive Wyon (London, 1927), 67, where the author states: "The interior of Tibet has been closed to all missionary effort for many years, not only by order of the Tibetan, but of the British, Government." Additionally, it needs to be recalled that Tharchin, along with Sadhu Sundar Singh, had themselves been victims of this same British policy when they were denied permission in 1914 to proceed to Tibet from Gangtok in Sikkim to conduct their own missionary efforts in the Land of Snows on behalf of the gospel. By that date they were not even permitted to proceed into northern Sikkim that they might visit a congregation of Christians at Lachen whom Tharchin had visited just two years before. See again Vol. I, Ch. 9.

24. Tharchin and Woodward 1975, pp. 645-6.

25. "...God shall judge the secrets of men, according to my gospel, by Jesus Christ."---Romans 2:16.

26. Tharchin had reference here to the congregation of the Macfarlane Memorial Church in Kalimpong, the gatherings of which were usually termed "the Nepali service" because that was the language used among this mixed ethnic congregation. For more concerning this congregation and the fear Tharchin voiced, the reader is referred back again to Ch. 25 of the present volume.

27. For a more complete text of this Swiss address, see the Appendices at the end of the present volume.

28. For more on these earlier efforts, the reader is directed to consult the latter part of Ch. 27 once again. A much more recent update on the activities of Tibetan Christians was provided by the late Rev. Stephen Hishey (d. 2006), the then pastor of the Leh Moravian Christian congregation in Ladakh whose work was cited previously in Ch. 28. In an interview he gave Tsering Shakya during the summer of 1989, Rev. Hishey explained the following in response to the interviewer's inquiry as to how Tibetan Christians in the refugee settlements and elsewhere were able to keep together and how they provided solidarity and comfort to each other:

This is where we have the Tibetan Christian Fellowship...[which] is the fellowship of Tibetan Christians and Tibetan organizations related to the Church. They come together every once a year at different venues. One of the reasons why this Fellowship was necessary was that after Tibetans came into India back in 1959, it seems there were some roots of Christianity that they brought. However, after mingling with their own people in different settlements they appear to have lost fellowship with other Christians, while deep [inside] them there was a certain belief in Christianity and certain links with the Christian faith which they were not able to develop. Therefore, the Fellowship was established, especially, to encourage these kinds of individual Christians who are far out in different parts of India...to come together so that they can tell others about themselves: who they are, when they became Christians, and how did they hear about Christianity, etc.

And in answer to various queries concerning the situation in Tibet and the Christian outreach which was at that time being beamed by radio into the Closed Land, Rev. Hishey had made these noteworthy observations:

One of the things we are...[doing] is to broadcast Tibetan messages, hymns and songs into Tibet. We are doing this through Seychelles and trying to obtain information about listeners in Tibet. Christian people have written back and expressed how much they liked it, others have suggested how we can improve the program. We have had no physical contacts; in fact, I have not been to Lhasa. Those who have written to us have given us good information of what is happening in Tibet....We broadcast every day at 5:45 p.m. Indian time on 25 m SW....We get messages regarding listeners' life-styles, what they do, and news about their families. We get feedback on the broadcast and requests to repeat certain programs....We have a post box number in Hong Kong and Dehra Dun [by which they may write to the radio program]....No, [they do not send any political messages to us, but] from their letters we do know whether they are happy or not.

And finally, Rev. Hishey was asked what had been the reaction of the Tibetan Christian community to the number of demonstrations which had erupted in Tibet in recent years wherein many Tibetans were killed. "Did you say prayers for them in your church?" Tsering Shakya pointedly inquired. The reply given the interviewer revealed the love and compassion which was to be found in the Tibetan Christian community at large: "Yes, we have always remembered Tibet as a nation and Tibetans as a group of people that needs support from the rest of the people. We on a small level, here in our [Leh] church and in our community, have always supported the Tibetan cause. We have encouraged our friends in the West to support the Tibetans." See the text of this interview in Shakya 1990, p. 17.

A further update of Tibetan Christian Radio activity was provided in 1995 by Rev. Hishey in "a letter from the field" he sent to some of his supporters in America. He wrote that "Gaweylon" (the name of the Tibetan Christian Radio program beamed daily into Tibet and meaning "Good News") had prompted both threatening and positive letters from listeners inside Tibet. "Compared to the letters threatening our lives because of the program," explained Rev. Hishey, "the response [of the following letter] makes us rejoice and know that what we do is not in vain." Translated, this letter read: "Christian people are the practical helpers to the needs of the world. Every day I am very happy as I listen to your program. My family and I are Buddhists, but, as I think in my mind, the most practical religion in the world is the Christian religion. In my understanding Jesus is not only a religion, but the very focal point of bringing peace amongst the nations of the world." Quoted in "Notes from the Field," *ADNAMIS, a Magazine Dedicated to Native Missions throughout the World* (Charlottesville VA USA), (Dec. 1995):12. And a more recent update indicates that the Christian broadcast, by 1997 a full 30-minute program, and despite the fact that fewer than 200 known Christians were at that time in Tibet, had elicited some 65 to 70 letters monthly, with over a thousand such replies having been generated in just a two-month period during the spring of that year. Nevertheless, this ministry had also reaped for itself "an onslaught of spiritual opposition from elements unfriendly to the gospel." This statement came from the President of the publishers of *ADNAMIS* at Charlottesville in a June 1997 letter insert placed in a later issue of the same Magazine just now cited: see (Summer 1997):11.

29. Interestingly, despite the current Dalai Lama's aging (in 2005 he turned 70—Western reckoning), it would appear that for Tibetans and even some prominent Chinese, the key to the Tibet question still remains the Dalai Lama—*this* Dalai Lama—himself. Speaking as a member of the Han majority in China, the well-known and knowledgeable author, Wang Lixiong, has made it clear in his book published in 2002, *A Conversation with the Dalai Lama*, that His Holiness is indeed the key to resolving the Tibet issue. It is a stance with which the leading Tibetan Communist critic of the Chinese Communist Party, Phuntsog Wangyal, readily agrees. For as Wang Lixiong has asserted, the Dalai Lama (1) is truly sincere in his expressed desire for autonomy for Tibet, not independence; (2) is still very healthy in both mind and body; and (3) is a famous and greatly revered figure in the Western world. "Based on these three points," writes the Tibetan Communist, the Dalai Lama is most logically "the key to settling the Tibet issue." "If China," he adds, "would talk with the Dalai Lama and they were able to settle the issues that concern all Tibetans, then the Central Government [at Beijing] would at last be able, with a single stroke, to achieve a tremendous success..." See Wangyal 2004, pp. 315-7.

In response, however, to both Wang Lixiong and Phuntsog Wangyal, the Chinese government, and probably the vast majority of the Hans in China, would say that there really is no "Tibet question" or "issue." Indeed, as Warren Smith, writing in 2003, has cogently argued:

All proposals to resolve the issue of Tibet assume that the Chinese agree that there is an issue of Tibet to be resolved....In the typical Chinese opinion, if Tibet's status was once questionable, which they are loathe to admit, then the issue was resolved once and for all in 1951, or, if not then, in 1959. To admit that there are unresolved issues about Tibet's status that can be resolved only by negotiations with the head of Tibet's former government [the Dalai Lama] would be for the Chinese to admit that Tibet was in fact independent and their 1950 "liberation" was imperialistic. This is why the Chinese are so insistent that the Dalai Lama should admit not only that Tibet is now part of China but that it has always been part of China.

All proposals to resolve the issue of Tibet, a nonexistent issue according to the Chinese, also neglect China's already revealed solution....This is the traditional Chinese solution to frontier problems by means of colonization and assimilation....The Chinese are apparently now so satisfied with [their policies implementing their solution] that they are opening Tibet to tourists and foreign diplomats and journalists in the belief that the only real "issue" of Tibet left to be resolved is the misunderstanding of Chinese policies in Tibet in the outside world.

In sum, Beijing has no desire, interest nor motivation to sit down with *this* or any other Dalai Lama not of its own selection and indoctrination. On the contrary, to negotiate with the “Dalai splittist clique” or to consider any form of Tibetan autonomy would, in Smith’s view, “inevitably perpetuate the fact and the issue of Tibetan separatism.” Ergo, “many in China,” Melvyn Goldstein has opined, “are convinced that waiting until the... Dalai Lama dies is the simplest answer to their ‘Tibet’ problem.” Hence, the Beijing leadership, in the words of Jonathan Mirsky, “is determined” that upon the death of Tibet’s present Grand Lama—whom Chinese propagandists disparagingly call “the wolf in lama’s clothing”—“it alone will identify his successor.” What happened in 1995, in fact, was meant to serve as an audacious prelude to this intended outcome. For in that year the Chinese had spirited away the Dalai Lama’s own choice of infant to be the next, i.e., the Eleventh, Panchen Lama and had put forth instead a substitute child approved by the Chinese government. Clearly, the current Dalai Lama and his exile government has gotten the message intended by Beijing; for Mirsky has reported that in a conversation with His Holiness in 2000 the latter had “suggested” to him that the episode with the Panchen Lama infant was but “a dress rehearsal for what will happen when he dies.”

See Smith’s review article of Dawa Norbu’s book, *China’s Tibet Policy* (London, 2001), in *TJ* (Winter 2003):101-14, especially pp. 110-12; Goldstein 1997, p. 110; and Mirsky 2004, p. 45.

30. This paragraph is an insert here of sentiments which some ten years earlier Tharchin had expressed to missionary Urban during the latter’s visit to his home in the spring of 1964. It is quoted in Urban 1967, p. 14. The quote in the preceding paragraph of the present narrative’s Text here is, of course, taken from Tharchin’s end-of-life “memoirs,” GTUM TwMs, Ch. 28, p. 2.

31. The Gospel of Luke 18:26-7: “And they that heard it said, Then who can be saved? But he [Jesus] said, The things which are impossible with men are possible with God” (cf. Mark 10:27 and Matthew 19:26).

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- _____ 1951, post-March. Letter to Indian Prime Minister Nehru, typed draft, uncertain if ever sent, Kalimpong, undated (but internal evidence dates it as sometime in 1951 after March), ThPaK (2 pages).
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ABBREVIATIONS USED FOR FREQUENTLY CITED PERIODICALS

<i>BW</i>	<i>The Bible in the World: a Record of the Work of the British and Foreign Bible Society, London</i>
<i>CHI</i>	<i>The Catholic Herald of India, Calcutta</i>
<i>CMI</i>	<i>Church Missionary Intelligencer</i>
<i>CMR</i>	<i>Church Missionary Review</i>
<i>GJ</i>	<i>Geographical Journal, London</i>
<i>IS</i>	<i>International Studies, Bombay</i>
<i>JASB</i>	<i>Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta</i>
<i>JRASB</i>	<i>Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta</i>
<i>JRCAS</i>	<i>Journal of the Royal Central Asian Society, London</i>
<i>MM</i>	<i>Moravian Missions</i>
<i>MRW</i>	<i>Missionary Review of the World</i>
<i>MQ</i>	<i>Moravian Quarterly</i>
<i>NG</i>	<i>National Geographic, Washington DC</i>
<i>PA</i>	<i>Periodical Accounts Relating to the Missions of the Church of the United Brethren (or Moravians), Established Among the Heathen, London</i>
<i>TJ</i>	<i>Tibet Journal</i>
<i>TR</i>	<i>Tibetan Review</i>

PERSONAL INTERVIEWS—VOLUME III

Formal interviews were conducted with the following individuals, listed in alphabetical order.

At Kalimpong:

Mr. Dawa Babu, 22 November 1992.
Rev. B.K. Biswas, 24 November 1992.
Drasho Rigzin Dorje, 5 December 1992.
Mr. Tashi Dorje, 1 December 1992.
Mr. Tashi Pempa Hishey, 22 November 1992.
Mr. S. Jain, 25 November 1992.
Mr. Jorga, 8 December 1992.
Mr. D.K. Khaling, 17 December 1992.
Mrs. Tashi Panlook, 27 November 1992.
Dr. Andrew Pradhan, 30 November 1992.
Mr. P.R. Pradhan, 3 January 1995.
Mr. Shanti K. Pradhan, 21 November 1992.
Mr. Gauri Shankar Prasad, 25 November 1992.
Rev. Peter Rapgey, 3 February and 14 December 1992, early December 1993, and 3 January 1995.
Mr. F.M. Shen, 17 March 1991.
Mr. B.C. Simick, Jr., 28 November and 15 December 1992.
Elder Victor Subba, 25 November 1992.
Nini (Mrs. S.G.) Tharchin, 2 February and 12 and 16 December 1992, 11 December 1993, and 31 December 1994.
S.G. Tharchin, Early February and Mid-December 1992, 11 December 1993, and 20 December 1994.
S.G. and Mrs. (Nini) Tharchin, 3 and 28 February 1992.
Mr. Achu Namgyal Tsering (son of Lha Tsering), 14-15 January 1998.
"Dr." N. Tshering, 23 November 1992.
Ven. Kusho Wangchuk, Tharpa Chholing Gompa, 21 November and 9 December 1992.
Mr. C. Wangdi, 23 November 1992.
Rev. Tshering Wangdi, 30-31 December 1994.

In India Outside Kalimpong:

Mr. Pandey Hishey, Gangtok, Sikkim, 10 December 1992.
Mr. Lhawang La, Darjeeling, 26 November 1992.

In America:

Sonam T. Kazi, Montclair NJ, 22-3 October 1991.

In Nepal:

Mr. Gyan Jyoti, Thamel, Kathmandu, 8-9 February 1993.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

Representative Publications
Authored, Edited, printed and/or Published by G Tharchin
(In Chronological Order as Can Best Be Determined)

The Mirror of Omens. By Karma Chagmed, alias Mkhas-grub Ra-ga Asay (17th c.). Tibetan Title: “Chang-med rin-po-che mdzad-pa’i kun-rdzob gya-sel me-lon.” Edited by G. Tharchin. Printed by the Church of Scotland Guild Mission at Kalimpong: the Tibetan Press, 1934. Selected extracts from the collected works (some 50 vols.) of Karma Chagmed, “one of the greatest scholars of the Karmapa sect” of Tibetan Buddhism, though “he was also a great master of the Nyingmapa sect.”—Norbu Chopel, a modern-day translator of his work. In Tibetan. *Subject of these extracts:* Tibetan Omens and Superstitions. Most of this author’s works, writes Chopel, “dealt with the lives of the people of the Kham region and [showed] great interest in the popular belief and superstition as an approach to the comprehension of the more profound religious truths. The basic essence of all his works is the simplicity and lucidness of the language he used because he believed that it is pointless to write and collect vast numbers of works without the common people being able to understand them.”—Chopel, “The Mirror of Tibetan Omens and Superstitions by Karma Chagmed,” *TJ* (Winter 1982):86.

The Mirror of Tibetan Arts and Crafts. Edited by G. Tharchin. Printed by the Church of Scotland Guild Mission at Kalimpong: the Press of the Tibet Mirror Newspaper, 1936.

A Song of Lhasa Memories & A Poem in Alphabetical Order Composed by H.E. Shekarlingpa at Darjeeling in 1911, on the Occasion of H.H. the 13th Dalai Lama’s Visit to India. 1st Ed. of the Songs only, in 1936. Published by G. Tharchin and Printed by the Church of Scotland Mission at the Tibetan Press, Kalimpong. 2d Ed. with the Alphabetical Poem, 16 pp., Printed and Published by G. Tharchin at Kalimpong: Tibet Mirror Press, December 1950. 3d Ed. Rev., 16 pp. Printed and Published by G. Tharchin at Kalimpong: Tibet Mirror Press, 1965.

The Tibetan Grammar Part I. By G. Tharchin, Editor and Publisher of the Tibetan Newspaper. 80 pp. Kalimpong, 1938. [Printed at the Gospel Literature Society Press, Bombay (see entry for Part II below)].

The Tibetan Primer of Current Hand Writing. By G. Tharchin. 68 pp. Kalimpong: [Printed elsewhere?], 1938 [original edition]. Various Photo Offset Reprint Editions: 3d, 1 September 1954 by G. Tharchin at Kalimpong: Tibet Mirror Press; 4th, 1966; 5th, 1968. 6th Ed. Rev., 1968 by Rev. G. Tharchin, Editor and Publisher of the Tibetan Newspaper “Tibet Mirror,” Kalimpong. Printed by M.E. Eapen at the Gospel Literature Society Press, Bombay 75, and Published by G. Tharchin, the Tibet Mirror Press, Kalimpong. Photo Offset Reprint Edition: 7th, 1972. *Subject:* Tibetan Language—Writing (Romanized).

Tibetan Primer Together with Simple Rules of Correct Spelling. By K. Waismaa. [Probably the 3d Edition]. Published by the Free Church of Finland Mission at Ghoom. Printed by G. Tharchin at Kalimpong: Tibet Mirror Press, February 1949. “This First Tibetan Primer...is the first book I have printed on the new [Treadle] press” that had launched the Tibet Mirror Press in March 1948. Per office copy of letter, Tharchin to the Ani Las at Ghoom, Kalimpong, 17 February 1949, ThPaK. Original First Edition had been published by the Mission at Ghoom in 1912 but printed at the Baptist Mission Press, Calcutta. 4th Ed. Rev., 44 pp. Published by the Mission at Ghoom, but printed by G. Tharchin at Kalimpong: Tibet Mirror Press, 24 August 1954. The 6th Ed. Rev. was again published by the Mission at Ghoom, but printed by G. Tharchin at Kalimpong: Tibet Mirror Press, 1962. The 7th Ed. Rev. was once again published by the Mission at Ghoom, but “reprinted by Rev. G. Tharchin at the Tibet Mirror Press, Kalimpong, 1970.” In Romanized Tibetan. *Subject:* Tibetan Language—Readers.

Kalimpong and the Sikkim Hills: a Guide and Handbook on Touring. By (Mrs.) Annie (Macdonald) Perry. 64 pp. Printed by G. Tharchin at Kalimpong: Tibet Mirror Press, 1949.

Tibetan Language Records. Etc. By the Late Sir Basil Gould, P.O. in Sikkim, and Hugh Edward Richardson. Former British Trade Agent at Gyantse and In Charge of British and Indian Mission at Lhasa. 182 pp. Reprinted and Published by G. Tharchin at Kalimpong: Tibet Mirror Press, 1949. At back of book is following reference to original printing of the early 1940s: “By Order of H.H. the Maharaja of Sikkim. Printed under the Superintendence of Mr. R.P. Alley at the Sikkim Durbar Press, Gangtok, Sikkim, India.”

Tibetan Medical Words. By Gould and Richardson. Reprinted by G. Tharchin at Kalimpong: Tibet Mirror

Press, 1949. Originally printed for the authors at Sikkim Durbar Press, Gangtok, Sikkim, India, 1947. A Tibetan-English medical dictionary.

Tibetan Syllables. By Gould and Richardson. x, 120 pp. Reprinted and Published at Kalimpong: Tibet Mirror Press, 1949. At back of book is following reference to original printing of it as published in 1943: "By Order of H.H. the Maharaja of Sikkim. Printed under the Superintendence of Mr. R.P. Alley at the Sikkim Durbar Press, Gangtok, Sikkim, India."

Tibetan Verb Roots. By Gould and Richardson. 63 pp. Reprinted and Published by G. Tharchin at Kalimpong: Tibet Mirror Press, 1949. Originally printed for the authors at Sikkim Durbar Press, Gangtok, Sikkim, India, 1947. "In this book there are set out in tabular form what purport to be the actual spelling and pronunciation of...roots of 229 of the commoner Tibetan verbs."—p. iii.

The Lepcha Second Primer. By S.K. Taso. 52 pp. Published by the General Lepcha Association of Darjeeling. Printed by G. Tharchin at Kalimpong: Tibet Mirror Press, 1949. Preface signed Kalimpong, 1 April 1949.

Hindi-Tibetan Self-Taught. By G. Tharchin. 2d Ed. 64 pp. Printed and Published by G. Tharchin at Kalimpong: Tibet Mirror Press, 26 January 1950. In Hindi and Tibetan.

The Dispute between a Mother Cat and Her Kitten. Edited by G. Tharchin, Editor of Tibetan Newspaper. 2d Ed. Rev. 12 pp. Printed and Published by G. Tharchin at Kalimpong: Tibet Mirror Press, 1950. In Tibetan.

The Story of King Hashang Deo and His Young Minister. Translated from Tibetan into Hindi by G. Tharchin. Original Edition Printed and Published by G. Tharchin at Kalimpong: Tibet Mirror Press, 15 August 1950. 24 pp. Reprinted and Published by G. Tharchin at Kalimpong: Tibet Mirror Press, 15th August 1967. In Tibetan and Hindi. [A Story demonstrating the principles of statecraft].

The Danger of Kaliyuga. By Marco Pallis (Kanpur House, Kalimpong). 1st Ed. 129 pp. Published by Marco Pallis. Printed by G. Tharchin at Kalimpong: Tibet Mirror Press, 28 October 1950. In Tibetan.

The Tibetan Second Book. By G. Tharchin. 2d Ed. Rev. 100 pp. Published by G. Tharchin at Kalimpong: Tibet Mirror Press, 1st March 1953. Original First Edition had been published at Ghoom: Free Church of Finland Mission (SAM), 1917 and printed at the Baptist Mission Press, Calcutta. 3d Ed. Rev., Kalimpong: Tibet Mirror Press, 1962. 4th Ed. Rev., Kalimpong: Printed and Published by G. Tharchin at the Tibet Mirror Press, 1968, 112 pp. *Subjects:* Tibetan Language—Readers; Tibetan Language—Orthography and Spelling. *Note:* The Tibetan First Book was published under the title *Tibetan Primer Together with Simple Rules of Correct Spelling* (authored by K. Waismaa) and is listed above.

The Biography of Srimati Kamala Bhikhchuni [8th c.], *Princess of King Dharma Pal, an Ancient King of Kashmir, India.* By Lama Rabten. Original First Edition Edited by G. Tharchin. Printed and Published by G. Tharchin at Kalimpong: Tibet Mirror Press, 20 August 1953. 2d Ed., 26 pp. Reprinted and Published by G. Tharchin at Kalimpong: Tibet Mirror Press, 1963. In Tibetan.

Textbook for Tibetan Language Study Along with Gramophone Records. By Sir Basil John Gould. 2d Ed. 74 pp. Reprinted and Published by G. Tharchin at Kalimpong: Tibet Mirror Press, 30 September 1953. Preface: "This textbook is an abstract and reprint from Sir B.J. Gould's *Tibetan Language Records, Etc.*, which has a larger edition. This textbook contains 12 lessons only which are in the records." In Tibetan and English.

Tibetan Letter Writer. By G. Tharchin. Published by G. Tharchin at Kalimpong: Tibet Mirror Press, 1954. Printed at the Mission Press, Allahabad.

(The Drama of the Lotus Garden). [Buddhist]. By "some High Lamas." 84 pp. Printed and Published by G. Tharchin at Kalimpong: Tibet Mirror Press, 14 August 1954. This 1st Edition was Printed in 750 Copies, "250 for free distribution by Rani Chhoni Wangmo (Bhutan House, Kalimpong) and 500 for sale by G. Tharchin"—so wrote Tharchin. In Tibetan. *Subject:* Buddhist Religion.

(Prayer-Book to Reach Heaven). [Buddhist]. By Raga-sgya. 64 pp. Printed and Published by G. Tharchin at Kalimpong: Tibet Mirror Press, 14 August 1954. This 1st Edition was Printed in 700 Copies, "500 to be distributed by Rani Chhoni Wangmo (Bhutan House, Kalimpong) and 200 to be sold by G. Tharchin"—so wrote Tharchin. In Tibetan. *Subject:* Prayers.

Aristocracy of Central Tibet: a Provisional List of the Names of the Noble Houses of U-Tsang. By Peter, Prince of Greece and Denmark (Tashiding, Kalimpong). 41 pp. Kalimpong: Tibet Mirror Press, 10 November 1954. (Information derived from the work of the Third Danish Expedition to Central Asia.) Original Printing: 500 Copies. "half free and half at Rs. 2/- each"—so wrote Tharchin (see Ch. 29a for an explanation of this). In English and Tibetan. On p. 3 of this publication Prince Peter acknowledged the following: "I should like to express my most grateful thanks...to G. Tharchin...for all the names [of Tibetan aristocrats] with which he has supplied me and for publishing this paper..."

[*Description of Buddhist Stupas and Holy Places in Holy Land of India*]. In Tibetan. Published by the Information and Cultural Service of India, Gangtok, for the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Government of India. Printed by G. Tharchin at Kalimpong: Mirror Press, 1956. On verso of Title page in Tibetan: [Buddhist Year 2,500, 1956].

[*The Text of the Constant Moving of the Dharma Wheel*]. In Tibetan. Printed at Kalimpong: Tibet Mirror Press, 1957. Illustrated with 2 thanka reproductions: (a) Constant Moving of the Dharma Wheel, (b) Enlightened One at Deer Park, Sarnath, Setting Wheel of Dharma in Motion to His Five First Disciples; and a photograph of Stupa on Site Where Buddha Preached Dharma Sermon.

The Political Testament and Warning by H.H. the 13th Dalai Lama to His People in 1932-1933, and An Advice by H.H. the 14th Dalai Lama to His People in 1955. 18 pp. Published by Alo Chonze, the then Chief Leader of the Mimang. Printed by G. Tharchin at Kalimpong: Tibet Mirror Press, 1958. In Tibetan.

H.H. the Dalai Lama's Statement in Mussoorie on 20th June 1959. 32 pp. Edited, Printed and Published by G. Tharchin at Kalimpong: Tibet Mirror Press, 1959. In Tibetan and English.

H.H. the Dalai Lama's Appeal to the Secretary General, United Nations, New York, on 9th September 1959, and Speeches Delivered at the Reception Given by the Indian Council of World Affairs, New Delhi, on 7th September 1959 etc. 40 pp. Edited and Printed by G. Tharchin at Kalimpong: Tibet Mirror Press, 1959. In English and Tibetan.

Tibetology: A bulletin on Tibetan literature and art published periodically by Nirmal C. Sinha, Director: Namgyal Institute of Tibetology, Gangtok (Sikkim). Articles in both Tibetan and English. This first number, with Foreword by the Maharajkumar of Sikkim (Palden Thondup Namgyal), was printed by G. Tharchin at Kalimpong: Tibet Mirror Press, November 1959, on the Occasion of the 66th Birthday of the Maharaja of Sikkim (Sir Tashi Namgyal, KCSI, KCIE).

The Dispute between Tea and Beer. 2d Ed. 52 pp. Edited, Printed and Published by G. Tharchin at Kalimpong: Tibet Mirror Press, 1960 [i.e., "The Dispute between the Tea Goddess and the Beer Goddess," a didactic literary work composed by Bondrongpa in 1726]. In Tibetan.

A Moral Lessons [sic] in Simple Poetry. By Shakya Pandit (1182-1251) and Dudjom Rinpoche. 20 pp. Edited [Printed] and Published by G. Tharchin at Kalimpong: Tibet Mirror Press, 1960. In Romanized Tibetan.

Precepts on Religion and Politics. Entitled "Pearls [sic] Necklace." By Dalai Lama V (1617-82). 24 pp. Edited, Printed and Published by G. Tharchin at Kalimpong: Tibet Mirror Press, 1960. In Tibetan. *Subject*: Buddhism (Lamaism) and the State.

Simplified Tibetan Grammar. Parts I and II. By G. Tharchin. 2d Ed. 2 vols. in 1. Published by G. Tharchin at Kalimpong: Tibet Mirror Press, 1960. (Combines Parts I and II of *The Tibetan Grammar*—see earlier entry above for Part I and see below entry for Part II). Printed by M.E. Eapen at the Gospel Literature Society Press, Bombay. Reprinted 1966, 1968, 1971.

The Story of the Four Harmonious Brethern [sic]. Translated from Tibetan into English by G. Tharchin. 14 pp. Printed and Published at Kalimpong: Tibet Mirror Press, 1960. In Tibetan and English. *Subject*: Tibetan Tales.

The Tibetan Grammar Part II. By G. Tharchin. 1st Ed. 56 pp. Published at Kalimpong: Tibet Mirror Press, 1960. World Copyright Reserved. Printed by M.E. Eapen at the Gospel Literature Society Press, Bombay 75 (see entry for Part I much earlier above).

A Collection of Synonyms. By Palkhang Lotswa (16th c.). 116 pp. Edited and Published by G. Tharchin at Kalimpong: Tibet Mirror Press, 1961. In Tibetan.

A Moral Lessons [sic] Illustrated with Water, Trees and Plants. 2d Rev. Ed. 92 pp. Edited, Printed and Published by G. Tharchin at Kalimpong: Tibet Mirror Press, 1961. In Tibetan.

Tibetan Catechism. By Rev. Theo Sorensen (formerly of the China Inland Mission, Peking). Reprinted for 3d time, 1955; and revised and reprinted for 5th time, 1961. 42 pp. Published by World Mission Prayer League, Darjeeling. Printed by G. Tharchin at Kalimpong: Tibet Mirror Press, 1955, 1961.

The Difference between Christian and Buddhist Teaching Concerning God, Creation, Man, Sin and Salvation. Reprinted and published by World Mission Prayer League, Kalimpong. 18 pp. Printed by G. Tharchin at Kalimpong: Tibet Mirror Press, 1962.

From Hell to Paradise: a True Statement Related by Ashang Lobzang Jampa, a Ladakhi Refugee Lama. 50 pp. Edited and Printed by G. Tharchin at Kalimpong: Tibet Mirror Press, 1962. In Romanized Tibetan. *Subject*: Political Prisoners—Tibet—Personal Narratives.

"A Moral Advice of an Old Woman" to Two Young Women Regarding Mortal Decay. By Changchan Gung Sonam Gyal-po of Lhasa (Chang-lo-Chen Gung Kusho). 2d Ed. 28 pp. Edited and Published by G. Tharchin at Kalimpong: Tibet Mirror Press, 15 August 1963. Didactic Work in Verse. In Tibetan. *Subject:* Young Women—Conduct of Life.

The Story of Corpse [sic]. By Acharya Nagarjun and Kumar Shankar. 114 pp. Edited, Printed and Published by G. Tharchin at Kalimpong: Tibet Mirror Press, 1964. In Tibetan.

The Five Hygienic Paths of Morality and Spirituality. By Lama Sherap Nangwa (D. Ringzin Wangpo, Tharchin's Nephew-in-Law). 42 pp. Printed and Published by G. Tharchin at Kalimpong: Tibet Mirror Press, 26 January 1965.

The English-Tibetan-Hindi Pocket Dictionary. By G. Tharchin. Printed and Published by G. Tharchin at Kalimpong: Tibet Mirror Press, 1965. All Rights Reserved. Author's Preface signed Kalimpong 26 January 1965, and said in part: "I must acknowledge my obligation to Sir C.A. Bell's *Tibetan Colloquial Dictionary* and [Vincent] Henderson's *Tibetan Manual* which gave me great help." 2d Ed. Rev. and Enl. by Rev. G. Tharchin, Editor and Publisher of Several Tibetan Educational Books. "Revised and Reprinted by the Author at the Tibet Mirror Press, Kalimpong, West Bengal, 1968"—p. 459. All Rights Reserved. Preface to the Second Revised Edition: "I am glad to bring out this revised and enlarged edition with thousands of new useful words." 478 pp.

English-Tibetan-Hindi-Sanskrit Pocket Dictionary. By G. Tharchin. 139, 382, 104 pp. Printed and Published by G. Tharchin at Kalimpong: Tibet Mirror Press, 1967. Romanized. *Subjects:* Polyglot Glossaries, Phrase Books, etc.

Tibetan Letter-Writer. By Shri Kadrung Norgye Nangpa. 70 pp. Printed and Published by G. Tharchin at Kalimpong: Tibet Mirror Press, 1968. In Romanized Tibetan. *Subject:* Tibetan Letters.

Morning and Prayer-Book [Buddhist] for Tibetan Refugee Schools. 39 pp. Reprinted by G. Tharchin at Kalimpong: Tibet Mirror Press, 1969. In Tibetan.

A Brief Description of God's Grace to Sinners. 8 pp. Published by the Christian Fellowship for Tibetans, Tibetan Mission House, Kalimpong. Printed by G. Tharchin at Kalimpong: Tibet Mirror Press, 196-?.

The Story of Birds and Monkeys. 52 pp. Edited, Printed and Published by G. Tharchin at Kalimpong: Tibet Mirror Press, 196-?. [Erroneously attributed by Jacques Bacot to Dalai Lama XI (1838-56)]. In Tibetan. (A political allegory in the form of a debate).

Tibetan-English Self-Taught. By G. Tharchin. Printed and Published by G. Tharchin at Kalimpong: Tibet Mirror Press, 196-?.

Precis Edition of the Tibetan Letter Writer. By G. Tharchin. Printed and Published by G. Tharchin at Kalimpong: Tibet Mirror Press, 196-?.

Wishing Treasure of Elegant Sayings, with Commentary. By Shakya Pandit (1182-1251). 408 pp. Published by the Sakya Khenpo Ven. Sangey Tenzin. Printed by Rev. G. Tharchin at Kalimpong: Tibet Mirror Press, 1974.

APPENDIX B

The Title Pages of Representative Works Printed by the Tibet Mirror Press

TIBETAN PRIMER TOGETHER WITH SIMPLE RULES OF CORRECT SPELLING.
 (Second Revised Edition)
 BY E. WAINMAN.
 PUBLISHED BY THE PRESS OFFICE OF PEARSON EDUCATION, LONDON.
 GOSWAMI P. M. (Distributing Agent, Calcutta).
 Printed in U.K. (London) at the Tibet Mirror Press (1943).

THE STORY OF THE CORPSE
 वेताल की कहानी
 BY KICHAYA NARAYAN AND KUNJAN CHANDLER.
 WRITTEN, PRINTED AND PUBLISHED BY G. THARCHIN AT THE TIBET MIRROR PRESS, CALCUTTA, 1944.

THE DISPUTE BETWEEN A MOTHER CAT & HER KITTEN
 (Second Revised Edition)
 EDITED BY G. THARCHIN.
 SECOND TIBETAN EDITION.
 PRINTED AND PUBLISHED BY G. THARCHIN AT THE TIBET MIRROR PRESS, CALCUTTA, 1944.

THE STORY OF BIRDS AND MONKEYS
 पक्षी व मनुष्य का प्रेम का प्रसंग
 GOSWAMI P. M. (Distributing Agent, Calcutta).
 Printed & published by G. Tharchin at the Tibet Mirror Press, Calcutta, 1944.

THE DISPUTE BETWEEN TEA AND BEER
 चाय व बीयर का प्रेम का प्रसंग
 GOSWAMI P. M. (Distributing Agent, Calcutta).
 Printed & published by G. Tharchin at the Tibet Mirror Press, Calcutta, 1944.

THE ENGLISH TIBETAN BIRD & MONKEYS DICTIONARY
 by G. THARCHIN.
 Editor & Publisher of Several Tibetan educational books, Tibet Mirror Press.

TIBETAN SYLLABLES.
 IN SMALL CAPITALS, P. 1-116.
 IN REGULAR CAPITALS, P. 117-118.
 IN SMALL CAPITALS, P. 119-120.
 IN REGULAR CAPITALS, P. 121-122.

THE TIBETAN PRIMER OF CURRENT HAND WRITING.
 (Second Revised Edition)
 BY G. THARCHIN.
 Editor & Publisher of Several Tibetan educational books, Tibet Mirror Press.

THE TIBETAN GRAMMAR PART I
 BY G. THARCHIN.
 Editor & Publisher of Several Tibetan educational books, Tibet Mirror Press.

THE TIBETAN GRAMMAR PART II
 BY G. THARCHIN.
 Editor & Publisher of Several Tibetan educational books, Tibet Mirror Press.

CONTENTS.

THE TIBETAN PRIMER OF CURRENT HAND WRITING.

THE TIBETAN GRAMMAR PART I.

THE TIBETAN GRAMMAR PART II.

THE DISPUTE BETWEEN A MOTHER CAT & HER KITTEN.

THE STORY OF BIRDS AND MONKEYS.

THE DISPUTE BETWEEN TEA AND BEER.

THE ENGLISH TIBETAN BIRD & MONKEYS DICTIONARY.

TIBETAN SYLLABLES.

THE STORY OF THE CORPSE.

TIBETAN PRIMER TOGETHER WITH SIMPLE RULES OF CORRECT SPELLING.

APPENDIX C

*Profile of
Rev. Tharchin's Personal Christian Library
Some Representative Works*

- Various Tibetan Bibles and New Testaments.
 Various English Bibles and New Testaments.
 Tibetan New Testament in Sanskrit.
 Holy Bible in Urdu—Revised Version—Printed in Great Britain. 1947.
 Daily Devotionals—e.g., Bogatsky's *Golden Treasury*.
 Tibetan Hymnbooks.
- Venerable Bede's *Ecclesiastical History*.
- Adam W. Burnet, D.D., Minister, Westbourne Church, Glasgow. *Pleading with Men: Being the Warrack Lectures on Preaching for 1935*. London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1935.
- Rev. Henry Burton, M.A., D.D. *The Gospel According to St. Luke*. New ed. London: Hodder & Stoughton, n.d.
- S.J.W. Chase. *Panorama of the Scriptures*. Madras: Evangelical Literature Service, 1972.
- J.E. Church, M.A. *Everyman a Bible Student*. London: C.S.S.M., n.d.
- R. W. Dale, LL.D., Birmingham. *Christian Doctrine; a Series of Discourses*. London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1902.
- Ozora S. Davis, Presbyterian Chicago Theological Seminary. *Evangelistic Preaching, with Sermon Outlines and Talks to Children and Young People*. New York: Revell, 1921.
- Marcus Dods, Professor of Exegetical Theology, New College, Edinburgh. *The Gospel of St. John*. 2 vols. (one of the series of *The Expositor's Bible*). London: Hodder & Stoughton, n.d.
- Rev. Patrick Fairbairn, D.D. *The Imperial Bible-Dictionary: Historical, Biographical, Geographical, and Doctrinal*. New Issue. 7 vols. London: Blackie & Son, 1886. Inscribed on Title Page: Presented to Mr. G. Tharchin-La with affectionate greetings and best wishes. David Macdonald, 18/3/4-? (that is, 18 March 194-).
- Rev. J.D. Jones. *The Gospel According to St. Mark; a Devotional Commentary*. London: Religious Tract Society, 1919.
- Dr. Kurt Koch. Various titles, of which many are listed in the End-Notes for Ch. 29 of the present biography.
- Arthur E. Lickey. *God Speaks to Modern Man*. Salisbury Park, Poona, India: Oriental Watchman Publishing House, 1969.
- Martin Luther. *Luther's Meditations on the Gospels*. Trans. & Arranged by Roland H. Bainton. London: Lutterworth Press, 1963.
- Allan Maberly. *God Spoke Tibetan; the Epic Story of the Men Who Gave the Bible to Tibet, the Forbidden Land*. Mountain View, CA: Pacific Press Publishing Association, 1971.
- James I. McNair. *Livingstone the Liberator; a Study of a Dynamic Personality*. London: Collins Clear-Type Press, n.d.
- Rev. F. Marshall. *The School and College St. Matthew* (Oxford & Cambridge Edition). London: George Gill & Sons, Ltd., n.d.
- F.B. Meyer, B.A., D.D. *The Bells of Is: or, Voices of Human Need and Sorrow*. London: Morgan & Scott, 1911.
- Basil Miller. *Martin Niemoeller, Hero of the Concentration Camp*. 5th ed. Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan Publishing House, 1942.
- Adam Philip, D.D. *Thoughts on Worship and Preaching: the Preachers' Lectureship, 1930*. London: James Clarke & Co., Ltd., 1930.
- Erich Sauer. *The Triumph of the Crucified: a Survey of Historical Revelation in the New Testament*. London: Paternoster Press, 1951.
- Frank G. Slaughter. *The Crown and the Cross*. London: Jarrolds Publishers, 1959.

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- Oswald J. Smith, D.D., Litt. D., LL.D., Founder of The Peoples Church, Toronto. *Poems of a Lifetime* Orig. ed., 1962. London: Marshall, Morgan & Scott, 1969.
- William Temple. *Readings in St. John's Gospel*. London: Macmillan, 1941.
- Christiana Tsai. *Queen of the Dark Chamber* [published in Tibetan].
- John Wordsworth. *Sermons Preached in Salisbury Cathedral Church and Elsewhere, Together with Selected Prayers Composed by Him*. London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1913.

APPENDIX D

A CITATION

*Read Out on the Solemn Occasion of the Funeral of
Rev. G. Tharchin on 9 February 1976 in the Macfarlane
Memorial Church, Kalimpong*

Rev. G. Tharchin was born in the village of Poo now in Himachal Pradesh, on the 18th day of April 1890. He was baptised by the Rev. Shreve of the Moravian Mission at Poo where he received his early spiritual and elementary school education.

Rev. G. Tharchin enjoyed a unique opportunity of witnessing the Delhi Durbar of 1911. Through the kindness of Rev. Waismaa he came to Ghoom, which marked the turning event for the best in his life. Rev. G. Tharchin was the only living authority on the travels of Sadhu Sundar Singh in the District of Darjeeling and in the then State of Sikkim where he accompanied the Sadhu the entire way on a preaching tour.

Twice he traveled with Dr. W.S. Sutherland on the Education Mission to Bhutan and acted as his interpreter on the way and during the preaching. He was also a participant-witness of the "First Lord's Supper in Bhutan" ever held, which was conducted by Dr. Sutherland.

Rev. G. Tharchin completed his training at the Teachers Training School in the SUM Institution where he also served as a Tibetan teacher, a post which was assumed by his worthy successor-pupil later known as Rev. Chhotuk Pazo who is now the retired minister of the CNI Church in Gangtok, Sikkim. Rev. Tharchin was the first founder-headmaster of a small primary school on the [British] Indian model established at Gyantse in Tibet. Some of his pupils from that same school are today holding high and responsible posts.

He was fortunate in those earlier days to visit Tibet four times on various missions and was a personal friend of the 13th and 14th Dalai Lamas, for whom he had great and deep appreciation and was in return appreciated by them for his unique services: editing and publishing a Tibetan newspaper, the *Tibet Mirror*, and authoring several educational textbooks which he printed at the Press he himself had founded. In the course of his educational contributions and scholarly assistance rendered he was happily associated with prominent personalities such as Rev. Waismaa, Dr. John A. Graham, Dr. Knox, Sir Charles Bell, Sir Basil Gould, the Hon. Hugh Richardson, the Hon. David Macdonald, other high-ranking government officials, and Marco Pallis. In addition, he was actively interested in the Department of Tibetology at Gangtok, Sikkim. He also served as an educational adviser on the present Dalai Lama's Educational Council.

In all, Rev. G. Tharchin was an editor, a publisher, a teacher, an evangelist, a scholar, a member of the Tibetan Bible Revision Committee, an author, an educationist, and the first national pastor and moderator of the Tibetan Church at Kalimpong. He possessed many good qualities of head and heart. Especially was he steadfast, forthright and fearless, but at the same time loving, kind and considerate.

Rev. Tharchin often talked about and hoped for a Free-Independent Tibet and a strong living Tibetan Church to carry on the torch of the gospel of Christ. Prior to his death and under his guidance his official biography was completed by his close friend ... Two-thirds of the biography has already been printed [i.e., typeset]. It is interesting to note that recently the *Tibetan Review* in its December issue of 1975 gratefully recalled the lifelong humanitarian services of Rev. Tharchin and published a lengthy article in honour of his life and labours for the progress and development of Tibetans, their language, culture and literature.

Rev. Tharchin had been happily married to Karma Dechhen and Miss Margaret Wittandts, both of whom had slept in the Lord earlier. On Friday the 6th of February at 12:30 p.m. Rev. G. Tharchin finished his earthly pilgrimage and rested very peacefully in the Lord in his good old age. He was nearly 87 when he passed away. Indeed, he had fought a good fight for his Master and Saviour and left a life of wonderful testimony behind him for the glory of God. Today he is survived by his son, Elder S. G. Tharchin, his daughter-in-law and eight grandchildren. We wish them God's peace and comfort at this time of their bereavement.

A day prior to his death Rev. Tharchin referred to "a new open door" in his room and inquired of his daughter-in-law as to who made it and when it was made; yet as a matter of fact no such new door had been made in his room or anywhere else in the house. At the moment no one took these words seriously, all failing to understand their spiritual significance. Only after his death was it realised that he had had a vision of "a New

Heavenly Door" being opened for him to enter and remain in the immediate presence of his Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ for all eternity.

This day we are thankful to the Lord for such a worthy life lived for Him. At this moment we join with the Psalmist who declared long ago: "Precious in the sight of the Lord is the death of his saints" (Psalm 116:15)

APPENDIX Da

*The Order of Worship for the Combined Sunday Services
Held 30 October 1977 at Macfarlane Memorial Church
on the Occasion of the Unveiling of the
Memorial Plate Presented by the Tibetan Church, Kalimpong
in Honour of the Late Rev. G. Tharchin La*

ORDER OF COMBINED SUNDAY SERVICES

At Mac Farlane Memorial Church, Kalimpong,

30th—October 1977

**By:— Rev. H. D. Subba & Elder S. G. Tharchin
(First part)**

1. Invocation:—
2. Prayer:—
3. Hymn:—
4. Prayer:—
5. First Reading: Old Testament:—
6. Hymn:—
7. Second Reading: New Testament:—
8. Confession of Faith:—
9. Offering & Prayer:—
10. Intimations:—
11. Prayer:—
12. Hymn:—
13. Sermon Eld. S. G. Tharchin (Tibetan)
Rev. H. D. Subba (Nepal)
14. Prayer Rev. H. D. Subba

—
(Second Part)

Congregation is requested to remain seated

15. Announcement of the ceremony of the unveiling of the Memorial tablet of Late Rev. G. Tharchin La.
16. Hymn 226
17. Bible Reading Jer. 3: 18 4: 1-2
...By:— Elder B. C. Simick
18. Unveiling of the Memorial Tablet
.. By:— Elder M. C. S. Chemjong
19. Prayer Elder N. P. Tshering
20. Speeches { Rev. Norman Meenan
Elder M. C. S. Chemjong
Elder B. C. Simick
21. Prayer Elder S. G. Tharchin
22. Hymn 278
23. Benediction Rev. H. D. Subba

APPENDIX E



TEL : 187

LIBRARY OF TIBETAN WORKS & ARCHIVES

His Holiness the Dalai Lama

Chairman of the Governing Body

Ref. No. DL/79-

Dated...17.10.79...

Dear Sherab Tharchin Sahib:

We trust this letter finds you in the best of your health and spirit.

Foremost, we would like to record our sincere thanks and gratitude for your selfless dedication towards the upliftment of the poor Tibetans, and encouraging steps in the dissemination of Tibetan culture, following in the footsteps of your late father, the Reverend Gergan Tharchin, who is highly respected and admired in the Tibetan circle. From the beginningless beginning to the endless end, he will be remembered as a great fighter of human freedom. Generations of Tibetans will remember him for the relentless struggle and devoted dedication that he mobilised for the cause of Tibetan freedom.

We would also like to thank you sincerely, for giving us a number of old and rare photographs, paper - cuttings and also the invaluable back-issues of the Mirror, the first Tibetan Newspaper by your late father. Kirti Tulku, our staff and Cultural Officer, has accessed these findings in our Manuscript Department.

Our aim is to build up an archival collection of all your late father's writings, documents and other materials to perpetuate the highly inspiring memory of your late father.

We end this letter with our request and hope that you will continue and further the good work of your late father towards Christianity, Tibetan Culture and Community Service.

with our best respects,

Sincerely yours,

(GYATSHO TSHERING)
Director

GT:kg.

APPENDIX F



འཇམ་དཔལ་ལྷན་ཁང་།

OFFICE OF HIS HOLINESS THE DALAI LAMA

April 11, 1980

Mr. Sherab Tharchin
TIBET MIRROR PRESS
10th Mile, Rishi Road
P.O. Kalimpong
Dist. Darjeeling
WEST BENGAL

Dear Mr. Tharchin:

It gives us great pleasure to acknowledge your dedication and service towards the needy Tibetans, and interest in the dissemination of Tibetan culture in the true tradition of your late father, the Reverend Gegan Tharchin, whose memory is cherished and respected in the Tibetan circle. Tibetans will always remember him for his service and struggle towards the cause of Tibetan freedom. We hope that you will continue and further the good work of your late father.

We would also like to thank you for donating a number of old and rare photographs, newspaper cuttings and the very rare back issues of the Mirror - the first Tibetan Newspaper founded by your late father - to our Library of Tibetan Works and Archives, Dharmasala. We have instructed our Library to build up an archival collection of all the writings and related works of your late father for posterity.

I recall vividly our meeting in 1978 at your residence, and remember suggesting to you during our talk that you revive the publication of: THE MIRROR, Tibetan Newspaper.

With our regards,

Yours sincerely,

Daboom Tulku
Secretary to H.H. the Dalai Lama

/nt

cc: Director, Library of Tibetan Works and Archives, Dharmasala,

Thekchen Choeling, McLeod Ganj 176219, Kangra District, Himachal Pradesh, Tel: 43

APPENDIX G

TEL 467

། བོད་ཀྱི་དབུ་མཛོད་ཁང་།

LIBRARY OF TIBETAN WORKS AND ARCHIVES

AT THE HEADQUARTERS OF H.H. THE DALAI LAMA

GANGCHEN KYISHONG, DHARAMSALA-176216, HIMACHAL PRADESH, INDIA.



Ref: DI/83/27

Mr. Sherab Tharchin
TIBET MIRROR PRESS
10th Mile,
Rishi Road,
P.O. Kalimpong
Distt. DARJEELING W.B.

December 16, 1983

Dear Mr. Sherab Tharchin,

We are ever grateful to you for the considerable assistance that you have given to our Field Research Officer, Ven. Kirti Tulku in 1979, and acknowledge your dedication and service towards the Tibetans, and the interest that you have shown in the dissemination of Tibetan culture following the footsteps of your late father. We are also grateful to you for the generous donations of a number of old and rare photographs, newspaper cuttings and the rare back issues of the Mirror. These are proving very useful to the numerous research scholars that come here every year.

Because of our fruitful results of our past efforts, we are once again deputing Ven. Kirti Tulku and an assistant to taperecord more memoirs of older Tibetans and to collect written materials on Tibet and related subjects. We, therefore, request your goodself to give them the same help that you have so kindly given in 1979.

With our best wishes for a happy 1984,

Sincerely yours,

Gyatsho Tshering
Director

APPENDIX H

*Major Excerpt from the
Prepared Address of the Rev. Gergan Tharchin
Given in His Absence by His Son Sherab Gyumtsho Tharchin
on 17 July 1974, before the Assembled Delegates of
the First International Congress on World Evangelisation
Convened at Lausanne, Switzerland*

HONOURABLE MR. CHAIRMAN, AND DEAR BROTHERS AND SISTERS IN THE LORD:

Hearty greetings to you all from the Tibetan congregation at Kalimpong, Northeast India!

I am very happy indeed for this opportunity to be in the midst of this great gathering assembled here in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, to whom I first offer all the praises and thanks for granting me this wonderful privilege to come to Lausanne, to attend the International Congress on World Evangelisation.

My aged father, Rev. G. Tharchin, who is 84 this year, also joins me in thanking the Congress for extending an invitation to him; but unfortunately he is unable to come due to his sudden ill health. He is very much thankful to the Congress for allowing me to come in his place.

We do thank the Lord for the ministry of the ... early missionaries sent out by the Moravian Church, who earnestly worked all along India's northwestern border with Tibet; and as a result of their faithful ministry (in the gospel of Christ), a few congregations of Tibetan believers were organised. Numbered among these early believers were the late Joseph Gergan, the chief translator of the Holy Bible in the Tibetan language, the late Rev. E. T. Phuntsok, and my father, Rev. Tharchin and I are still looking after the small congregation of Tibetans established many years ago at Kalimpong in northeastern India. The Church of Scotland has also had faithful missionaries who have worked among the Tibetans of this latter area to bring to them, too, the gospel of Jesus Christ.

... In spite of the slow progress of gospel work among the Tibetans, we thank the Lord for a handful of Tibetan believers who form various congregations in the northern part of India; that is to say, at Leh in Ladakh, at Rajpur in the District of Dehra Dun of Uttar Pradesh, at Baksa Duar on the Indo-Bhutanese border, in Sikkim, and at Kalimpong in the District of Darjeeling, West Bengal. These congregations are spiritually guided, respectively, by Rev. Jonathan Paljor, Pastor Nima Tshering, Pastor Norbu Drukpa, and my father, Rev. G. Tharchin. Kindly continue to remember these few Tibetan Christians in your daily prayers so that they may grow and be rooted deeply in Christ and feel the burden to witness for the Lord among their own people.

We praise the Lord that due to the faithful labours of the early missionaries and the efficient services of the Bible Society of India, we have a complete Holy Bible in the Tibetan language. It was first printed by Litho process in 1946 [should read 1948]. Later, under the arrangement of the Bible Society of India, some missionaries and Tibetans—including the late Rev. Phuntsok and Rev. Tharchin—were able to complete the revision of the New Testament in a better Tibetan version. This revised edition has been printed and is in use. The Bible Society is planning to bring out an edition of the complete Bible in the common Tibetan language.

Since the year 1962 we have been running a small children's home known by the name of the Himalayan Children's Home at Kalimpong. This Home was founded by my mother, the late Margaret Wittandt Tharchin. Mrs. Tharchin hailed from the Baltic State of Latvia with its capital at Riga. Later, due to political changes, her family moved to what became West Germany ... This Home is primarily meant for the Tibetan, Bhutanese and Sikkimese children where they might receive basic educational aid, obtain knowledge of some practical skill, and hear about the saving knowledge of the Lord Jesus Christ.

No doubt there are at times many hardships and difficulties, but the Lord honoured our simple faith, and provided for us our daily needs throughout all these years—for which we praise His wonderful name. Kindly remember our humble work for the needy children in your daily prayers.

At this time I would also like to express our deep sense of gratitude to the Christian churches throughout the world for generously extending their helping hands to the thousands of Tibetan refugees in the form of clothing and food during the political crisis of 1959 and onwards. Though the land of Tibet is today closed to the proclamation of the gospel of Jesus Christ, still we believe and pray with hope that God in his good and great providence will liberate this land so that the doors will be open for the entrance of the Christian gospel.

There is a prayer group known as the Christian Prayer Fellowship for the Tibetans in India; they have been praying for the Tibetans all through these years that they might be brought to the knowledge of the true and living Saviour, the Lord Jesus Christ. We would now request all you dear friends to pray for us so that when the opportunity comes, both the Indo-Tibetan and refugee Christians may be willing, and prepared for service, to take the message of the Cross all across the Himalayas to the heart of the Closed Land of Tibet. Ultimately, with this hope alone we are preserving our Tibetan culture, language and literature; and we want to claim TIBET FOR CHRIST.

In the light of St. Matthew's Gospel, Chapter 16 and Verse 18, we believe in the assurance of our Lord that "the gates of hell shall not prevail against the Church of Christ in Tibet."

In closing, once again my father and I would like to express our most heartfelt thanks to the International Congress on World Evangelisation for giving this wonderful privilege in the Lord.

Thank you all and thank you very much.

TEXT INDEX

<u>Code:</u>	Bk(s)	—	book(s)
	Bsm	—	Buddhism
	Bst(s)	—	Buddhist(s)
	Ch	—	Church
	Cst(s)	—	Communist(s)
	Darj	—	Darjeeling
	Dict	—	dictionary
	DL	—	Dalai Lama
	Fr	—	from
	GOI	—	Government of India
	Govt	—	government
	GT	—	Gergan Tharchin
	Kpg	—	Kalimpong
	Lang	—	language
	Lit	—	literature
	Mor(s)	—	Moravian(s)
	msn(s)	—	mission(s)
	msny	—	missionary
	PL	—	Panchen Lama
	<i>TM</i>	—	<i>Tibet Mirror</i>
	TMPress	—	Tibet Mirror Press
	Tn(s)	—	Tibetan(s)
	Vs	—	versus (or) against
	w/	—	with
	Xtn	—	Christian
	yrs	—	years

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compound established 1945-60 177; is granted GOI subsidy for 1947 179, 180-1; is provided large GOI loan for purchase of "proper printing press" 1947/48 181; erection of TMPress building at 10th Mile, Rishi Road, Kpg 182-3; Treadle Brown printing press installed w/hand-setting movable Tn type 183-4; obtains Tn-lang matrices at Calcutta 186-7; assists, but experiences frustrations w/, Tibetologist Shoju Inaba 187-93; enjoys his relationship w/ Tibetologist Tokan Tada 193-6; ceremonial inauguration of TMPress, held Kpg 22 Mar 1948, w/P.O.S. Hopkinson featured speaker 196-200; receives gifts for *TM* fr Tn govt & DL14 200-1; though strongly wishing to, GT unable to visit DL14 at nearby Yatung 201; opportunities, but never realized, for GT to relocate himself & his TMPress to Lhasa 204-11; publishes Silver Jubilee issue of *TM*: full of encomiums fr all & sundry 211-14; his newspaper contributes greatly to modernization of Tn lang 217-19, 220; *TM* banned inside Tibet by Chinese Csts 221-2; the printing of GT's "crowning literary endeavor" (a monumental Tn-Tn dict) unrealizable 226-32; publishes large body of Tn lay lit 232-3; is requested by British to take photos of "Soviet propaganda agents" at Lhasa 1927 (perhaps GT's 1st act as British undercover agent) 246, 246n; pens a sharp rebuke of Lhasa's effete elites in midst of Tibet's unfolding tragedy 252n; inaugurates series of *TM* articles demonstrating Tibet's historical independence fr China 257-8; is again unable to visit DL14 at Yatung 271-2; publishes *TM* articles in support of Tibet's bid for UN membership 272; publishes protest vs Nehru's recognition of Tibet as part of China 277-8; serves as Baron Nebesky-Wojkowitz's interpreter in interview w/DL14's eldest brother, Kpg, 1951 294; has several confrontations w/Chinese General Chang Ching-wu, Kpg, Jul 1951 298-301, 315f.; is questioned by General Chang about George Patterson 298n; his disenchantment w/Chiang Kai-shek 299n; publishes in *TM* political articles by Rapga Pangdatsang 307; assists Rapga in translating into Tn Sun Yat-sen's *Three Principles of the People* 308; unsuccessful attempts made by Chinese to woo GT fr publishing anti-Cst articles vs Chinese 316-7; coins phrase: "the world's general enemy—the Cst Chinese" 317; serves as undercover agent for British over lengthy period of yrs 327-415; recruits ex-Japanese spy Hisao Kimura (alias Dawa Sangpo) for spy msn to East Tibet for British 385ff.; instructs Kimura to write report on his spy msn for GT's superiors 397-9, 402; pays Kimura handsomely, on behalf of GOI, for his successful spy msn 403; utilizes Kimura as trustworthy courier into Tibet 404; bids farewell to Kimura who heads south to Calcutta & back to

Japan 409-10; engages in warm correspondence w/ Kimura in ensuing yrs 412-14; issues warnings—via his sermons—of impending disaster for Tibet at hands of China 414; the Tn newspaper becomes greatest weapon in GT's arsenal for waging war vs Chinese Csts on behalf of Tibet's independence 415-18; coins the now-famous line: "The Khampas...are fighting the Chinese w/swords & guns; but I am fighting them w/pens!" 415, 429; thru his *TM* articles he completely identifies himself culturally w/Tns in Tibet 423; serves as "informal middleman" for Tns fleeing into Kpg fr Tibet 424; launches series of English-lang monthly circulars for informing outsiders on true situation inside Tibet 425-7; his family greatly concerned for GT's safety in Darj Dt during Sino-Indian Border War 1962 429-30; was aware for yrs that his life could be in danger fr Chinese 430; was ready to join Indian Army vs Chinese during Border War 430-1; rejoins Scots Msn as of 1 Jan 1952 433-4; is ordained a Xtn minister & national pastor of Tn Ch in Kpg 1952 434-5; becomes first Tn Moderator of Tn Ch kirk session at Kpg 1952 435; his relationship w/ Dr Albert Craig marred by differences 435-6, 682-3; thwarts attempts to amalgamate Kpg Tn Ch w/ local Nepali-lang Ch congregation 436; death of his 1st wife, Karma Dechhen (Feb 1955), brings much grief, sadness & melancholia to GT, 437-42; his "Letter of Thanks" for condolences & kindnesses extended him is printed in *Himalayan Times* and *TM* 439-40; he marries missionary to India Margaret Vitants fr Latvia, East Europe, Apr 1956 450-3; these two establish Himalayan Children's Home within Tharchin compound 1962 455-9; the passing of Margaret Tharchin 1974 465-7; meets twice w/ DL14 in Kpg, early 1957 477-8; receives very large monetary gift fr H.H. while the latter is in Kpg 477; presents DL14 w/copies of Bible in both English & Tn during his audience w/H.H. at Kpg 1957 478; is embroiled in Indo-Chinese int'l politics over Tibet 1958-60 498; he & his newspaper attacked by Chinese Foreign Office, in diplomatic note to India: his *TM* termed "a reactionary" journal by the Chinese, & he is warned by GOI to stop "creat[ing] mischief" in Indo-Chinese relations, Jul 1958 & Aug 1958, respectively 501-3; even so, his *TM* anti-Chinese Cst editorial views continue unabated 503-4; viewed Tn refugee phenomenon in India as his God's opportunity to make known to Tns the gospel of Christ 509; is requested by DL at Mussoorie NW India to participate there in meetings to deal w/Tn refugee children's education 1960 510, 512-14; contributes greatly via TMPress towards educational needs of Tn refugee children 514-17, 531-5; has lengthy private audience w/ DL14, Mussoorie, Apr 1960 518-20, 523-5;

- engages in discussions for 2 wks at Landour (nr Mussoorie) w/2 key members of Tn New Testament Revision C'tee, Apr 1960 518-19; presents various Bibles to DL14 at various times over many yrs 526-8; continues to serve as an educational adviser to H.H. & Tn exile govt's Educational Council 531; engages in relief & evangelistic ministry to Tn refugees in Kpg 535-7, 539; his participation in creating & revising Tn Bible 543, 580, 596, 597, 605-9, 613; has reservations/criticisms about the newly-published 1970-71 New Testament Revision 608, 612-13; receives visit in his home of DL14's Junior Tutor, Kyabje Trijang Rimpoche 614-15; has his final audience w/DL14, held at Taktser House, Kpg, June 1975 618-22; on night before his passing (which occurred 6 Feb 1976), GT has vision of "a New Heavenly Door" opened for his entrance into the presence of his Lord and Savior Jesus 622-3; offers up sanguine prophetic vision for Tibet's future 693, 698, 698-9, 701-10
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	Bst(s)	—	Buddhist(s)
	Ch	—	Church
	Cst(s)	—	Communist(s)
	Darj	—	Darjeeling
	dict	—	dictionary
	DL	—	Dalai Lama
	fr	—	from
	govt	—	government
	GT	—	Gergan Tharchin
	Kpg	—	Kalimpong
	lit	—	literature
	Mor(s)	—	Moravian(s)
	msn(s)	—	mission(s)
	msny	—	missionary
	PL	—	Panchen Lama
	<i>TM</i>	—	<i>Tibet Mirror</i>
	Tn(s)	—	Tibetan(s)
	vs	—	versus (or) against
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ERRATA LIST FOR VOLUMES I & II

The German scholar Isrun Engelhardt has kindly drawn the present author's attention to some recent publications, published after Volumes I and II of the present work had been issued, which can serve as a needful correction to some of the statements and observations he made therein, as follows:

Vol I, 119n, 221-2, Plate 53's caption, that Plate's photographic essay on p. 409, and 492 note 63. In all references related to the Mt Everest Climbing Expeditions begun in 1922, the person named therein as having served as the Tibetan interpreter was incorrectly identified as Karma Sumdhon Paul.

This interpreter should have been identified as Karma Paul, born in Tibet as Karma Palden (1894-1984), later known also as Karma Paul. Even though similar in name, he was a different individual from K.S. Paul. For further interesting data on Karma Paul, the reader can consult Bhuchung K. Tsering's informative column which appeared in the *Tibetan Review* for October 2007 that is entitled, "Anyone Ever Heard of Karma Paul?"

Vol I, 479 note 4: As for the most correct spelling of Kanchenjunga, according to Wylie, today's transliteration would be GANGS CHEN MDZOD LNGA.

Vol II, 66 and its accompanying note 15 that appears on 434: Based on extensive research of primary sources relating to the Schaefer Expedition, the reader should consult a more correct view of the Expedition that can be found in Isrun Engelhardt (ed.), *Tibet in 1938-1939: The Photographs from the Ernst Schäfer Expedition to Tibet* (Chicago: Serindia, 2007).

Moreover, the correct spelling for one of the authors of *The Morning of the Magicians* cited in note 15 should have been Louis Pauwels.

Vol II, 153: Engelhardt has supplied the present author with an update on the whereabouts of the Christian bell discussed here. As a result of her research, it has been learned that during the latter 1990s the bell had been found lying in a storage room within the Jo-khang Cathedral itself. And she has even published a photograph of it dating from after it had been re-discovered; see on p. 91 of her article, "Between Tolerance and Dogmatism: Tibetan Reactions to the Capuchin Missionaries in Lhasa, 1707-1745," in *Zentralasiatische Studien* 34 (2005):55-97.

Vol II, 240, 245: "For the longest period, even up to ... 1950, Tibet never did possess a movable-type printing press of any kind"; "despite the ubiquity of this [wooden-block] apparatus, it remained the only method of printing in Tibet right up to ... the 1950s."

Both Engelhardt and John Bray have brought to this author's attention the fact that the Catholic Capuchin missionaries to Tibet during the first half of the 18th century had by 1741 introduced a movable-type printing press into Lhasa; but whatever happened to it after the Capuchins permanently withdrew from Tibet altogether in 1745 is today unknown; not unlike the fact that it is not known whatever happened to the more modern "printing machines" which in 1908 had been brought to Lhasa at the direction of the Chinese Amban Chang Yin-tang for the "printing of a Tibetan newspaper"—a situation mentioned by the present author in Vol II, 251.

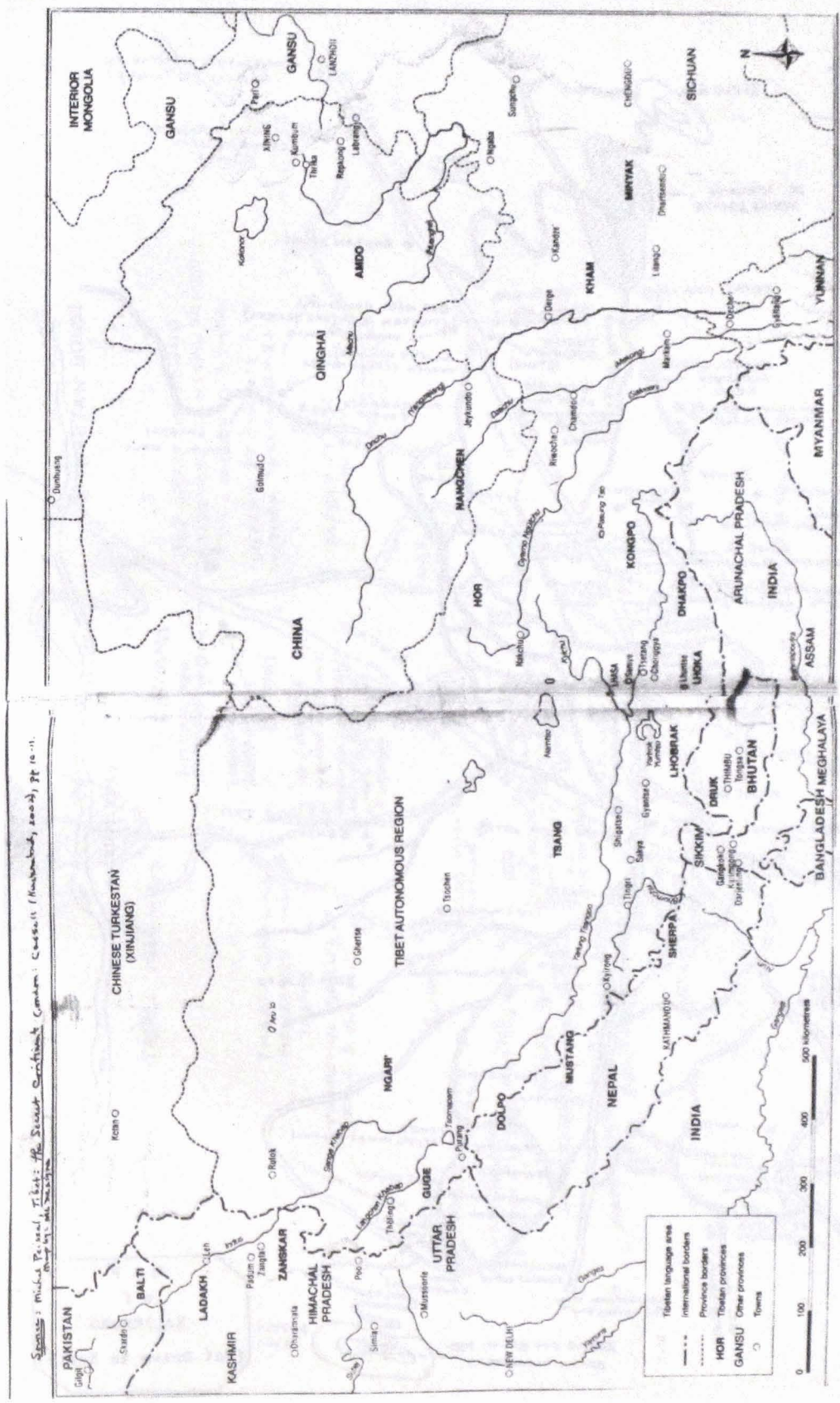
With regard to the Capuchin printing press, see the original sources in Luciano Petech, *Missionari italiani nel Tibet e nel Nepal (Il Nuovo Ramusio II)*, 7 vols (Roma, 1952-1956), III:167 and IV:57; J. Schubert, "Typographia Tibetana," *Gutenberg Jahrbuch* (Mainz, 1950), 280-97; J.M. Lenhart, "Capuchins Introduce Printing into Tibet in 1741 to Lhasa," in *Franciscan Studies* 10 (1950):69-72; and cf. the opening pages of Bray, "Missionaries, Officials and the Making of the 1826 *Dictionary of the Bhotanta or Boutan Language*," in *Zentralasiatische Studien* 37 (2008):33-76.

Vol II, 407: "One major project which ... Tharchin had taken upon himself to launch at the beginning of 1950 was to publish in his newspaper in translated form for his Tibetan readers the entire text ... of Sir Charles Bell's remarkable biography of the Great Thirteenth, *Portrait of the Dalai Lama* (London, 1946)."

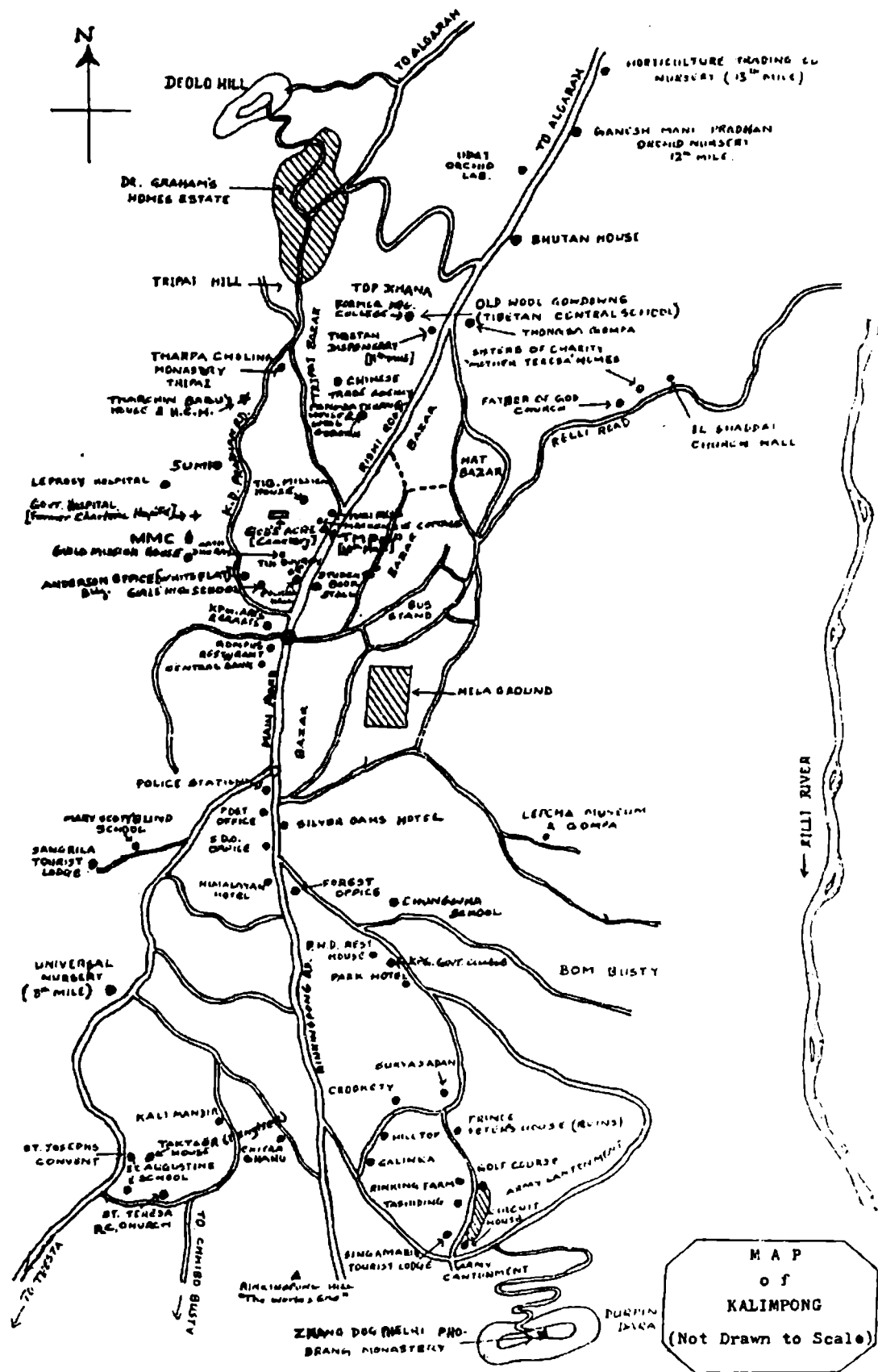
However, as was later learned by the present author, Tharchin had actually begun to publish the Tibetan translation of Bell's work in the June 1948 issue of the *Tibet Mirror* and that the translation would thereafter appear serially throughout not only the remainder of 1948 but also during the years 1949 up through August 1952.

Vol II, 407: "During these many months of [Tharchin's] absence [in Tibet with Theos Bernard, i.e., from mid-May to late November 1937] his Tibetan newspaper had not been published at all."

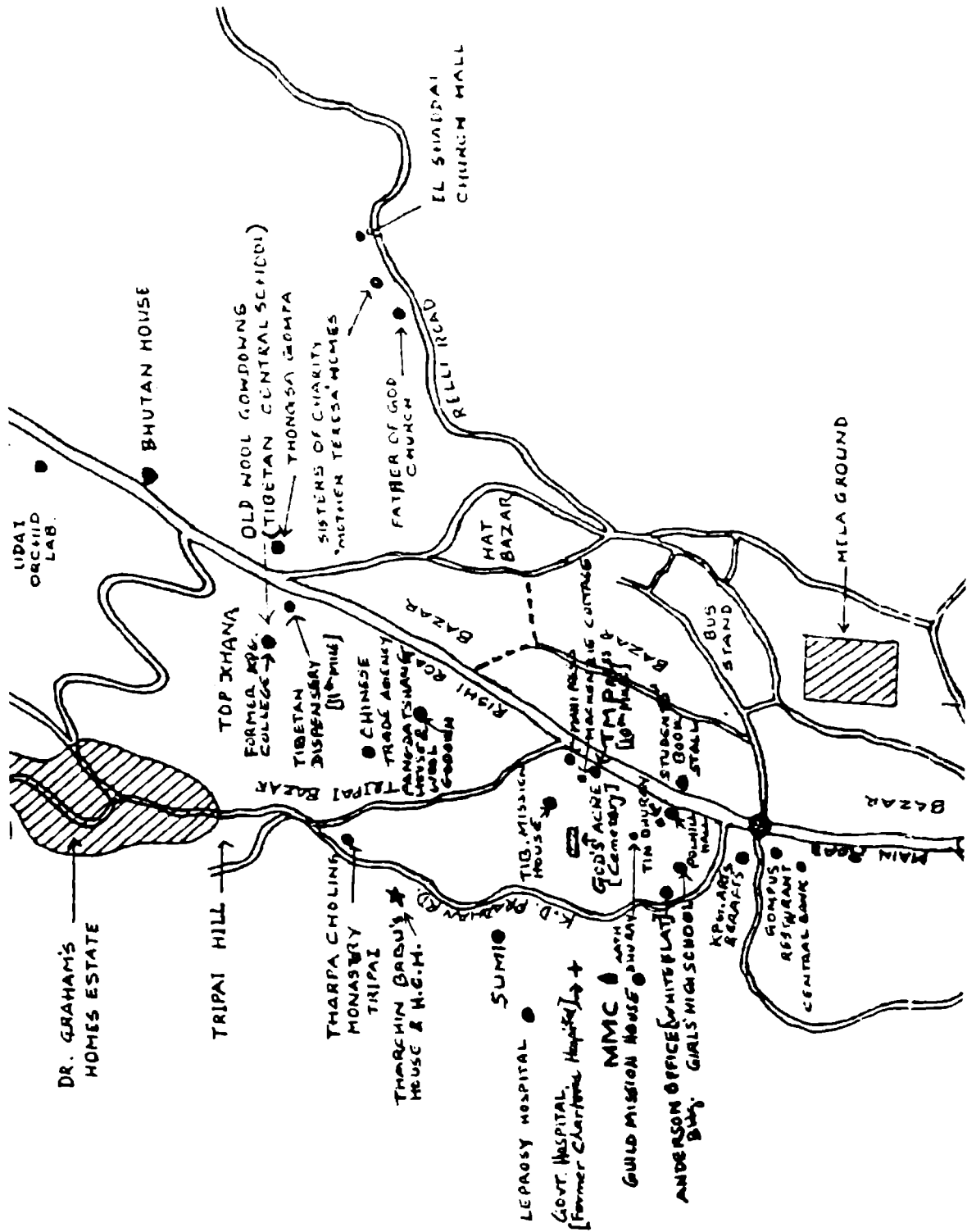
However, in her recent research on the Babu's *Tibet Mirror* newspaper, Isrun Engelhardt has learned that during his absence Dr. Knox had published five issues of the paper on Tharchin's behalf, one each during the months of June through October. See her forthcoming article, "Reflections in *The Tibet Mirror: News of the World, 1937-1946*," in Gray Tuttle (ed.), *The Rise of the Modern in Tibet*, PIATS 2006 (Halle, 2009?).



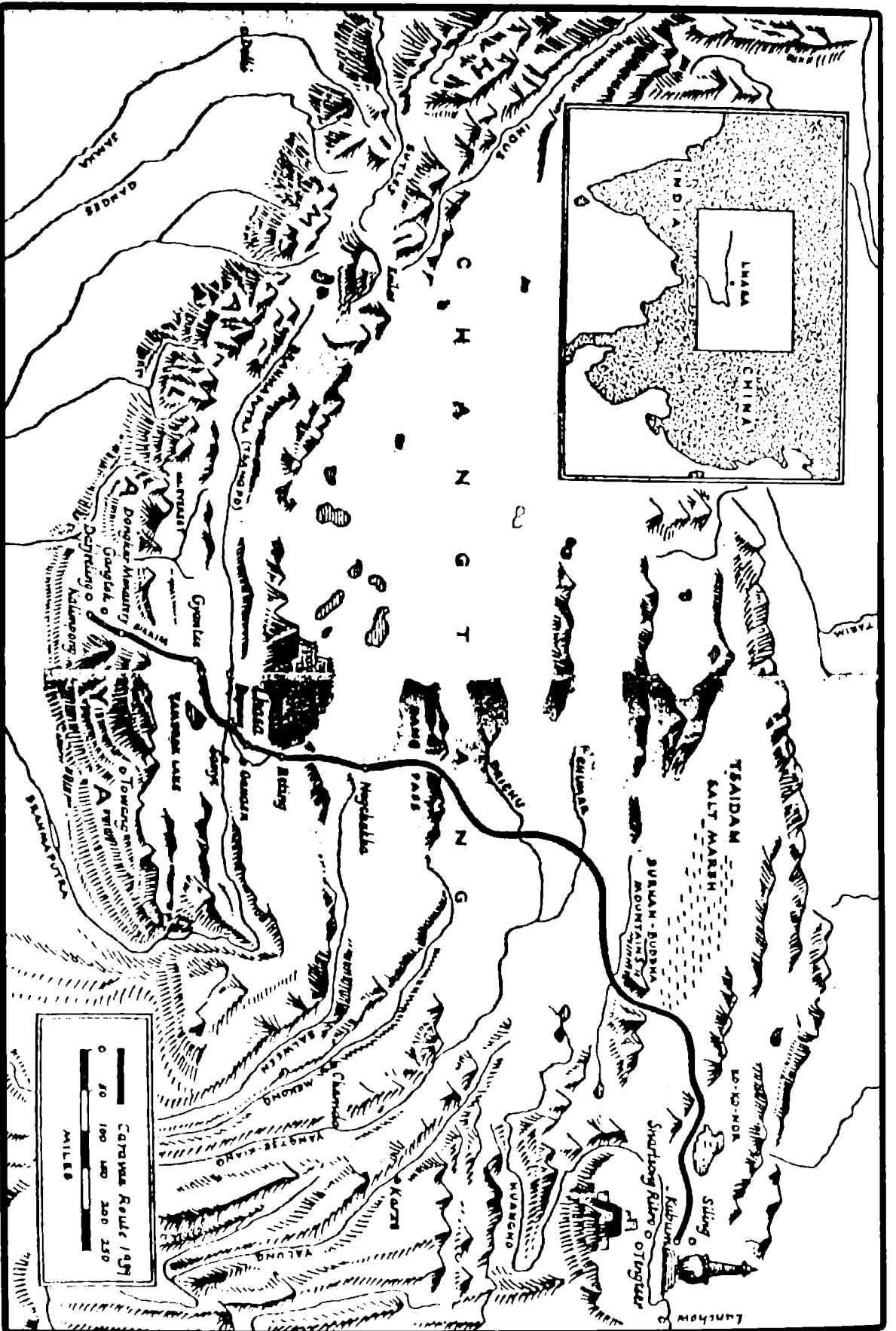
The World of Gergan Tharchin: Showing Poo, Kalimpong and Tibet



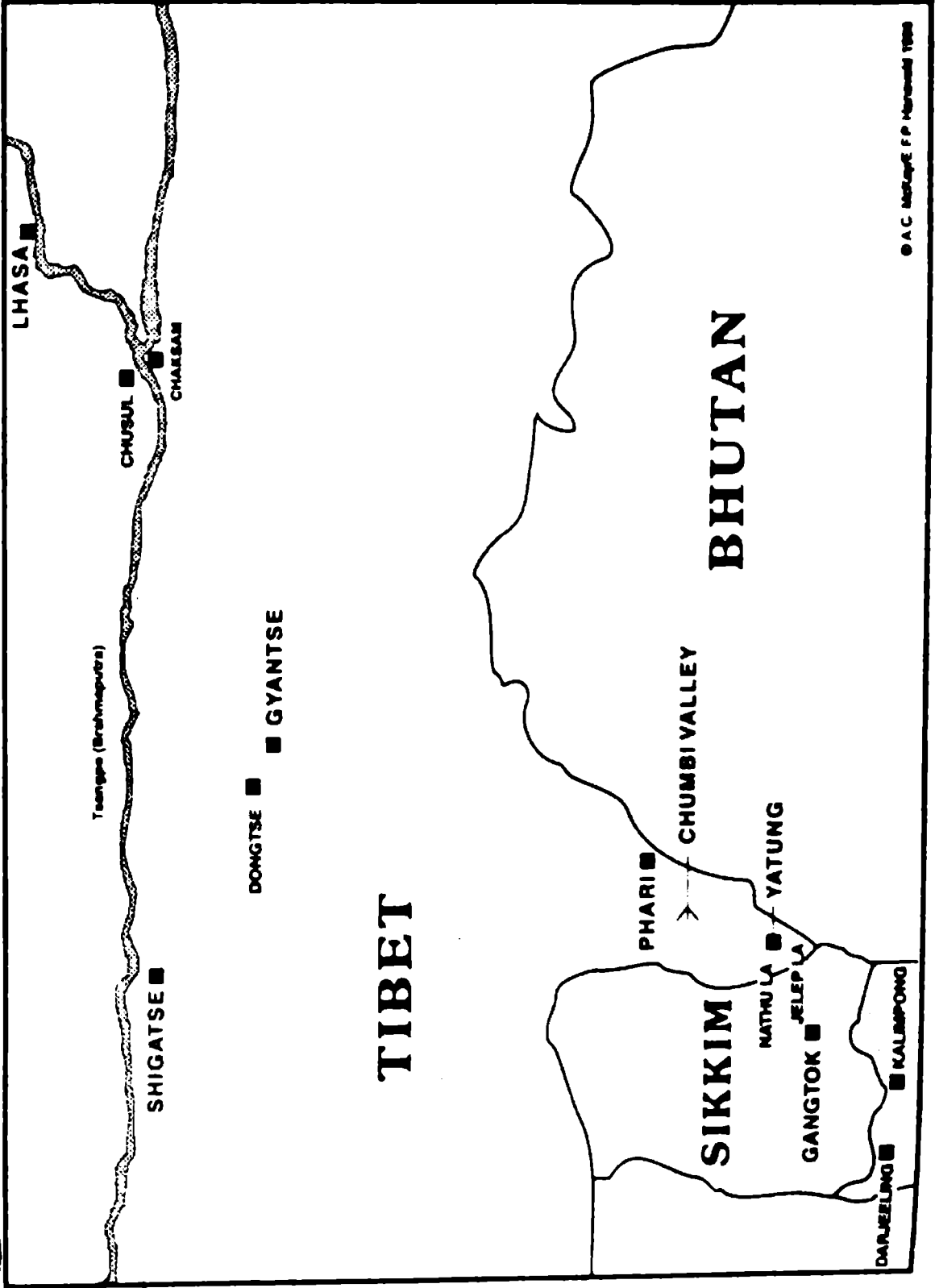
Source: Map prepared for Bike & Trek Himalayas Shop, Rishi Road, Kalimpong
(Adapted from Original by Additions and Also Deletions)



Detail of Map of Kalimpong. Enlarged

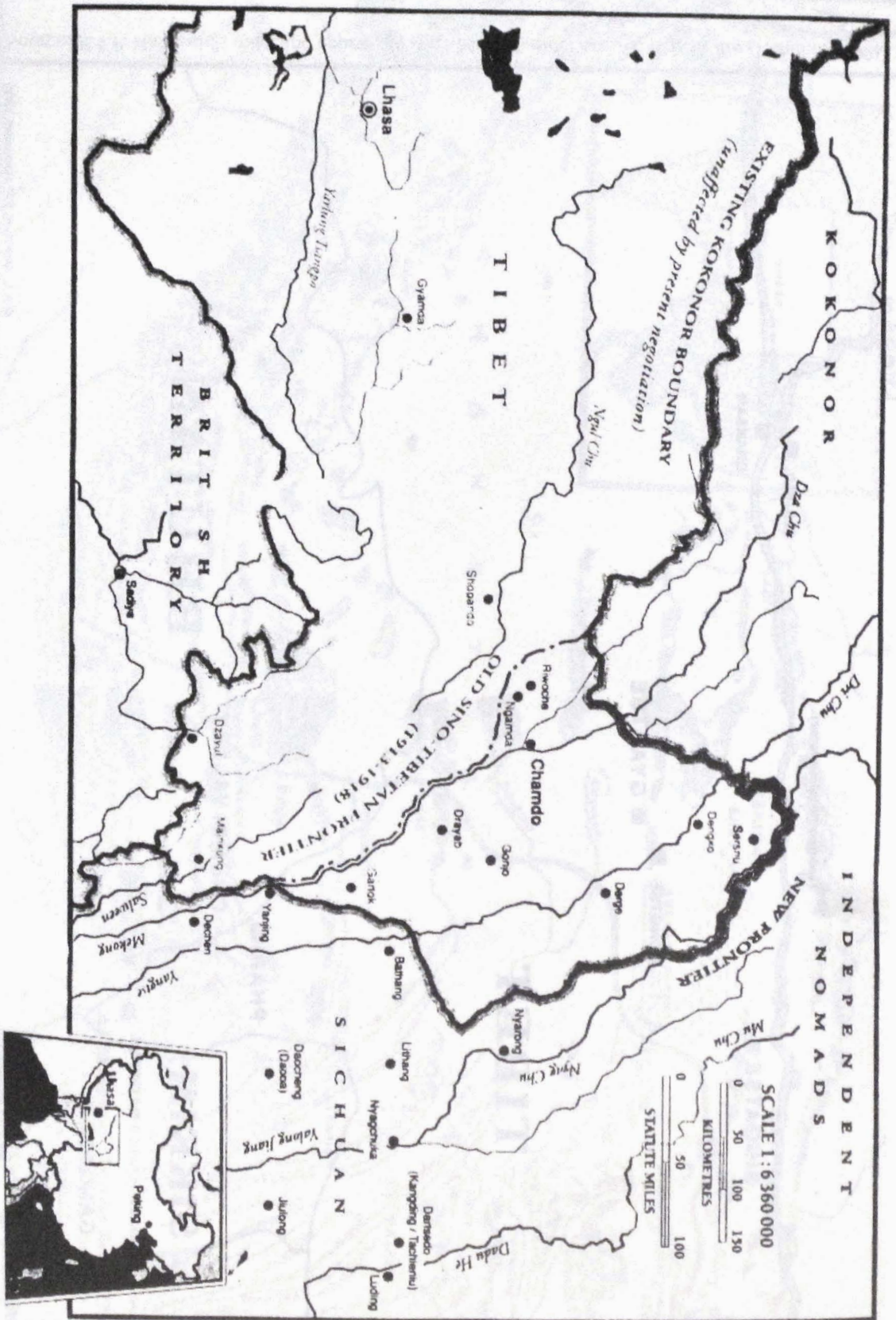


The Birthplace of the 14th Dalai Lama (at Tengstser, aka. Taktiser) and His Caravan Route to Lhasa. Summer 1939, to Assume the Lion Throne of Tibet.

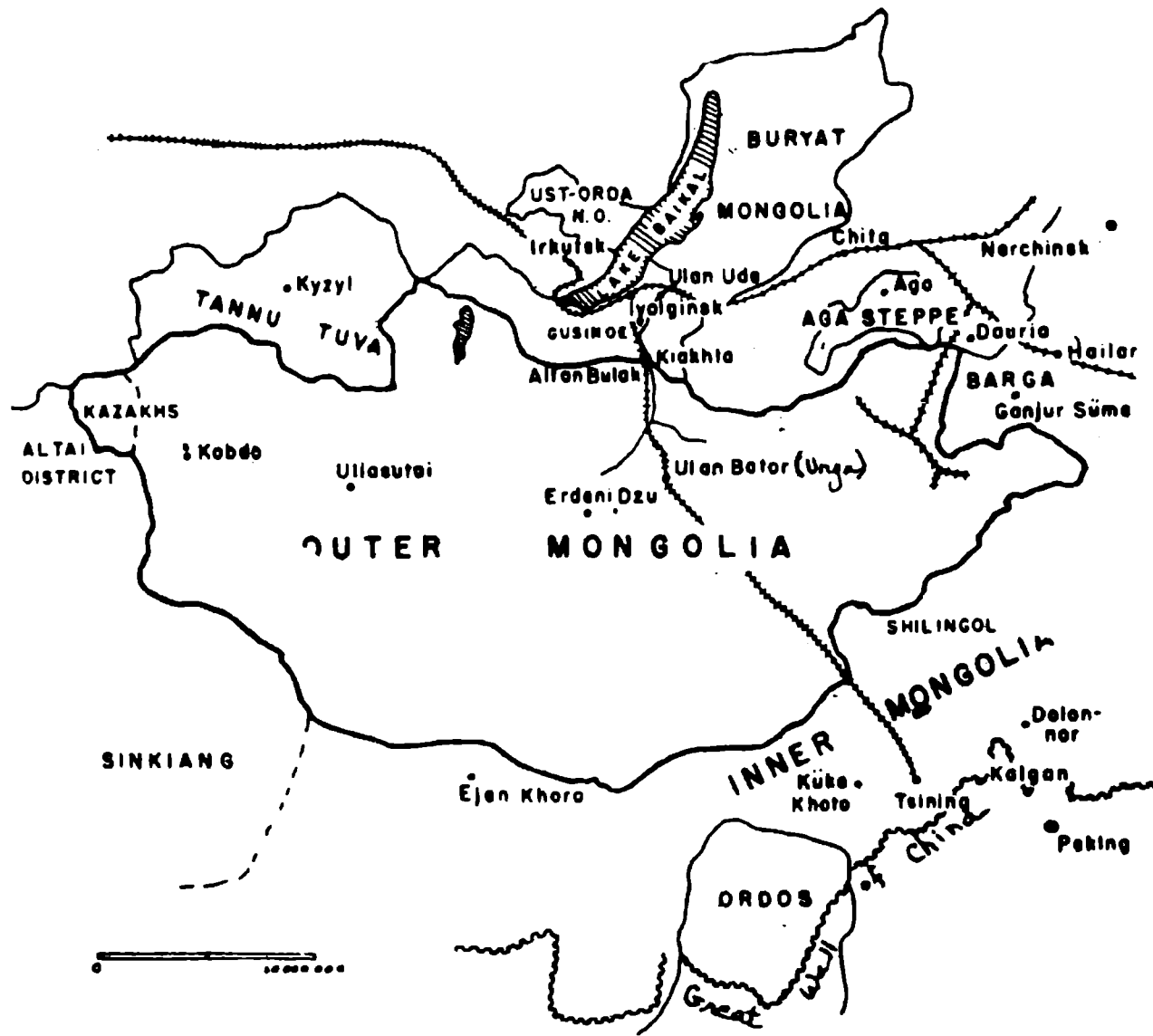


The By-Now Familiar Way to Lhasa from Kalimpong for Gergan Tharchin in 1940 for the Installation of the 14th Dalai Lama

Settlement Proposed by Eric Teichman for the Sino-Tibetan Border, as Adopted by the Treaty of Rongbatsa, 1918

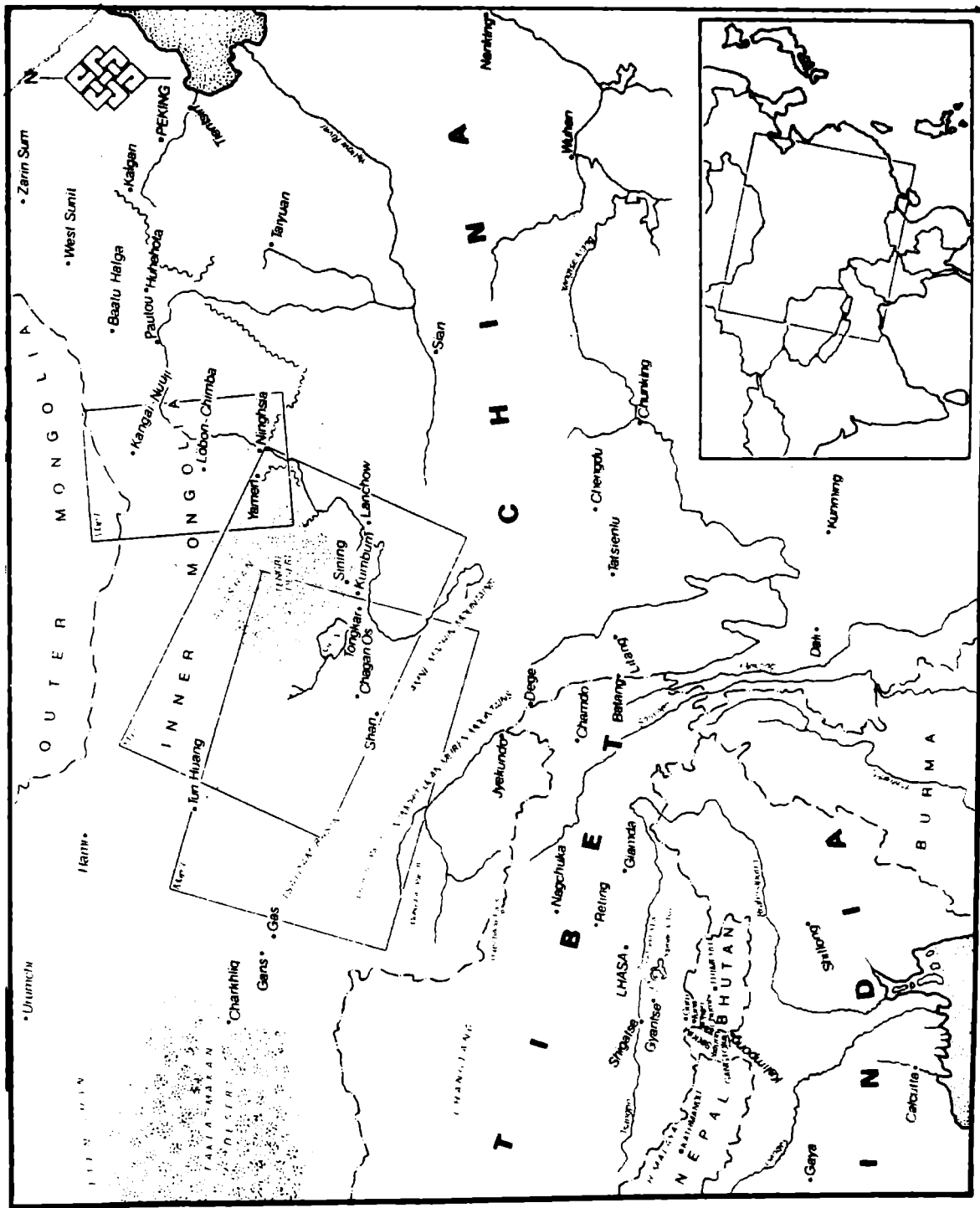


Source: © Atelier Golok, in Premen Addy, "British and Indian Strategic Perceptions of Tibet," in R. Barnett & S. Akiner, *Resistance and Reform in Tibet* (Bloomington, 1994), p. 15

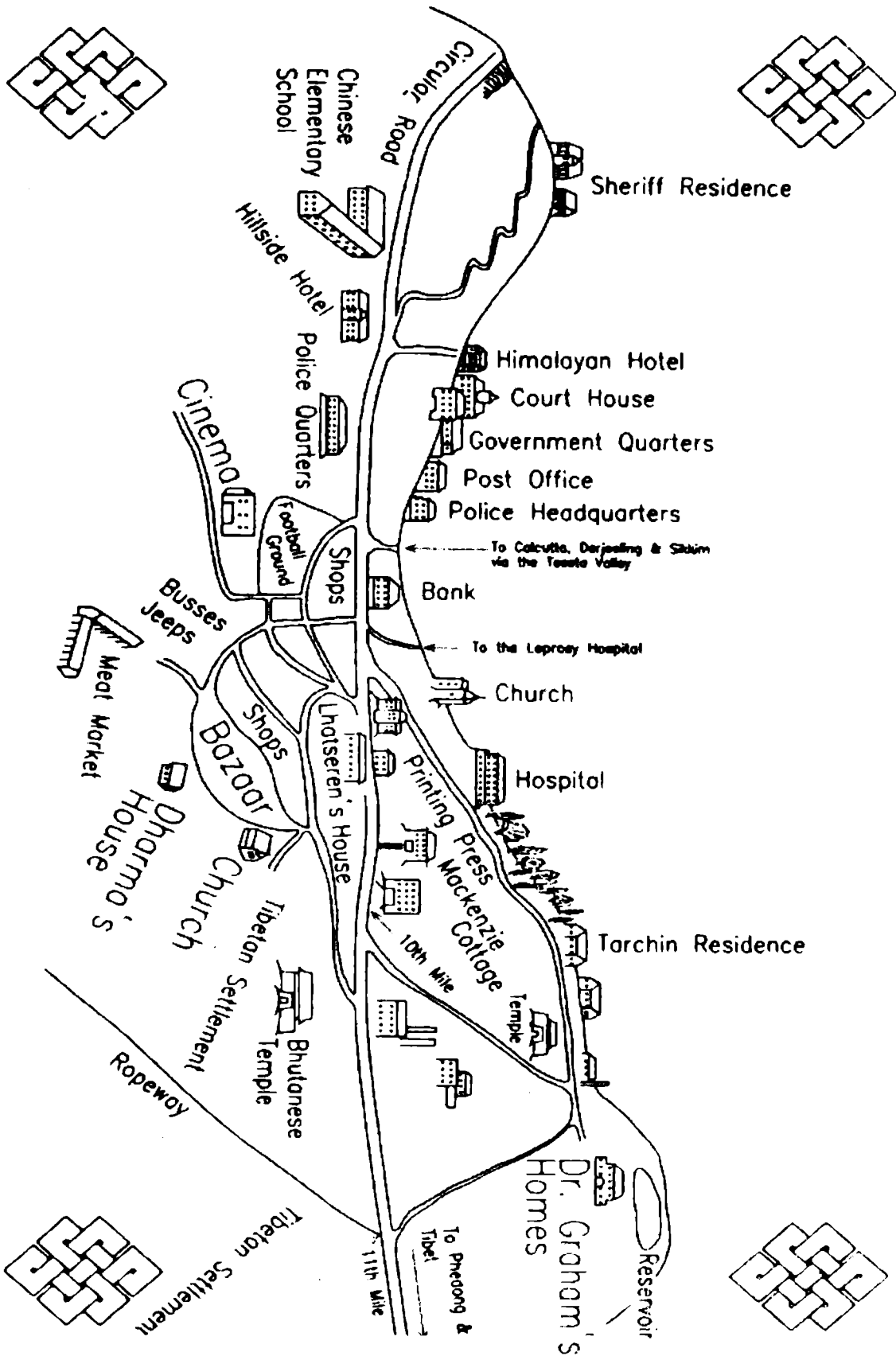


The Two Mongolias: Inner and Outer, 1920s Onward

Source: Scott Berry, *Monks, Spies and a Soldier of Fortune: the Japanese in Tibet* (New York, 1995), end flyleaf page.



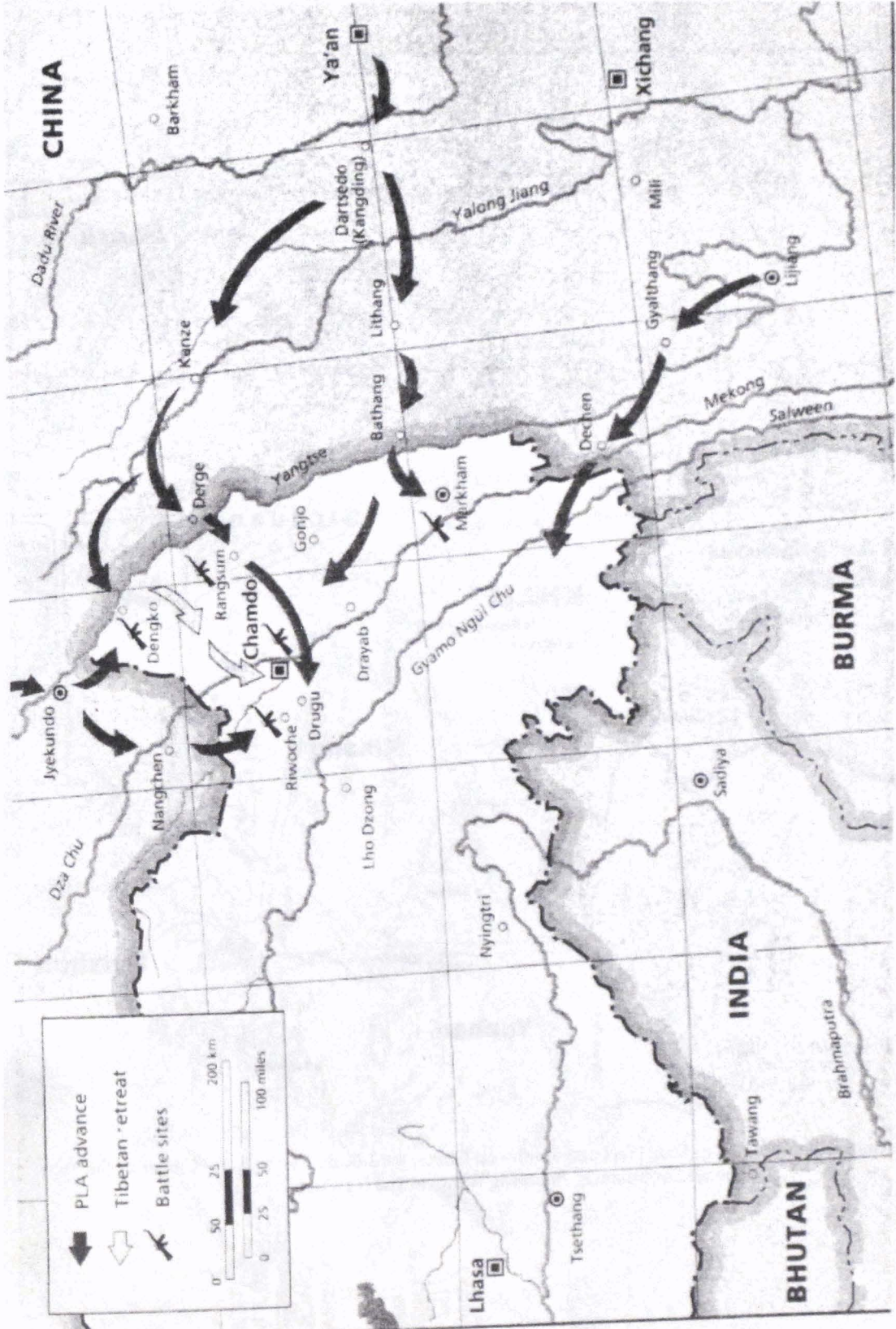
The Intelligence Operational World of Secret Agent Hisao Kimura (alias Dawa Sangpo) for Japan and British (and Independent) India, 1940-50



Source: Kimura, *Japanese Agent in Tibet* (London, 1997)

Hisao Kimura's Map of Kalimpong Drawn for the Late 1940s

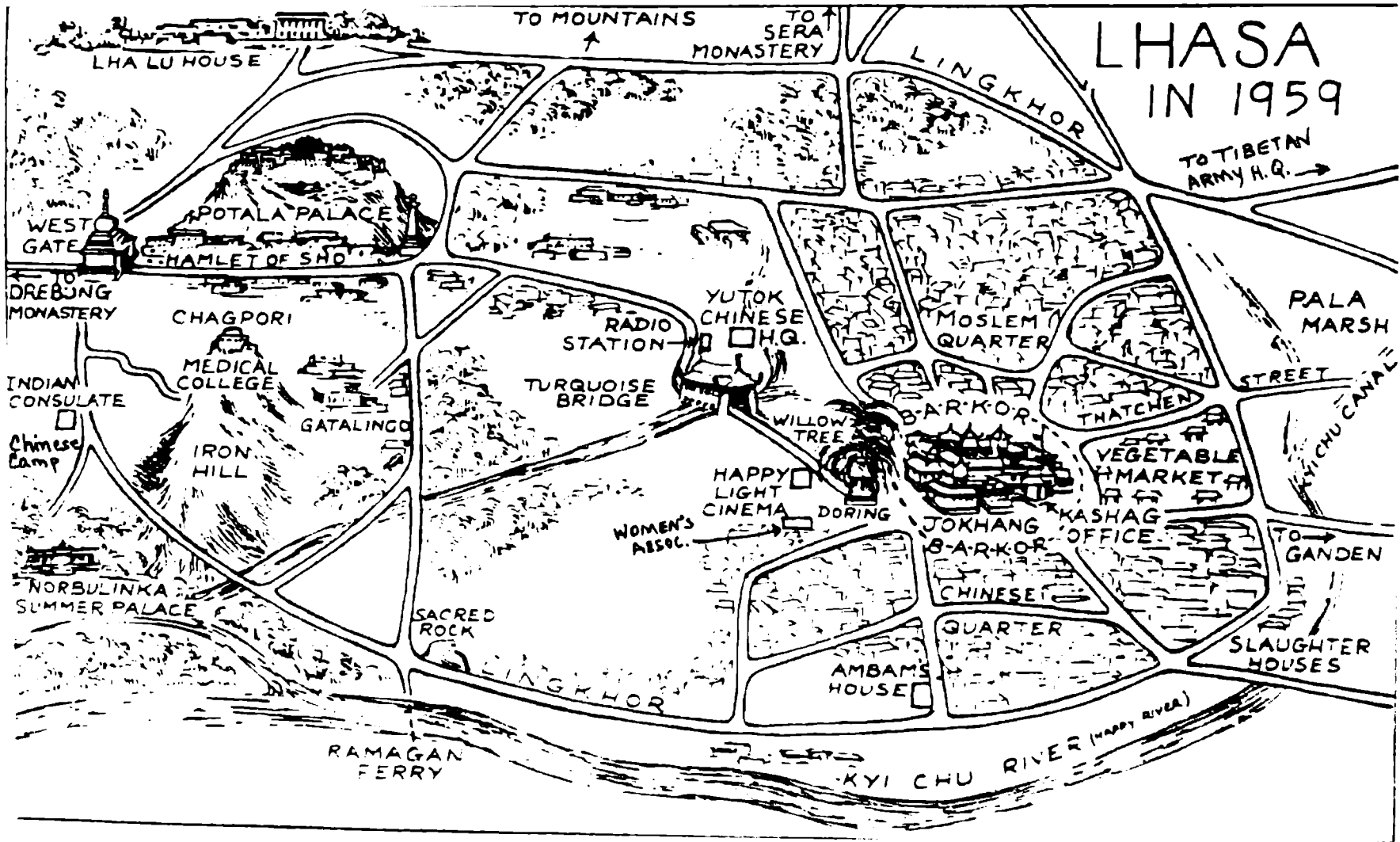
Source: Tsering Shakya, *The Dragon in the Land of Snows* (New York/London, 1999).
 Map Credit: Atelier Golok



The Invasion of East Tibet by the Chinese Communist People's Liberation Army, October 1950



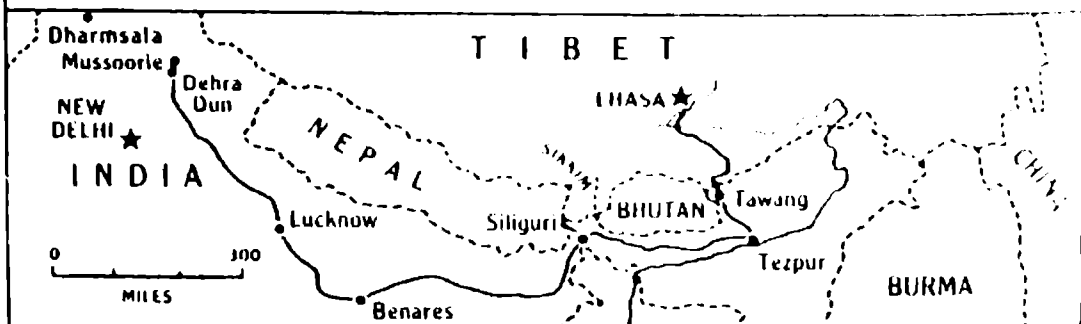
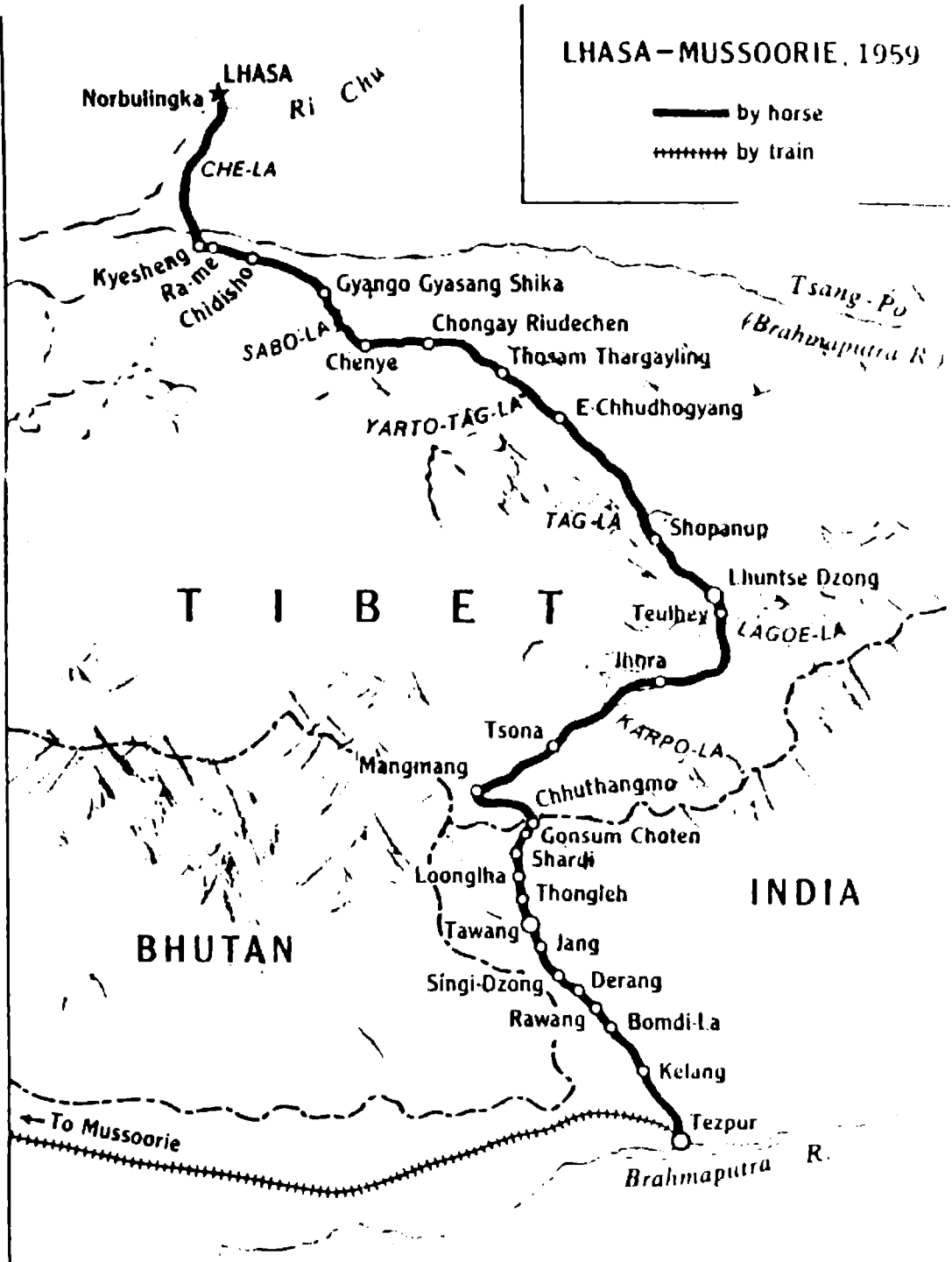
The Amdo-Kham Region of East Tibet and Southwest China: the Locale for the Early Career of the Two Tibetan Communists, Phuntsog Wangyal and Ngwang Kalsang



Lhasa in 1959

LHASA - MUSSOORIE, 1959

— by horse
 +++++ by train

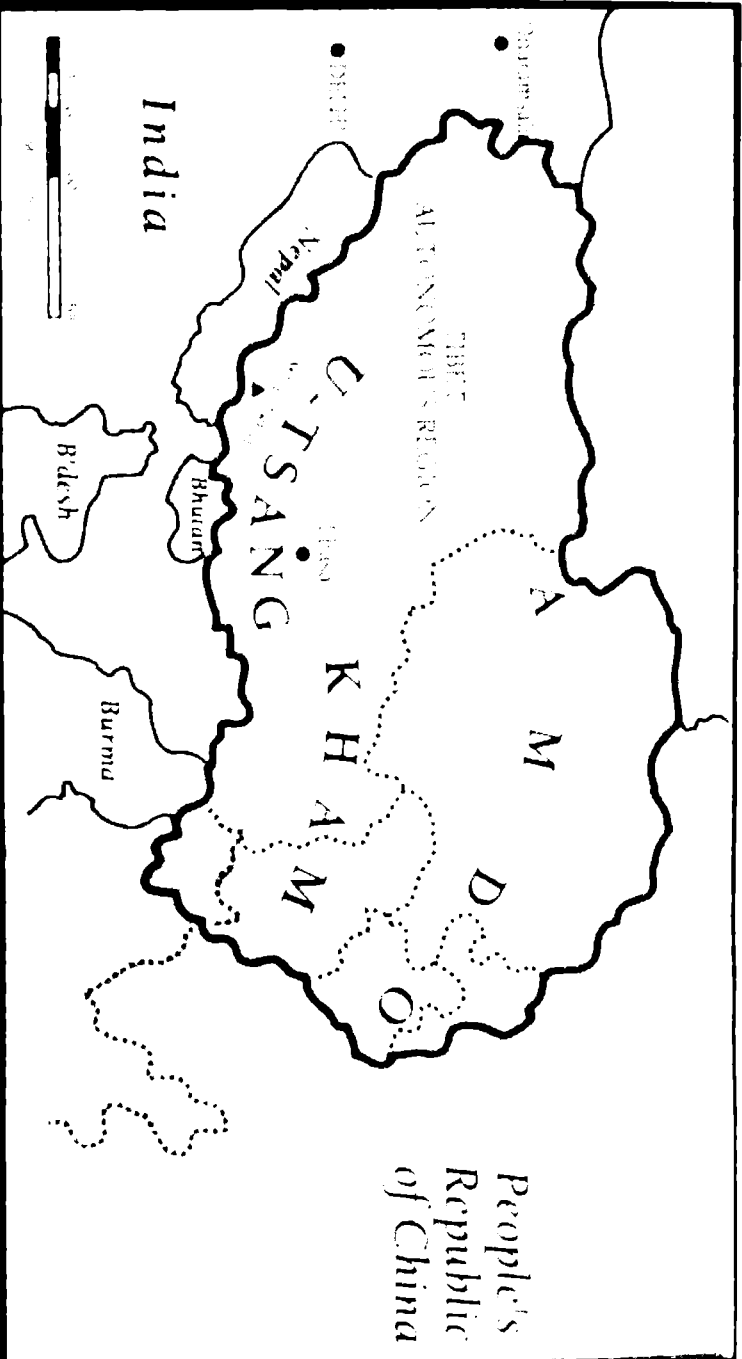


The 14th Dalai Lama's Journey to India, March-April 1959



Source: Filippo de Filippi, *The Italian Expedition to the Himalaya, Karakoram and Eastern Turkestan (1913-14)* (London, 1932). [Detail]

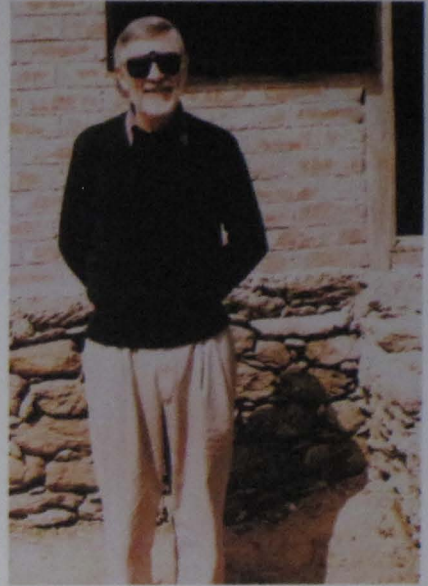
Where the Tibetan Bible Was Birthed and Completed by the Moravians (Both European and Tibetan) of the West Himalaya Mission to Tibet



DISPUTED BORDERS

- | | |
|---|--|
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Gansu Province Sichuan Province Yunnan Province | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Borders of Tibet according to pro-independence groups People's Republic of China provincial boundaries |
|---|--|

Tibet Today as Viewed from Beijing and Dharamsala



H. Louis Fader

Mr. Fader studied Western and Asian history at Southern Illinois University, Carbondale, receiving his M.A. in history there in 1958; and also received an M.L.S. degree in Library Science (with particular emphasis on the social sciences) from Columbia University, New York, 1960, and he engaged in further postgraduate study in American and European history for three years at Columbia during the mid-1960s. From 1960 to 1976 Mr. Fader was a full-time tenured Instructor on the faculty of Queens College, City University of New York, where he served in that institution's Library Department Social Sciences Division. In addition, from 1965 to the present the author has likewise served as Editor for Christian Fellowship Publishers, New York, having edited and prepared for publication in English some 55 titles of Asian Christian authors.

Since 1982 Mr. Fader has made numerous trips to India, Nepal, China (only once) and other parts of Asia, where he has often remained for four or five months at a time. Currently the author divides his time each year between his home in Washington DC and "Babakul"—his residence established at Pokhara, Nepal, where he is engaged in ongoing research and writing.

Mr. Fader's first book, *Up from the Ash Heap* (Guntur, 1987), is a biography of a well-known Christian evangelist of South India. He has completed another work, *The Issa Tale That Will Not Die*. It is a fresh investigative study concerning the infamous nineteenth-century Russian journalist Nicholas Notovitch and a supposedly ancient Gospel of Issa/Jesus manuscript he claimed he had discovered in 1887 at a Tibetan Buddhist monastery in Ladakh, NW India but which has been proven to have been a literary creation of the Russian hoaxer himself. This volume of the author's has recently been published by University Press of America (Lanham MD USA, 2003), and is available in paperback at bookstores or may be ordered online at www.univpress.com. *Called from Obscurity*, Volume III, now in the reader's hands, represents the concluding part of the three-volume biography of G. Tharchin Babula of Kalimpong.

It is no exaggeration to say that if the ruling classes in Lhasa and New Delhi had heeded what Tharchin Babu was saying, Tibet's modern fate might have been different.

So declared the late Dawa T. Norbu, the distinguished Professor of International Studies at Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi, in his "Introduction" to this, the first full-length biographical study ever to be published on the life and career of one of the most remarkable personalities in modern Tibetan history. Too often only briefly mentioned in passing or else totally ignored today by writers and scholars on relevant Tibetan themes, the Rev. Gergan Tharchin, observed Professor Norbu, was nonetheless a pioneer in several important fields of endeavor: "the first Tibetan journalist in the entire Tibetan-speaking world, a towering modern man of letters in a field traditionally dominated by lamas, a lone modernizer in a tradition-bound society, and above all the most articulate spokesman for Tibet's freedom through his pioneering newspaper, the *Tibet Mirror*, that throughout its history (1925-63) he had published in the Northeast Indian hill station of Kalimpong. Indeed, Tharchin Babu "remained right up to 1950 the sole Tibetan window to the outside world for the isolationist Tibetans."

But according to Dr. Norbu, the Babu was also, in the long course of his multi-faceted career, "to explode several Tibetological myths." One of these myths which Tharchin forever laid to rest was the notion "that in order to be a man of Tibetan letters and a fighter for Tibet's freedom, one had to be a Buddhist. He was neither a lama nor a lay Buddhist. He remained a profoundly sophisticated Christian throughout his life, despite his love for Tibetan literature and culture." Moreover, added Norbu, who had initially come to know Rev. Tharchin when a student in Kalimpong, "he was perhaps the most eminent Christian in the Tibetan-speaking world." Indeed, Babu Tharchin "had truly integrated into the Tibetan cultural fabric into which he was born those Christian values he had adopted. There was neither any sign of identity crisis nor confusion of values. He was at peace, and shared peace and wisdom with whomever he came in close contact."

Though born in Indo-Tibet and early converted to the Christian faith from his family religion of Tibetan Buddhism, even so, Gergan Dorje Tsering Tharchin (1890-1976) was a Tibetan through and through, as the pages of this three-volume biography will amply attest. Babu Tharchin loved the Land of Snows, became an enthusiastic student of her language, history and culture, sought at all times the highest and best for her people, and stood—in the hour of greatest peril to her freedom and independence—as one of Tibet's strongest advocates in his near-legendary journalistic defense against the machinations of the frightful Invader from the East: Communist China. And for these and other noteworthy contributions to the welfare of Tibet this humble-born Tibetan from the Northwest Indian mountain hamlet of Poo eventually came to be respected, loved and admired by all and sundry among his fellow ethnic countrymen—whether ruler or ruled, rich or poor, educated or ignorant, Buddhist or non-Buddhist. He was even a personal friend of the two most recent ruling Pontiffs of the Tibetan Buddhist Church: the Great Thirteenth and the currently reigning Fourteenth Dalai Lama. As one of his many Tibetan admirers was wont to say about Rev. Tharchin, his Christian affirmation never seemed "to get in the way of his relations with all sections of the Tibetan community," who "held him in such high esteem."

Recognizing, however, "the danger of popular forgetfulness" which "even Gergan Tharchin's remarkable achievement faces" in this current age of information explosion, Professor Norbu was moved to express his profound appreciation to the author of *Called from Obscurity* in the following laudatory terms:

We—all the Tibetan-speaking peoples in the Himalayas and Inner Asia—are deeply grateful to H. Louis Fader. For he has resurrected the saga and legend of Tharchin Babu for our own generation and posterity.... I am glad to say that this important task has gracefully fallen into the able and careful hands of Mr. Fader... [whose] initial interest had been centered around the life of a famous Christian convert from Sikhism, Sadhu Sundar Singh of India, which opened the door to the author to the world of Tharchin Babu.... The author had free access to the entire Tharchin family records and the pertinent Christian missionary documents on Tibet that had scarcely been researched before. He has also spared no pains to engage in extensive research on Tibetan history, culture and politics, within whose broad context he has empathetically placed the life and times of Tharchin Babu. The result is not only a highly researched biography...; it is also a significant contribution to Tibetan Church History, woven around the spirit and activity of a great Tibetan Christian....

As a Tibetan, I personally thank the present author for resurrecting the life and times of this eminent Tibetan Christian. As a fellow writer, I congratulate Mr. Fader for his wonderful book.

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